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LANGUAGE and society

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Spring 1983

AUSTRALIA: 140 ETHNIC GROUPS, 90 LANGUAGES AND ONE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

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Editor's Note

No longer more English than England, Australia has been through a "cultural revolution", and linguistic diversity is now an acknowledged fact of life Down Under. Albert Jaime Grassby, himself a leading "revolutionary" for a crucial decade, turns this page of history for us to read.

Bringing us back to Canada, linguist Raymond LeBlanc looks at tests that assess the fluency of candidates for work and that may shape their careers, for better or for worse. Are these tests all they are cracked up to be? he asks.

Who hasn't heard the old story — "Well, I learned Parisian French in school, but of course that's no good in this country." In a good-humoured account of an evening with some Anglophone friends, Quebec author Roch Carrier says "Nonsense" and spells out why.

Georg K. Weissenborn traces the development of German-Canadian communities back to the 17th century. He describes their present situation and examines the challenges they face as they look to the future.

Finally, we ask you to fill in a questionnaire. We want to know what you expect and what you need from *Language and Society*. Your answers will help us serve you even better in future issues.

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The myth of Australia's British heritage is just that – a myth. The reality is multicultural. Since a historic turnaround in policy a decade ago, federal and state governments have recognized and even fostered cultural diversity instead of repressing it.



Albert Jaime Grassby has just completed a seven-year term as Australia's Commissioner of Community Relations. A former member of Parliament and minister of Immigration, he writes with an insider's knowledge of linguistic and cultural developments in Australia. His publications include *The Morning After*, a study of racism in politics.

The newest people on earth

ALBERT JAIME GRASSBY

Australia is one of the great cosmopolitan nations of the world with a population of 15 million made up of 140 different ethnic inputs, speaking 90 different languages at home and practising 80 different religions. These facts of demography have brought about a cultural revolution which began in the early 1970s and continues today with the fine promise of bringing about more permanent changes in Australian society than were achieved in China by another much more publicised cultural revolution.

While the cultural revolution has brought about changes in almost every sphere of Australian life, a key to change in the whole approach to education in a multicultural society and the recognition of the languages and cultures of the nation.

Like Canada, Australia shared a common background as a colonial province of the British Empire; like Canada, we were subject to assimilationist policies based on Anglo-conformity for all of our history as a European settlement. The myth of homogeneity, a keystone of assimilationist policy, was maintained by the production of a figure that Australia was 8 per cent "British", which it was in political terms but has never been in ethnic terms. This figure was brought about by counting as "British", all Australian-born, regardless of background, all naturalized citizens and all migrants from the 50 countries of the then British Empire.

Children were taught that Captain Cook "discovered" Australia (he was, admittedly, the last of the great navigators to come here); that "British" convicts, explorers and settlers pioneered a new nation peacefully, ignoring at least six pitched battles, 20,000 casualties in various struggles and the extirpation of nearly the entire founding nations.

In this atmosphere, a knowledge of language other than English was considered almost as an act of hostility to the country; Aboriginal people and their languages were supposed to die out; people with a first language other than English were expected to either be ashamed of themselves or to keep out of sight.

The basic "cultural" teaching in public school systems was associated with British royalty and the glories of the British Empire. Languages described as "foreign" were expected to be learned as an academic exercise by the select few taking university courses. They were not designed to be used for conversational intercourse but to pass examinations, and were restricted almost exclusively to Latin, Ancient Greek, French and German. This was considered quite respectable and acceptable because these were the choices offered in English private schools.

The largest migration into any country in this century, on a per capita basis, changed the face of Australia in the past 25 years. Australians today are the newest people on earth, with 40 per cent of the population the products of migration and with the largest overseas-born work force in the world outside Israel.

In 1973 – a new doctrine

It was in recognition of the great changes in Australian society and also of the suppressed diversity of previous years that, in 1973, in a paper prepared for the Cairnmillar Institute's Symposium Strategy 2000: "Australia for Tomorrow", the new doctrine of the multicultural society was proclaimed on behalf of the then government. It was taken up as a policy by the state governments of Australia and continued by the present national administration. It was part of Australia's quest for independence and a new political and cultural awareness of itself. It followed the great break with the traditional "melting pot" theory of the United States of America, where assimilation over three centuries has wiped out languages, cultures, heritages and created tensions which led cities to burn and jails to fill. In the decade of the 1970s, both the United States and Canada abandoned assimilation and embraced for the first time the concept of a multicultural society.

Before reviewing the progress of the Australian cultural revolution in terms of language and culture, it is useful to compare the pre-revolutionary days in both countries. The two major ethnic inputs into Canada have been French and English and

there has always been, since Canadian federation in 1867, a recognition that there were at least two languages and two cultures.

Both Canada and Australia continued to share and practise common assimilationist policies. Speaking of Canada, historian Blair Neatby writes in a publication of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages:

"The early decades of the twentieth century were years [...] when loyalty to the British Empire was seen as a test of Canadian patriotism. This was the era of massive immigration, when group settlements of diverse ethnic and linguistic origins provoked concern about the cultural identity of the western region. The situation varied from province to province but an overall pattern can be seen. The English language is regarded as an instrument of assimilation or at least as a means of forging a community with a common language, and the public school becomes the institution which will impose this 'Anglo-conformity'."¹

This is exactly the same as the situation in Australia, where the pressures for Anglo-conformity were greater and assimilation was pursued with near fanaticism which denied all but one group any validity at all. Cultural aggression in Australia was a fiercer product because of the background of the population. The Anglo-French clash in Canada resolved itself into at least a recognition of the valid existence of the French input.

The ethnic mix

The second largest component of the Australian population was not French but Irish. England and France have long been at peace and have been allies for most of the past 200 years. England and Ireland have been at war for the entire period and it is even now not resolved.

The Irish in Australia rebelled, fought and were defeated. They had no great and powerful presence to back up demands for recognition of their language, culture and religion. They were on their own in a British colony in Southeast Asia. It is only today that the Irish 25 per cent of the population

is recognized as making Australia more Irish in content than either the United States or Canada.

The 25 per cent of the population of Irish origin is recognized as making Australia more Irish in content than either the United States or Canada.

The next largest ethnic input was German; about 10 per cent of all Australians have a German connection. But two world wars effectively decimated the language and cultural programs and led to the statute books of Australia being littered with prohibitions under threat of fines or jail or both if the heinous crime of teaching in languages other than English was committed.

More than one million Australians have an Italian connection; Italian is the most widely spoken language in Australia after English. The Greek contribution is next with more than 600,000 and Greek is the second most widely spoken community language. In fact, Melbourne, Australia's second largest city, is the third largest Greek-speaking city in the world after Athens and Thessaloniki.

There are more Australians of Maltese birth or descent than there are in the Republic of Malta. However, in the days of Anglo-conformity they were registered as English-speaking British subjects and their identity has been so destroyed that we are planning a project in Malta to find out exactly how many came and when, because the Australian records are so inadequate.

The Asian component has been part of the history of Australia for many centuries. The people of Macassar established permanent links with North Australia for 600 years and contributed technology, language and babies in peace and goodwill.

The Chinese, mostly Cantonese, who have been described by one Australian

historian as the "Irish of China", formed the third largest ethnic input into eastern Australia in the last century. One quarter of Sydney's population at the turn of the century was Chinese. But after killing, persecution and the denial of permission to families to join breadwinners, the population dropped dramatically. Chinese-Australians were forced to adopt such a low profile that a distinguished Chinese-Australian barrister in the State of Victoria in the 1920s prohibited his family to speak Chinese or acknowledge anything but their English name. In another case, a Chinese merchant in Sydney at the turn of the century joined the Caledonians, wore a kilt and played cricket.

The Chinese today have emerged from the cultural ghetto and numbers have doubled in the past 20 years. The Chinese languages are now heard over radio and television and can be read again in Australian journals.

In all this flowering of culture, the most striking change has been in the recognition of the languages and cultures of Aboriginal Australians who make up about two per cent of the population. Nearly 150 years of warfare and two generations of paternalism to "smooth the pillow of the dying race" reduced the original 500,000, established in 5 nations speaking as many languages to 50,000 a quarter of a century ago. Today, the prospects are for up to 500,000 Aboriginal Australians by the turn of the century.

More than one million Australians have an Italian connection; Italian is the most widely spoken language in Australia after English.

Cultural aggression in Australia was fiercer than in Canada and Anglo-conformity more uncompromising and all pervasive. The doctrine was one race, one language and the last massacre of Aboriginal people was in 1926 the year I was born.

o it had to be that Australia's cultural evolution must be rapid, extensive and intensive to avoid the tensions and the violence which are inevitable when today's generations clash over basic rights.

t the formal level in the federal sphere and in the States of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, there are ethnic units designed to recognize the multicultural nature of the society. The Office of the Commissioner for Community Relations has an obligation under law to see that all Australians have a right of access to their language and culture. Western Australia has appointed its first Ethnic Affairs Officer and Tasmania has given notice of a new development in this area. Queensland education is making considerable progress in new language and cultural programs.

There are 100 newspapers printed in a dozen languages including, for the first time in 100 years, two newsletters in Chinese.

Media respond

The cultural revolution has brought changes in the media. Broadcasting in Australia today in 52 languages goes not only in Sydney and Melbourne but in Adelaide, (which in many ways is the pioneer), Perth, Canberra, Brisbane and Hobart. We also have regular broadcasts by Aboriginal people and communities.

There are 100 newspapers printed in a dozen languages including, for the first time in 100 years, two newsletters in Chinese. The English-language print media have also responded to the revolution by appointing Australia's first three Ethnic Affairs reporters. They work for newspapers in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. They have also included bilingual segments and, in contrast to the past, carried news in Italian of casualty lists from Italy when the devastating earthquake struck Friuli some two years ago.

A commitment by the national government to introduce ethnic television has been honoured and government multicultural television is transmitted in Sydney and Melbourne. Commercial television stations have moved into programs directed at Australians of Italian and Greek background. Commercial radio has halted its drift to unilingualism and programs in Italian and other languages which survived the desert years have continued.

Australian publishers have discovered that the school population of Australia has many different backgrounds and some 700,000 Australian children have enrolled in school with a first language other than English.

Education is the key

Following initiatives by the Office of the Commissioner for Community Relations every State in Australia and the Australian Capital Territory and Northern Territory have adopted the concept of multicultural education and have embarked on language and cultural programs. South Australia leads the way with nearly half its primary schools offering a second language to all students.

Ethnic breakdown of a typical inner city school*

National origin	%**
Italian	40.0
Greek	17.8
Anglo-Saxon	16.0
Lebanese	7.5
Portuguese	2.15
Asian	1.7
Maltese	1.35
Yugoslav	1.35
Mauritian	.9
Pakistani	.45
Polish	.45
Guyanese	.45
Spanish	.45
Egyptian	.45

* East Thornbury, a Melbourne suburb.

**This table is the result of an estimate and the total of the percentages is not equal to 100.

Commercial television stations have moved into programs directed at Australians of Italian and Greek background.

They take the form of either language maintenance for children who already speak community languages, such as Greek and Italian, or classes for English-speaking children who are usually given a choice, in one case, because of their background, the Irish language.

In addition to these government school initiatives, the Catholic education system, which has between 25 and 30 per cent of all Australian children, has embarked on a wide range of multicultural programs. Further in this area, there are about 100,000 Australian children studying in 30 languages in ethnic schools, which are held afternoons, evenings or weekends.

Looking at Aboriginal education, there have been many recent initiatives designed to introduce all Australian children to Aboriginal culture and, at the same time, ensure that Aboriginal children have adequate access to their own languages and cultures.

I always believed when I was Australian Commissioner of Community Relations that the classrooms of the nation could be the crucibles of tolerance. On taking up the appointment, under the Racial Discrimination Act, 1975, I set education with emphasis on language and culture, as the first priority of the Office in seeking to combat bigotry and racial discrimination.

In pursuance of that objective, a series of conferences have been held in all Australian States to enlist the support of both State, Catholic and independent school authorities for the adoption of new programs of language and culture appropriate to polyethnic and multicultural classrooms.

Referring to language as a tool to combat discrimination, I made the point

in my six Annual Reports to the Parliament of Australia that experience in those years has shown that primary schools which have adopted second language and culture programs for all their pupils, regardless of background, have achieved the best community relations.

Various approaches are used in initiating bilingual programs; in some cases children are taught in their first language up to Year 3 while concurrently studying English; in others, English remains the general language of instruction from Day 1 of school life, but community or other languages are introduced immediately.

Support from the parents

When I was Commissioner, my Office carried out a survey of parents and teachers organizations throughout Australia as to their attitudes to second language teaching at the primary level to ensure that:

- students do not lose this heritage;
- students are not divorced from parents by the absence of a common language;
- concept formation is not impeded by the student having only a smattering of both English and the home language, with no adequate knowledge of either.

The overwhelming majority favoured second language teaching at the primary level, where research indicates language learning takes place more easily and more lastingly than at secondary school.

The Australian scene presents an exciting array of language initiatives. Increasing numbers of students in primary schools are taking community languages, ethnic schools are increasing in numbers and in enrolments and a new bridge has been built between some primary schools and ethnic schools by what is known as the "insertion" ethnic school model.

Insertion programs are run by community-based ethnic organizations in collaboration with registered day schools. While funded under the Schools' Commission Ethnic Schools Program, such programs differ radically from after-hours ethnic schools.

Insertion programs cater to multi-ethnic rather than linguistically homogenous clientele since they take place during the normal school curriculum. In Victoria, 28,000 primary school students learn Italian in insertion programs, operated principally by the Italian Assistance Association. Approximately 70 per cent of participating students are not of Italian origin.

Clearly, insertion programs offer a great potential for fostering the teaching of community languages for all. Other benefits include the promotion of inter-ethnic co-operation and improved teaching methods within the existing educational setting.

Aboriginals — a special case

For the first time in 200 years, Aboriginal languages and culture are being taught in Australian schools. Although only two per cent of the Australian population, the Aboriginal people have special claims as members of the founding nations of Australia. Their 40,000 years residence represents the oldest continuing civilization on earth.

The school population of Australia has many different backgrounds and some 700,000 Australian children have enrolled in school with a first language other than English.

New South Wales, the oldest and most populous State, has recently adopted a program for Aboriginal education, drawn up by the Aboriginal people themselves in conjunction with the State Department of Education.

The main points of the program are to ensure that all schools deal adequately with Aboriginal Australia in terms of history, culture and heritage. The object of this is to ensure that non-Aboriginal children know and understand the background of the first Australians, to combat the old bigotries and stereotypes which divide the communities.

An equally important objective is to ensure that Aboriginal children are made aware of their own background and are given, by the program, a self-esteem based on the history of their people and on identity which has been so sorely battered by the defeats of the past, racist textbooks and bias for most of our history in reporting or describing events associated with Aboriginal people.

The State of Victoria has sought to bring about new initiatives through the Victorian Aboriginal Education Consultative Group, a voluntary body, working closely with Aboriginal education services, a division of the Victorian Education Department. The latter comprises twenty staff members, all but two Aboriginal, and fifty Aboriginal teacher aides work in the schools. The work includes home/school liaison involving the Aboriginal community in the school, presenting or assisting with Aboriginal studies, developing specialist materials for such courses and helping Aboriginal children with their studies.

Aboriginal Education Services also employ seven resource teachers who travel constantly to cover the State. They advise Aboriginal communities on educational matters and act generally as liaison officers for communities helping them develop along lines of their own choosing. The resource personnel also teach in special after-school programs.

There are now 11 Victorian communities with their own Aboriginal education committees or co-operatives concerned with education, mostly made up of people who themselves were provided with very limited schooling but who are determined that their children enjoy more equal opportunities. The Aboriginal input into education in Victoria is considerable, much of it from voluntary or low-paid educators who advise on suitable materials, give talks in the schools and take part in in-service training. They give assistance to teachers on how to deal with racism and present Victorian Aboriginal culture as a living thing, with its differences in family relationships, different attitudes to material possessions and totally different history from that of whites.

transition camps are run before children enter secondary school in recognition of the fact that they are likely to be below average in literacy and numeracy skills by that time.

Although there is an immense amount of activity in Aboriginal education in Victoria, much of it is innovative and carried out by Aboriginal people committed to their task, under-achievement is still more the rule than the exception. It is not known precisely what causes this, but poverty and ill-health are undoubtedly contributing factors. Figures compiled by the Fitzroy Health Service indicate a high morbidity rate and low level of formal education and ill among adults. Forty per cent of the entire population of the Health Service area were found to have primary education only, 44 per cent were either unskilled or semi-skilled, while 27 per cent were receiving pensions of one sort or another. Only 18 per cent were skilled and there were few professionals.

This low socio-economic status combines with prejudiced attitudes to make it difficult for Aboriginal children to achieve their potential. In order to overcome such massive problems, a large number of Aboriginal adults are working ceaselessly to provide better opportunities for their children.

One school's experience

An outline of language and cultural initiatives in various Victorian schools epitomizes much of the innovative work being carried out in Australia today. An example of work in the primary area is at Ferntree Gully Primary School with an Anglo-Australian school population of 88 per cent.

The school policy statement affirms the belief that "all children in all schools should participate in multicultural programs". These programs basically concern language and takes into account parental involvement and the use of community resources, thus relating directly to children and their families.

Parents and adults serve as guest speakers on the subject of their home country and the process of migration. They also assist with cooking, languages and handicrafts. In the course of these activities, children become aware of differences in value systems and also of the terminology to discuss differences and similarities, respect and tolerance. It has been observed that "the general tone of the school is obviously influenced by its exposure to the multicultural program's basic philosophy".

It was felt as a consequence that the General Studies course should be revised in its entirety and become a course on multicultural studies: "After seven years at Ferntree Gully Primary School, children will have a wide knowledge and understanding of the main cultural groups in our school, community and Australia".

Secondary schools

In taking an example of secondary schools in the Brunswick/Coburg area,



where Anglo-Saxons would be in a minority, a cluster of eight secondary schools has combined voluntarily to develop language programs. A survey undertaken in 1980 found that more than 90 per cent of parents were in favour of the teaching of community languages in state schools and of bilingual education. This included 80 per cent of English speakers, the general view of parents being that multiculturalism cannot be separated from the language through which it is learned. Formerly, bilingualism was seen, like working-class dialects, as a problem, so that English teaching tended to take place in a negative framework of deficit theory.

For the first time in 200 years, Aboriginal languages and culture are being taught in Australian schools.

is multicultural: for example, by distributing to the students a notional \$100 which has to be changed on a trip around the world into and out of a number of different currencies.

A number of Victorian schools have language awareness programs at the primary level which involve teacher aides, home-school visits and parents. Five community languages may be taught in the one school in the form of greetings, simple language structures and the like. Bilingual children act as resource people and the opportunity is taken to learn about similarities and differences in language and cultural backgrounds. The Catholic Education Office has been an innovator in this regard and has managed to attract funding from the Schools Commission for a number of city and country programs encompassing all primary grades and including a limited number of secondary classes.

A big step forward has been taken by the launching in the State of Victoria of HODJA Publications Project at the Richmond Community Education Centre for the express purpose of producing publications for multicultural and multilingual education. Ideas are gleaned from teachers and community workers: school signs have already been produced in 26 languages and other posters in 28; several multicultural games are available and also an English/Vietnamese mathematics dictionary. The project is funded by the Australian Schools Commission as being "of national significance" and money from sales goes towards further production.

Problems remain

Despite all the inspiring things which are happening in the field of multicultural education in Victoria, there are still drawbacks and difficulties. One of these is the tendency for teachers

to think that multiculturalism is something nailed on to the general curriculum, separate and apart and that, provided one has a program entitled "Ethnic Studies", the rest of the curriculum can remain as it is.

Any number of children are still being educated for an Australia which does not exist: unilingual and unicultural.

Multiculturalism is still regarded by many as new and daringly different. Very few schools have an overall mul-

Increasing numbers of students in primary schools are taking community languages. These schools are increasing in numbers and in involvement and a new initiative has been built up in some primary schools and ethnic schools. It would be known as the 'multicultural' ethnic school model.

Concern for community languages in this cluster of schools does not stop at their being taught in the classroom. Information is regularly sent to parents in their own language; meetings may be conducted entirely in Italian, for example, rather than being interpreted from the English. One school's newsletter contains, on the back of the sheet, community language items which are entirely parent-created rather than being translations of the English version.

Some technical schools have also been innovative in the multicultural area. One began the woodwork class in Years 7 and 8 with the making of a spaghetti machine which, given the composition of the classes, was particularly relevant. The same school sees to it that even mathematics teaching

Distribution of the main Australian ethnic groups by mother tongue.¹

Mother Tongue	Number of speakers
Afrikaans and English	12,655*
Albanian	1,380*
Arabic	34,612**
Armenian	4,800*
Bulgarian	1,421*
Czech and Slovak	16,602*
Danish	7,566*
Dutch	64,768**
English	11,446,000*
Estonian	5,313*
Fiji	4,015*
Finnish	10,359*
French	80,988**
German	183,644**
Greek	262,177**
Hungarian	19,618**
Italian	449,521**
Japanese	4,929*
Lettish	14,478*
Lithuanian	7,051*
Macedonian	16,693**
Malay	14,945*
Maltese	36,035**
Mandarin	29,903**
Norwegian	3,306*
Polish	62,945**
Portuguese	8,263**
Rumanian	4,662*
Russian	8,290**
Serbo-Croatian	26,964**
Sinhalese and Tamoul	9,091*
Slovak (see Czech)	—
Spanish	48,299**
Swedish	3,725*
Thai	1,004*
Tonga	448*
Turkish	14,731**
Ukrainian	17,585**
Yiddish	24,000*

¹ This table does not include the 260 Aboriginal languages of Australia. Of these, perhaps 150 to 200 may still be spoken today.
* Statistical data from 1971.
** Statistical data from 1976.
Source:
H. Kloss and G.D. McConnell, *Linguistic Composition of the Nations of the World*, 4. Oceania, Quebec City, Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1981.

cultural policy, as distinct from a few programs which tend to be self-conscious and result in a teacher defining the ethnicity of students instead of allowing for self-identification.

Australian education systems need to define just what is a multicultural teacher, and to provide special training and a career path; then no doubt inter-

est would increase and the whole field would take a big step forward. As things are, schools wishing to mount a special program are dubious about their ability to attract a specially trained teacher and about the possibility of attracting funds for more than a year's duration. This applies to primary school language teachers. Essential for continuity is a defined career path for

primary school language teachers of both community and other languages, and of English as a second language. This battle is currently being fought, with a remarkable unanimity being demonstrated by teachers and parents alike.

1. *Language and Society*, No. 1, Autumn 1979, p. 25.

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These days, passing a second-language test can be crucial to promotion, job security — even the right to pursue an occupation. But the value of these tests is often questioned. What is a good language test?



After university studies in Canada and France, Raymond LeBlanc became director of the Centre for Second Language Learning at the University of Ottawa in 1970. He is author or co-author of a number of works and teaching materials including *Le français international*, a method for teaching French as a second language, and *Introduction à la linguistique générale*.

Moderation in all things

RAYMOND LEBLANC

Second language testing is currently a complex and somewhat chaotic field, its test designers being torn between a 40-year old psychometric tradition and a desire to explore new and uncharted waters.

In this article, we shall very briefly try to place matters in perspective by tracing the evolution of this discipline and by examining the list of basic elements that normally make up a battery of tests.

It is generally agreed that the history of second language testing has had three major periods:

- the pre-scientific period;
- the structuralist-psychometric period;
- the integrative-sociolinguistic period.

The pre-scientific period

The major feature of this period, which began with the schools of the Roman Empire and ended around 1945, is a teaching method based essentially on grammar and translation. Knowledge of the target language was measured very empirically, the type of measurement being left up to the teacher who used translation (theme and version), fill-in-the-blank sentences, composition and similar exercises and oral testing very rarely. Briefly, one of the failings of this method was the apparent lack of any theoretical bases to justify the use of such techniques. For example, it is difficult to see to what communications skills the theme and version correspond.

Even so, there is nowadays a tendency to return to fill-in-the-blank sentences and compositions, because these two instruments cover all the skills required for communication in writing. We should thus perhaps not condemn the pre-scientific period outright simply because of its name.

The structuralist-psychometric period

Here we enter the era of scientific testing, born in the late 1940s and still continuing today. This is the reign of American structural linguistics, the theoretical basis for language teaching and, consequently, for testing.

The tests are based on two hypotheses. First, the target language — the language being learned — represents a finite group of difficulties that the specialist can identify by carefully comparing that language to the mother tongue. The level of knowledge acquired can be determined by the extent to which some of these problems are successfully mastered in "valid linguistic situations". These situations are defined as a linguistic context. In other words, for example, if an element being tested appears in a sentence rather than in isolation, then it is considered to be used in a normal situation.

On this basis, we measure how well the candidate knows, or does not know, certain well-established points of language. These "discrete points"¹ occur in short and neutral stimuli acting as the context. Such micro-contexts contain questions (called "items") that have only one possible answer, thus ensuring the objectivity of the correction. For instance, to demonstrate that he perceives the difference between nasal vowels in French (in this case, "in" and "an"), the candidate hears "*C'est un écran*", and he must indicate which picture, that of a screen (*écran*) or that of a ring-case (*écrin*), represents what he has heard.

Besides objectivity, the psychometric qualities one expects to find in a test are validity (it must effectively measure what it is supposed to measure) and reliability (it must provide reliable results). This period is thus clearly influenced by both psychometrics and structuralism.

The integrative-sociolinguistic period

Following the awareness provoked by the generativists who emphasized the creative aspect of language, and by the sociolinguists who were obsessed by all aspects of communication, it is not surprising that in the past few years testing has entered a new era called the Integrative-Sociolinguistic period. Its proponents, particularly Hymes (1972), attempt to show that simply the mastery of the rules (which they call linguistic competence) is far from sufficient to allow the use of a language as a means of communication. What is required, they say, is communicative competence, which comprises

linguistic competence, speaking competence, sociolinguistic competence and interactive competence.

Linguistic competence is mastery of the rules: correct word order, the marks of gender, number, time and person, and the meaning of words and sentences. This is what has been measured until now. Speaking competence is mastery of the rules of organizing a text (oral or written) into a coherent and well-structured whole. Sociolinguistic competence is mastery of the use and interpretation of social conventions related to communication. For example, one could not use the same level of language in making a formal presentation as one would in conversing with old friends. Finally, interactive competence is mastery of the management of communication on two levels: the relationship between participants and the strategies of non-verbal communication, empathy, and so on.

Clearly, good communication is at the very heart of this method. The test designer must find techniques that enable the candidate to demonstrate his degree of communicative competence. This is generally done by assigning him certain specific tasks, the results of which reveal the level of knowledge acquired.

The four skills

The structuralist period emphasized the notion of four skills — oral comprehension, oral expression, written comprehension and written expression — which, once acquired, meant that the candidate knew the language. This division into productive (expression)

and receptive (comprehension) skills arose mainly from the need to give the formerly neglected oral dimension of language its rightful place. Thus the structuralist school innovated by establishing specific fields of competence and by reducing a very complex phenomenon — communication — into four strictly linguistic skills. As mentioned earlier, structuralists were criticized for this very approach by sociolinguists, who preach overall communicative competence. In testing, this took a number of forms.

Oral comprehension

The object of an oral comprehension test is to verify the degree to which

a spoken passage has been understood by the candidate. Structuralists resolve the problem by atomization, the main technique being the multiple-choice item². They propose, for each item, a number of answers, some of which are false or not particularly appropriate, called decoys or distractors. If he has understood, the candidate should be able to identify the correct answers. For example, when he hears the following and where the suggested choices are:

She looks after her mother

- a) She imitates her mother
- b) She takes care of her mother
- c) She sees her mother
- d) She resembles her mother



Born in Montreal in 1929, Normand Hudon has been amusing American and European

readers for three decades. Thousands of his caricatures and illustrations have appeared in Quebec newspapers, *Time*, *Paris-Match* and other publications. The ceiling for the Canadian Pavilion and the mural for the Humour Pavilion at Expo '67 were his work. He lives in Magog, Quebec.

we verify if the stimulus has been understood. According to the structuralist hypotheses, by solving these particular problems, the candidate shows his oral comprehension in all communication situations. This formula has a number of advantages; it is relatively easy to construct, it applies to an indefinite number of candidate groups and correction is strictly objective.

At the same time, however, it is clear that a sentence like **She looks after her mother** never occurs unexpectedly or out of context. One is thus far removed from an authentic situation, which would in fact be the only way to truly evaluate the candidate's ability to communicate. It is better to stick closer to reality. For example, Carroll (1980) suggests a simulated situation in which the candidate is visiting a friend who is out when his girl friend telephones. She leaves a message, which the candidate is asked to pass on. This is an interesting formula in that it presents a plausible situation with a familiar context. The passage is also long enough to allow the subject to "get into it" and to benefit from the context.

However, cases of listening with no interaction are fairly rare. The formal lecture is an example but, even there, we expect certain types of reaction from listeners — taking notes, asking for clarification and so on. In other words, in a normal act of communication, it is difficult to isolate one skill from another. For the purposes of authenticity, the best tests are often those that call for several skills. Take the example of the telephone call: the candidate could just as easily have taken the message in writing as orally. In this way, we not only test comprehension of the message but also the candidate's capacity to retain and retransmit the message using a level of language appropriate among friends. Unfortunately, these tests are difficult to correct objectively and, to ensure their reliability, one must accept compromises such as the artificial multiple-choice items used to assess the comprehension of a real act of communication.

Written comprehension

Written comprehension is another

matter. It is a normal act of communication to take a book, a magazine or a newspaper and read them for information or simply for enjoyment. However, a reader is selective, and reads only texts that meet his needs. Hence the difficulty of producing valid group tests. This used to be possible with the structural doctrine and its discrete items, but since the test must above all else reflect reality, such a solution is unacceptable.

Carroll suggests an interesting experiment. Candidates receive a file containing a number of documents on a subject corresponding to some of their needs, as determined in advance. The examiner then attempts to verify various parameters of written comprehension. For example, he asks for a table or graph to be prepared on the basis of data available in a given text, something which a student might very easily be called upon to do. Written comprehension can also be combined with written expression by requiring the student to take notes or prepare a summary. But here again, we come up against the stumbling block of the corrector's objectivity, a problem common to all tests involving expression.

Oral expression

Just as it is difficult to imagine real situations in which the speaker does nothing but speak, so it would seem undesirable to propose tests that measure only that skill. We find in the structural technique very restrictive questions such as **How old are you?**, **Where are we?**, and so on. In such cases, the answers enable only a very small portion of the rules to be covered. When oral expression is involved, it is very difficult to attain an acceptable degree of authenticity. The candidate must speak into a machine, to an examiner or to a panel in an interview situation. It is completely unrealistic to expect much naturalness in such situations. And there are additional inconveniences: the interview is time-consuming for both candidates and examiners and difficult to organize and evaluate satisfactorily. If the group is large, marking is impossible because of the time and costs involved. Unfortunately, language tests have been unable to solve this problem. We thus currently tend to associate oral expression

with comprehension and to use one as a measure of the other, which is how we generally use the spoken language. Research in this area appears promising.

Written expression

Written expression takes many forms — letters, diaries, notes, summaries, reports, etc. — but it always presupposes the direct participation of the individual, whether in terms of content or form. Today there is a highly-regarded formula that combines this skill with written comprehension. In the closure test, one out of five, six or seven words is omitted from a statement, according to how difficult we want the test to be. The subject is then asked to fill in the missing words (or their equivalent). For example, **The federal government backed down . . . its plan to tax benefits . . . health and dental plans after . . . successful lobby by many organizations.** Here, we start from the principle that the better the person's knowledge of the language, the better able he is to know the missing words. This produces excellent results.

However, this procedure is criticized for measuring only knowledge of the rules — linguistic competence — and for being unable to evaluate other aspects of communication. From a sociolinguistic perspective, these complaints are justified. The best test of written expression is probably the free composition, where, as noted earlier, the candidate must demonstrate that he possesses all the skills required for written communication. This brings us full circle and, in a way, takes us back to the pre-scientific period. However, this return is more apparent than real for sociolinguists now base this instrument on explicit theoretical foundations.

The good language test

With the above in mind, and considering recent newspaper articles, language tests are open to question, particularly in cases where job security, promotion and the right to exercise a profession depend directly on the results. Two points require clarification. First, second language requirements must be based on clearly identified needs that are perceived as real by those to whom they apply. When the very *raison d'être*

the requirements is questioned, no measurement tool, no matter how good, will produce unanimity. On the other hand, when evaluation of the level of knowledge appears legitimate, the test may be an extremely useful and reliable tool, provided that it includes some of the qualities that are increasingly found in recent instruments.

Second language tests should also measure the mastery of skills that correspond to the real requirements of the trade or profession. In this sense, they should be designed in terms of the candidate and the milieu. These needs are

not determined by the test's designer but by the candidate (or his representative) in consultation with specialists who assist in the learning process. Authenticity should also be respected. The test should help the examiner determine the candidate's ability to communicate using contexts that involve all communication skills. At the same time, it should fully respect all validity and reliability criteria. These psychometric characteristics often create problems with regard to the other desired qualities. Thus, the designer must find what he considers to be the most appropriate solution. Finally, the test should be economical

in terms of the tension to which the candidate is subjected, the time it requires and the administrative conditions in question.

One final remark. It is essential to avoid the language test psychosis and to remember that the instrument must serve the public for which it is designed. The opposite would be both unfortunate and unhealthy.

(Adapted from the French.)

1. Distinct, measurable elements.
2. The term "question" should not be used because an item is not always interrogative.

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Why should Montrealers speak the kind of French spoken in Paris? Do Torontonians speak New York or London English? Quebec Novelist Roch Carrier challenges Anglophones who swear by Parisian French and pays tribute to the French of his native province.



Much translated, Roch Carrier is among the contemporary Quebec writers best known in

English Canada. He has won the Prix littéraire of the Province of Quebec and the Grand prix littéraire of the City of Montreal. His novel *La Guerre, yes sir*, adapted for the theatre, has been presented in Europe by the Théâtre du Nouveau Monde and at the Stratford Festival, as well as in Montreal.

Only in Quebec, you say?

ROCH CARRIER

I was the guest the other day of some very nice people in Victoria, British Columbia.

"Ah! *Monsieur* is from Quebec", marvelled a redheaded lady with a charming English accent. "When I was there a few years ago I had a bit of trouble with my car. It was up north of Montreal. I stopped at a garage. The man was covered with grease. I told him, 'I seem to have a shimmy in my rear end', but he just looked at me, wide-eyed and replied, in English mind you, 'Yes Ma'am, what's your problem?' I could tell by his accent he was *Québécois*. He hadn't understood me when I spoke French to him. They don't speak French, I mean the real French."

The garage-man had been polite. I had a hunch I would be less so. This wasn't the first time I'd heard a denunciation of Quebec French by someone who didn't know it all that well.

"Well then," another guest went on, in English, "if French Canadians don't speak French, why is Bill 101 imposing French as the official language?"

"Oh dear", the redheaded lady exclaimed, "they do speak French, but not real Parisian French."

At that point I couldn't help asking, "Madame, did General de Gaulle speak real Parisian French?"

"Why, *certainement, mon cher*."

"And when he made his speech on the balcony of the City Hall in Montreal, do you think the French Canadians understood his Parisian French?"

I thought the boat on which we were holding our discussion was going to sink, my hosts were so shaken by my somewhat brutal argument.

I'm a timid soul, but I began to plead as if I were defending my very life. Come to think of it, I was defending my life, for a writer's life is the life of the words in his language.

First of all, I declared that Canadian French is an *avant-garde* language. We have a 20-year head start over French as it's spoken in France. Words unknown to the French were commonplace in Quebec in 1960. And today, in 1983, you can hear them in Paris: modish words like **gadget, marketing, flipper, cool, look, jet, brunch, flash** and **attaché case**.

"Cher, those words aren't French."

"If we use them they become French, just as so many French words have become English. A living language is enriched by borrowing foreign words. And, since we live so close to the United States, it's normal for our language to borrow American words."

"Tell me", another guest asked, "do you speak French or *joual*?"

The redheaded lady industriously refilled my glass.

"*Joual* isn't what you think", I replied. "It's a literary language, scholarly in fact, that's written and spoken only in universities and in the theatre. You must have an excellent knowledge of French to be able to appreciate *joual*."

"But the real people, the man in the street — they speak *joual*", the redheaded lady assured me. "I remember once sitting in a *café* in Westmount Square, listening to the people speaking *joual*. It was charming."

"That's impossible", I assured her. "*Joual* is an invented language, as carefully worked out as any literary language. It's inspired by a genuine working-class language, the somewhat tortured French spoken by factory workers who've had to work in a completely

English-speaking *milieu*, in a language that was foreign to them.

But those ordinary people, if they're watching a play on *Radio-Canada* in which the characters speak *joual*, they'll switch channels because they can't understand it. They're the people who accuse *Radio-Canada* of being vulgar — not the university professors who think they're rubbing shoulders with what they call '*le peuple*'."

"You will concede though, *cher ami*, you do have some expressions that are quite peculiar to you?"

"When I was living in France, if I was very annoyed for some reason or other I'd say '*Je suis tanné*'¹, thinking I was being *Québécois* to the fingertips. But Balzac used *tanné*. Or to get a rise out of Parisians, I'd call my overshoes my *clagues*. But it is the very word that Flaubert used! And de Maupassant, Madam, often used *Québécois* words. In fact, many of the words you think of as *Québécois* are of the purest French. For instance, we say '*serrer*' instead of '*ranger*' for putting something away — and so did Victor Hugo, who is — *hélas!* — France's greatest poet."

"No one ever told me . . ."

"There are lots of things you've never been told, *Madame*. Life hasn't been easy for the French language in Canada. You probably don't know that French-language *collèges* were closed for years, for political reasons. The first French-language university, for the same political reasons, wasn't authorized until 1852. In order to preserve the French language, the people had to have good memories and they had to be inventive. It was necessary to remember the French names for what we knew and invent French names for the things we were discovering. And there was no question of asking the

Académie Française to authorize the use of a word."

"Why don't they teach us that in school?"

"Because school often conceals reality instead of revealing it."

"If I understand correctly, then, it isn't true that you speak the old French of the *Ancien Régime*."

"Old French is part of the French language too. When I was a student at the Sorbonne, I enrolled in a course on Montaigne. During the first lecture, I realized that it was easier for me to understand than for my French fellow students. Montaigne used words I'd heard my grandmother use. She'd never read a word of Montaigne, but her ancestors had come to Quebec with Champlain. This long tradition kept alive the contributions to our language of several of the provinces of France."

My hosts' faces bore the expressions of people who don't understand.

"Let's drink to the French language of Quebec!" declared the redheaded lady.

I bowed my thanks to her and added: "Your garage-man, *Madame*, used words that Villon used, but he knows some others too, words like *magané*² and *enfirouâpé*³. And they're as beautiful as any words invented by Rabelais. For a writer, it's an astonishingly rich language."

"But wouldn't it be so much easier to speak English here in North America?"

That remark might have seemed perfidious — but there was the sea, my hosts' kindness, the gentle tossing of the boat, the glasses you could never drain. And yet, despite my languor, I said, "It's probably easier for you to speak **your** English than to speak Oxford English."

"Just as it's easier for you, *cher ami*, to speak **your** very distinctive Canadian French."

Ah, that redheaded lady! How could I possibly answer that!

Just then, a guest who hadn't spoken yet, who had been introduced as a real estate agent, asked for the floor. Solemnly he got to his feet, raised his glass very high, and declared in remarkable French: "You've adapted French to a new environment just as we've adapted English to ours. That kind of adaptability is what distinguishes Canadians. If you're got it, it proves that you're Canadian, like it or not."

"North American, Canadian, *Québécois*, *Beauceron* — it doesn't matter. My language is French and it's understood wherever French is spoken."

"Understanding or not understanding", said another gentleman, a Torontonion who hadn't yet expressed himself in French, "doesn't necessarily have anything to do with language."

I agreed, and asked if any studies had been carried out on the positive effects of alcohol on bilingualism in this country.

I won't recount the rest of our discussion. It became more and more confused until it started to sound like the text for a law on official languages.

Adapted from the French.

1. Je suis tanné: I am fed up.
2. Magané: to be given a rough time.
3. Enfirouâpé: to be fooled by somebody.



Sheila Fischman, who translated the Roch Carrier article, came to Quebec from her native Saskatchewan to learn French 15 years ago. That done, she stayed on and became an acclaimed translator of Quebec French literature. In 1974, she won a Canada Council award for her translations of *Le Loup* (*The Wolf*) by Marie-Claire Blais and *Le Deux-millième étage* (*They Won't Demolish Me!*) by Roch Carrier.

Linguistic and geographic diversity have made for a heterogeneous German community in Canada. This article examines this unique society and the plight of the German language in our country.



German-born, Georg K. Weissenborn came to Canada in 1951. Interrupting his education in political science and economics, begun at the University of Karlsruhe, he specialized in German studies and took his doctorate at the University of British Columbia in 1970. He teaches at St. Michael's College in Toronto and has contributed to the *German-Canadian Yearbook* since it was founded in 1973.

Three hundred years of German presence in Canada

GEORG K. WEISSENBORN

In the past three centuries, German speakers have immigrated to Canada from several countries where German enjoys official status and from others where it is a minority language. This diversity of origins, as well as the nature of the German language, its many sometimes mutually incomprehensible dialects and a number of other social, cultural and religious factors have transformed the Canadian German-speaking population into a curiously heterogeneous community. The particular characteristics of this community have combined with the assimilative influences of Canadian society to place the German language in a somewhat precarious position.

Will it remain the mother tongue of German Canadians, or are the forces of assimilation so strong that it will become their second language? This article examines the nature of this unique community and the origins of the plight of the German language in Canada today.

Origins

German speakers have been immigrating to North America in significant numbers since the mid-17th century. By far the largest recent influx occurred between 1946 and 1971, when 412,373 Germanophones settled in Canada following the Second World War. In 1981, 522,850 Canadians or 2.15 per cent of the population gave German as their mother tongue.

From 1946 to 1951, only German refugees were admitted to Canada. Most came from Eastern Europe, from "language islands" and "colonies" of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and old Russia where the settlement of German minorities had been encouraged for centuries by the Danube Monarchy, by Catherine the Great of Russia — herself a German princess — and by some tsars and local rulers.

German people left their once prosperous settlements in Galicia, Bohemia and Moravia, Gottschee, Bosnia, Bessarabia, Transylvania, the Bukovina, Volhynia, the Don and Volga valleys, the Crimea and other regions.¹ Sudeten-Germans,

Danube-Swabians, Transylvania-Saxons, Gottschee-Germans, Russian-German Mennonites and others arrived in Canada under the official designation of "displaced persons".

In German, these people are usually referred to as *Volksdeutsche*, meaning people who share a common language and ethnicity, but not the same country of origin. At the other end of the spectrum are the *Reichsdeutsche*, a word which, before such terms as *Bundesbürger* (from the Federal Republic of Germany) and "GDR Germans" (from the German Democratic Republic) came into use, designated Germans born within the boundaries of what constituted the largest German-speaking country in central Europe between 1871 and 1937.

According to J.M. Gibbon², only ten per cent of German-speaking immigrants to Canada before World War I came directly from Germany (*Reichsdeutsche*), while the other 90 per cent were *Volksdeutsche*.

High German and its dialects

Schools in German-speaking countries, in isolated Germanophone settlements and in so-called "language islands", strive to teach their pupils High German. Consequently, standardized High German stretches across a number of national boundaries and forms a bond between people who are divided sociologically by different forms of government and linguistically by different dialects. Some German dialects are so fundamentally different from others that only a small number of specialized scholars have mastered them all. It is no exaggeration to say that the history of the German language is a history of its various dialects.

Organically evolved over a long period of time, these dialects, their history and their linguistic geography provide a key to understanding the cultural background of various German-speaking groups. Some of these, like the Saxons and the Swabians, were at one time much more than mere tribes and, indeed, were almost true nations.

pedestrian migrations in Europe and German emigrations overseas have carried German dialects abroad and, as in the case of *Pennsylfaanisch* or Pennsylvania German, have produced other dialects that show considerable lexical and phonetic differences from those originally spoken in Central Europe. In 1969, one German scholar estimated that there were more than half a million speakers of Pennsylvania German in North America and reported its increasing use as a literary language.

Spoken primarily in Southeastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and Virginia, *Pennsylfaanisch* is derived from the Rhenish Palatinate and shows, besides words borrowed from English, an admixture of the Alsatian, Franconian, Swiss Platt, Swabian, Bavarian and

even Silesian dialects. The Pennsylvania-Germans also continued to cultivate their special brand of High German, the pronunciation of which follows the 16th-17th century South German pattern.³

Two-thirds of Ontario's approximately 40 thousand Mennonites may be classified as Pennsylvania-German in origin with a working knowledge of *Pennsylfaanisch*, while approximately one-third come from Russia and speak *Plautdietsch*, the West Prussian dialect.

Linguistic and geographic diversity have thus made for a heterogeneous German community in Canada, one in which German speakers are linked by a common tongue yet divided by different backgrounds. Although the origins of German Canadians have to

a great extent shaped the character of this community, they do not explain the status of the German language in Canada today.

Mother tongue retention

Several factors are of considerable importance for the retention of one's mother tongue, which in most cases is also the first language of instruction in school. The survival of an isolated language is greatly determined by the size and shape of the linguistic island where it is spoken, the proximity of that territory to external linguistic influences and the "territorial association" or "banding" of the speakers who settle the area.

In a multilingual society, the resolve to retain one's mother tongue and ethnic identity is often weakened by the temptation to acculturate or assimilate with the dominant group. This influence may come in the form of either gentle persuasion or direct pressure.

Kloss lists six factors that apply to small and large groups that have resisted assimilation through language retention in the United States. Ranking **first** and foremost is religio-societal insulation, which Kloss explains as a form of withdrawal from the world. These groups "maintain their language in order more fully to exclude worldly influence and perhaps, because change in itself is considered sinful."

His **second** factor is the time and place of immigration in relation to that of the first Anglo-Saxons. Under this category, French can obviously claim historical priority in Canada and German at best simultaneity. The **third** factor is the existence of language islands, some of which are German-speaking, as in southern North Dakota and north-eastern South Dakota. The **fourth** factor, affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools, concerns German Moravians, Roman Catholics and Old Lutheran synods named after the states of Missouri and Wisconsin. The **fifth** factor, pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts, has particular meaning for the German-speaking immigrants to Canada named in this article. The **sixth** and last factor, former use as the only official tongue during the

GERMAN IN CANADA

Number of people across Canada and in each province and territory, having German as mother tongue, 1931 to 1981.

	1981	1971	1961	1951	1941	1931
Canada	522,850	561,085	563,713	329,302	322,228	362,011
Newfoundland	445	515	616	80	—	—
Prince Edward Island	175	140	126	24	14	23
Nova Scotia	1,865	2,000	1,523	480	469	989
New Brunswick	1,215	1,110	1,162	193	164	243
Quebec	24,060	31,025	31,589	7,515	5,123	7,295
Ontario	174,545	184,885	183,789	72,686	66,037	82,089
Manitoba	75,180	82,715	83,994	47,996	51,463	57,312
Saskatchewan	59,630	75,885	89,650	99,629	120,177	138,499
Alberta	91,480	92,805	97,666	65,195	62,766	63,410
British Columbia	93,385	89,020	72,473	35,318	15,903	12,066
Yukon Territory	500	560	640	114	61	69
Northwest Territories	385	425	485	72	47	16

Increases and sudden increases of German speakers are the result of either rapid acculturation, or the arrival of new immigrants. As a result of the Second World War, many German speakers may also have disclaimed their origins. Furthermore, one must consider that both Austrians

and Swiss Germans speak a German dialect or High German as a mother tongue.
Author's notice.

Source: Statistics Canada

pre-Anglo-American period in the United States, obviously concerns Dutch, Spanish, and French.

Kloss concludes that "no single factor will permit us to explain how early (or how late) in the chain of generations the German language disappeared in the past, or to predict its retention in the future."

Kloss' first factor is of considerable interest when applied to the use of German as a mother tongue in Canada. There follows a comparison, made on the basis of Kloss' factors, of the Lunenburg-Germans of Nova Scotia on the one hand, and the Pennsylvania-German Mennonites, Russian-German Mennonites and Hutterites on the other.

German Canadian settlements

In July, 1749, Governor Cornwallis of Nova Scotia requested that London dispatch a number of German Protestants for the purpose of settling the land. The good ship *Ann* arrived in Halifax in September, 1750, with over 300 Germans aboard; by 1752, their number had increased to more than 2,000. In 1753, most of the group left to found the town of Lunenburg.

L. Richter⁴ says these Lunenburg settlers experienced the greatest difficulty in securing for their spiritual edification the services of the German-speaking minister they had been promised. Following a rebellion in 1754, they were sent instead the Rev. Jean Baptiste Morreau, a former Roman Catholic priest who had become a minister of the Church of England. It was he who founded St. John's Church in Lunenburg, which the Germans refused to attend. By 1760, they had decided to appoint a schoolmaster at their own expense to assure the survival of their language. But things were to go from bad to worse.

The next minister sent to them by the authorities, the Rev. Robert Vincent of St. John's Anglican Church, banned the German language altogether from school. Children had to learn English or were not admitted.

In 1768, a deputation was sent to the government explaining that the

German community had been without a preacher for fifteen years. In 1770, the issue was even submitted to the Rev. H.M. Muhlenberg in Philadelphia, chairman of the Lutheran Synod. Not until 1772, however, was a German-speaking minister appointed. He subsequently stayed for ten years and, in 1782, was succeeded by Pastor Schmelzer from Germany.

But the trend seemed irreversible, and the St. Andrew's congregation of German-speaking Protestants in Lunenburg was next to come under assimilative pressure, this time from within. The arrival of Pastor Moschell from Germany in 1818 seemed to accelerate assimilation rather than impede it. When Moschell returned to Germany in 1837, he left behind a recommendation that his congregation join the Church of Scotland. It was implemented immediately. Sautter⁵ insists that, judging by the speed and ease with which the recommendation was accepted and implemented, the pastor was not the cause of the assimilation. Nevertheless, within the 19 years of his tenure, a whole "language island" disappeared. A.R.M. Lower later wrote that "with the exception of the founders of Halifax and a few settlers around Annapolis, these Germans of Lunenburg, who early lost their language, are virtually the oldest English-speaking Canadians".⁶

It may be argued that the Lunenburgers surrendered to assimilation and sacrificed their mother tongue to save their religion. To what degree this affected their ethnic identity is not the object of this discussion. Suffice it to say that a similar development has been predicted and recommended for the Mennonites by a Germanist who recently said: "We love the German language, and our young will continue to learn and study it. But we will have to instruct our young people in matters concerning the Scriptures and our faith in the language in which they have learned to think, emote and live . . . We are gradually coming to understand that Christian faith and Mennonite belief can also be taught in another language."

The first German-speaking Mennonites came to Upper Canada from Pennsylvania in 1786. Kloss' first five factors

relating to mother tongue retention applied to a large majority of them. To the Russian-German Mennonites who came to the Prairie provinces from 1874 on, Kloss' first, third, fourth and fifth factors are applicable. This is also true of the Hutterites, most of whom came to Canada after World War I.

A recent sociological study conducted at the University of Manitoba, which examined how ethnic groups can maintain separate identities, makes interesting observations on the interdependence of religious observance, mother tongue use, and parochial education. Because of the presence of the Mennonite element, "the Germans, who have parochial schools in Manitoba, considered such education important. The Germans ranked considerably higher than the rest on religion."⁷

In Manitoba, however, due to the preponderance of what Kloss calls "religio-societal insulation" on the part of Mennonites and Hutterites, Germans appear to be retaining both mother tongue and ethnic identity.

Second language instruction

In a sense, all the pioneer schools of Upper Canada were established as parochial schools, starting with the 1802 log cabin near Blair, where a Pennsylvania-German named Rittinghaus was the first schoolteacher, down to the best-known "first" log cabin schoolhouse in Waterloo, where the famous Mennonite Bishop Ben Eby himself taught.

Mennonites, Lutherans and Roman Catholics in Waterloo County, the heart of Canada's German-speaking area, took care of their own, independent educational system.

In 1842, the year of the first laws governing education, the townships were divided by the Common School Act into school districts, until separate schools were guaranteed the same rights and privileges as public schools in the 1850s. This signalled the start of a relentless drive to have German taught as a second language, no longer as a mother tongue. The teachers had to demonstrate proficiency in English or French before they were licensed to teach German: most could not meet

new requirements. Led by the German-language press and armed with Carl Shurz' dictum that "it is not necessary to forget German in order to learn English", the whole community took the cause in a battle that raged for decades.

School board superintendents like A.E. Person, who himself learned German and was quite sympathetic to its cause, and county school inspectors like T. Pearce, who considered German a "foreign" language in the sense of "alien", came and went, and with them waves of optimism and pessimism. But, long before the First World War finally sealed the fate of the German language and its pioneer press, the development of educational matters had taken an ominous turn under G.W. Ross, Ontario's Minister of Education from 1883 to 1899. Ross is said to have held that individual municipalities should not at languages and customs of ethnic minorities, "should such be found to be 'dist' with respect, 'leaving the inevitable process of assimilation to the due course of time.'" His attitude is paradigmatic for a school system which had begun as parochial, changed to separate, had become "free" and "public", and had, in the course of its development, managed to convert German mother-tongue teaching to second language instruction.

Today, Mennonite and Hutterite colonies have strongly and successfully opposed such trends by offering two kinds of instruction, their own in German

and that of the public school system where English is the language of instruction. This constitutes a form of competition similar to early developments in Waterloo County. A recent report states that Elias Kleinsasser, a 35-year old Hutterite from the Crystal Springs Colony of Ste. Agathe, Manitoba, appears to be the only Hutterite to qualify for a teaching position with the public school system in a Hutterite colony.⁸

The challenge of the future

As we have tried to show, the assimilative pressure of other languages is nothing new to the Germanophones of many countries. Indeed, the great majority of German-speaking Canadians are *Volksdeutsche*, who have come to Canada with hundreds of years experience in mother-tongue retention from other countries, where they have always constituted an ethnic minority. Furthermore, because of their different origins and religious persuasions, they may be said to form a heterogeneous collectivity, a situation accentuated by the fact that their mother tongue is one of several German dialects, rather than High German. In Canada, they have attempted to retain their mother tongue and their religious beliefs in spite of parochial schools emphasizing the teaching of High German, in spite of assimilative pressures and notwithstanding the total lack of a cohesive language maintenance policy on the part of the German-Canadian community. The fact that they have been largely successful is in itself no mean feat.

In a sense, then, to retain their ethnic identity, German-Canadians must often become trilingual, cross dialectal boundaries and be successful in a country where German does not have official status. Raised with a German dialect, they need to acquire High German as a second language and to learn English or French in the public school system of the dominant culture. Past experience suggests that German-Canadians will continue to accept this formidable challenge.

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Letters to the Editor

A matter of statistics

I wish to comment on the tables appearing on pages 5 and 12 of the Autumn issue of *Language and Society* (No. 8).

These tables, on the number of Canadians having English, French or another language as mother tongue, present an erroneously high set of numbers for the "Other" in 1976. This is due to a misreading of the census for that year; you show as "Other" the total of "Other" and "Not Stated". As a consequence, there is a completely misleading set of conclusions with regard to trends, when 1981 figures are compared against 1976 in your tables.

To illustrate, your table on page 12 shows 1.7 per cent of "Other" mother tongues in Newfoundland in 1976, dropping to 0.8 per cent in 1981. This tells the uninformed reader that over half the "Others" disappeared during the intercensal five years. In fact, however, the figure published by Statistics Canada for 1976 was only 0.7 per cent and there was a slight increase, to the 0.8 per cent of 1981, rather than the sharp decrease shown by your table.

In Quebec, your two tables show 444,520 persons of non-official mother tongues in 1976 while Statistics Canada showed 334,050; the difference is represented by the 110,470 persons who failed to state their mother tongue during the 1976 census. Using the correct figures, the population of non-official mother tongues actually increased, from 5.46 per cent in 1976 to 6.61 per cent in 1981; this is quite different from the downward trend shown by your tables.

I have also noted, with some surprise, that the footnote to page 4 and the table on page 5 both show 10.9 per cent for those of English mother tongue in Quebec in 1981, although the correct number is 11 per cent, as shown in the table on page 12 (the actual figure is 10.967 per cent, which should be rounded to 11.0 per cent, not to 10.9 per cent). Was someone trying to bend the facts to more closely approach Professor Caldwell's "something in the range of ten per cent"?

Richard J. Joy
Ottawa, Ontario

Editor's Note: The following tables update those published in Issue No. 8 on pages 5 and 12, and allow for the comparability of mother tongue census data in Canada and in the Province of Quebec, for 1976 and 1981. We wish to thank Statist Canada and both Linda Demers and John Kralt for their assistance.

MOTHER TONGUES IN CANADA

Number and percentages of persons in Canada and the provinces and territories having English, French or another language as their mother tongue, 1976 and 1981.^{1,2}

Note: During the processing of the 1976 census data on mother tongue, an error was discovered which made it necessary to use a limited number of algorithms to produce the final data. Although different algorithms were used in 1981, it is possible to replicate the impact of the 1981 algorithms on the 1976 data. This has been done for the 1976 data presented in this table with the results that these data are different from those published elsewhere.^{1,2}

	Canada			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	14,918,445	61.3	14,198,406	61.3
French	6,249,095	25.7	5,966,707	25.7
Other	3,175,640	13.0	2,827,512	13.0
Total*	24,343,180		22,992,605	

	Newfoundland			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	560,460	98.7	550,419	98.7
French	2,655	0.5	2,844	0.5
Other	4,565	0.8	4,462	0.8
Total*	567,680	2.3	557,725	2.4

	Nova Scotia			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	793,165	93.6	775,376	93.6
French	36,030	4.3	37,451	4.5
Other	18,245	2.1	15,743	1.9
Total*	847,440	3.5	828,570	3.6

	Quebec			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	706,115	11.0	801,124	12.8
French	5,307,010	82.4	5,054,253	81.1
Other	425,275	6.6	379,053	6.1
Total*	6,438,400	26.4	6,234,445	27.1

	Manitoba			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	735,920	71.7	724,148	70.9
French	52,560	5.1	55,366	5.4
Other	237,760	23.2	241,996	23.7
Total*	1,026,240	4.2	1,021,510	4.4

	Alberta			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	1,810,545	80.9	1,486,239	80.8
French	62,145	2.8	45,216	2.5
Other	365,035	16.3	306,585	16.7
Total*	2,237,725	9.2	1,838,040	8.0

	Yukon			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	20,245	87.4	19,444	89.0
French	580	2.5	531	2.4
Other	2,330	10.1	1,865	8.6
Total*	23,155	0.1	21,840	0.1

	Prince Edward Island			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	115,045	93.9	110,391	93.9
French	6,080	5.0	6,763	5.0
Other	1,380	1.1	1,076	1.1
Total*	122,505	0.5	118,230	0.5

	New Brunswick			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	453,310	65.1	442,048	65.1
French	234,030	33.6	227,153	33.6
Other	9,065	1.3	8,059	1.3
Total*	696,405	2.9	677,250	2.9

	Ontario			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	6,678,770	77.4	6,495,051	77.4
French	475,605	5.5	469,422	5.5
Other	1,470,730	17.1	1,300,002	17.1
Total*	8,625,105	35.4	8,264,465	35.4

	Saskatchewan			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	770,815	79.6	709,236	79.6
French	25,535	2.6	27,087	2.6
Other	171,960	17.8	185,002	17.8
Total*	968,310	4.0	921,325	4.0

	British Columbia			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	2,249,310	82.0	2,061,593	82.0
French	45,615	1.6	39,466	1.6
Other	449,540	16.4	365,551	16.4
Total*	2,744,465	11.3	2,466,610	11.3

	Northwest Territories			
	1981		1976	
	Number	%	Number	%
English	24,755	54.1	23,337	54.1
French	1,240	2.7	1,155	2.7
Other	19,750	43.2	18,118	43.2
Total*	45,745	0.2	42,610	0.2

1,2,3: See page 21 for these footnotes.

* The population totals shown are the official 1976 and 1981 counts. The sum of English, French and Other may not be equal to the official count due to rounding during calculations.¹

OTHER TONGUES IN QUEBEC

Distribution of the population by mother tongue for the Province of Quebec, Montreal and Quebec City, 1971, 1976 and 1981.^{4,5}

During the processing of the 1976 census data on mother tongue, an error was discovered which made it necessary to use a limited number of algorithms to produce the final data. Although these algorithms were not used in 1981, the 1981 data are available in a format that allows for the replication of the 1976 processing rules. Because the 1981 data presented in this table have been processed using 1976 algorithms, they are therefore different than those published elsewhere.

It should be noted that the data given in the *Mother tongues in Quebec* table are not identical to those given in the *Mother tongues in Canada* table. In the former table, the "not stated" category includes persons who have English, French, and other languages as their mother tongue. In the latter table, these persons have been assigned to one of the language groups. Furthermore, the procedures used to remove multiple responses differ in each table.^{1,2}

	1971							
	French		English		Other		Not Stated	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Province of Quebec	4,867,250	80.7	789,185	13.1	371,330	6.2	—*	—*
Montreal	1,819,640	66.3	595,395	21.7	328,180	12.0	—*	—*
Quebec City	458,435	95.4	18,035	3.8	4,030	0.8	—*	—*
	1976							
	French		English		Other		Not Stated	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Province of Quebec	4,989,245	80.0	800,680	12.8	334,050	5.4	110,470	1.8
Montreal	1,831,110	65.3	607,505	21.7	295,770	10.6	68,100	2.4
Quebec City	513,895	94.8	15,745	2.9	3,595	0.7	8,925	1.6
	1981							
	French		English		Other		Not Stated	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Province of Quebec	5,286,228	82.1	711,287	11.1	386,225	6.0	54,660	0.8
Montreal	1,932,678	68.3	527,532	18.7	337,160	11.9	30,975	1.1
Quebec City	551,176	95.7	15,354	2.7	5,050	0.9	4,500	0.7

¹Due to the unavailability of information on the impact of processing on the 1971 data, it is not possible to apply either the 1976 or the 1981 algorithms to the 1971 data. Consequently, the "Not Stated" population for 1971 cannot be separated from the French, English and Other population.

²Notes: 1. L. Demers and J. Kralt: *On the Comparability of Mother Tongue Data, 1976-1981*, Statistics Canada (forthcoming publication).
2. J. Kralt: *A User's Guide to 1976 Census Data on Mother Tongue*, Statistics Canada, 1980.
3. Statistics Canada, Census of 1981.
4. Statistics Canada, Census of 1971 and of 1976.
5. The 1981 Census data on mother tongue for the Province of Quebec, Montreal and Quebec City were prepared for *Language and Society* by Statistics Canada.

The so-called "others"

The 1976 mother tongue figures in the table you added to Gary Caldwell's article on Anglo-Quebec (No. 8 Autumn 1982) are highly misleading. Some 110,450 residents of Quebec did not give an answer to the mother tongue question at the 1976 Census and Statistics Canada published this result in a "not stated" category. Your table present all of these residents as "allo-phones". As a result, your figures for the "Other Mother Tongue" category in 1976 are much too high. Unfortunately, Statistics Canada has not to date published any adjusted figures which would allow a reasonably sound comparison of the 1976 results with the 1971 or 1981 mother tongue data.

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Indigenous languages

I have read Michael Foster's article on indigenous languages in Canada (No. 7 Winter/Spring 1982) and thought it was of considerable general interest.

From my preliminary perusal of the article, I would like to point out one detail in need of correction. The number of Tahlitan (Athapaskan) speakers is grossly overestimated, being listed at 100 — 1,000. On the basis of my research in the area over the past two summers, I have identified a maximum of 50 fluent speakers in the two major settlements — Telegraph Creek and Ishut. It undoubtedly should be classified amongst the extremely endangered languages.

A second point I might mention relates to the sub-classification of Siouan dialects. Recent linguistic research on the Canadian dialects of "Dakota" argues for a significant differentiation between Stoney, as spoken at Morley and Paul reserves in Alberta, and Assiniboine, as spoken in Saskatchewan. There is much greater mutual intelligibility between Assiniboine, Tetoy, and Sautee than between any of these and Stoney. A variety of particular linguistic features which characterize Stoney, as opposed to the other dialects, are already identified. I would question, therefore, the appropriateness of designating Stoney as simply a "variety of Assiniboine". It stands apart clearly as the most divergent of the four dialects.

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Slavic — not Slovene

I have read with interest Mr. Topaloski's article on Yugoslavia (No. 8 Autumn 1982).

Incidentally, on page 14 of that issue (third column), the term Slavic (or Slavonic), not Slovene, should have been used. Slovene or Slovenian is the language of Slovenia — one of the six constituent republics of Yugoslavia. Also, Cyril (and Methodius) really created the Glagolitic alphabet and it was their disciples who later created the first Slavic (Cyrillic) alphabet.

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Cultural heritage

We have received and reviewed the reprint of the article "Canada's First Languages" by M.K. Froster (No. 7 Winter/Spring 1982).

In our work to create a higher profile of our Micmac language and to seek survival assistance and support from government agencies and interested public groups, we feel that this article greatly supports our position.

Yours in recognition of our heritage.

Peter Christmas
Micmac Association of Cultural Studies
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The spelling of Yiddish

My eye was caught by the English and French spelling of yiddish in *Language and Society* (No. 7 Winter/Spring 1982). For decades, the established English spelling has been Yiddish (with a capital letter, as in all other English glottonyms). Since this is as English a word as French or Spanish, it should not be italicized except, like all words, when being cited. Incidentally, the English spelling should have been Yidish, but this spelling is now a lost cause.

In French, on the other hand, there is still variation, hence it is still realistic to recommend one spelling rather than another. Naturally, like all French glottonyms, the recommended form should be written unitalicized (except when being cited) and with a lower-case letter. Six variants are found today: with one *-d-* or two; and with *-ch*, *-sh*, or *-sch*. Since neither Yiddish nor French has a geminate /d/, one *d* is better. Since *-sh* is English, *-sch* is German and *-ch* is French, the recommended spelling is *yidich*. This form should be inflected regularly (*écrivain yidich, littérature yidiche, journaux yidichs, revues yidiches*).

David L. Gold
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New term for allophone

I have a small comment with reference to the article entitled "Anglo-Quebec on the Verge of its History", by Gary Caldwell (No. 8 Autumn 1982). He uses the term "allophone" at least twice and *although* he includes a footnote defining this term ("Neologism for those whose mother tongue is neither English or French") and *although* I know that this term is gaining some currency in French, I think that it should be avoided in English if at all possible. The reason for this is that allophone is a very well-known and widely used (and indispensable) term in phonology and it would be horribly confusing to have two definitions for this one term in linguistics. There is obviously a need for a term for Mr. Caldwell's meaning, but I think some word other than allophone should be used. I can't offhand think of anything else but I'm sure someone can come up with a better term — and the sooner the better!

The article on Yugoslavia was particularly interesting. I think it is really valuable for us in Canada to see how such situations are handled elsewhere in the world, because otherwise we could easily lose perspective when it comes to certain problems. Let's have more articles on other multilingual countries!

Sheila M. Embleton
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Slave ou slovène ?

J'ai trouvé très intéressant l'article de M. Topaloski sur la Yougoslavie (N° 8, Automne 1982).

Je signale toutefois qu'à la page 14 (troisième colonne), l'auteur aurait dû se servir de l'adjectif « slave » et non « slovène » (le slovène est la langue parlée en Slovénie, une des six républiques fédérées de la Yougoslavie). En outre, Cyrille et Méthode ont créé l'alphabet glagolitique; ce sont leurs disciples qui ont par la suite conçu le premier alphabet slave (ou cyrillique).

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Patrimoine culturel

Nous avons reçu et étudié une réimpression de l'article de M.K. Foster intitulé « Les langues autochtones du Canada » (N° 7, Hiver/Printemps 1982).

Nous nous réjouissons de voir que cet article appuie nos tentatives de faire valoir la langue micmac et d'obtenir des organismes gouvernementaux et des groupes intéressés le soutien nécessaire à sa survie.

Fiers de notre patrimoine, nous vous prions d'agréer nos sentiments les meilleurs.

Peter Christmas
Micmac Association of Cultural Studies
Sydney (Nouvelle-Ecosse)

Yiddish ou yidich ?

Je me suis arrêté à l'orthographe anglaise et française du mot *yiddish* dans *Langue et société*, N° 7, Hiver-Printemps 1982. Depuis plusieurs décennies, l'orthographe acceptée en anglais est *Yiddish* (avec une majuscule, comme pour tous les noms de langues). De plus, comme ce mot fait aussi bien partie du vocabulaire anglais que *French* ou *Spanish*, il ne convient pas de le mettre en italique, excepté, évidemment, lorsqu'on le cite. Signalons en passant que le mot devrait s'écrire *Yidish*, mais c'est maintenant peine perdue que de vouloir imposer cette orthographe.

En français par contre, l'on dispose d'une certaine latitude et l'on peut défendre une orthographe plutôt qu'une autre. Evidemment, comme pour tous les noms de langues, ce mot s'écrit en français sans italiques (sauf quand il est cité) et avec une minuscule. L'on trouve actuellement six variantes : *ch*, *sh* ou *sch*. Comme les deux *d* ne sont caractéristiques ni du français ni du yidich, il est préférable de n'en utiliser qu'un seul; de plus *sh* étant anglais, *sch* allemand et *ch* français, le mot devrait donc s'écrire yidich et s'accorder normalement (écrivez yidich, littérature yidiche, journaux yidichs, revues yidiches).

David L. Gold
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Évitons la confusion

Permettez-moi une petite observation au sujet de l'article de Gary Caldwell intitulé *L'anglophonie québécoise à la croisée des chemins* (N° 8, Automne 1982). Le texte anglais contient au moins deux fois le terme « all phone ». Bien que l'auteur ait pris soin de donner une explication du mot (il s'agit d'un néologisme qui, au Canada, désigne les personnes dont la langue maternelle n'est ni le français ni l'anglais) et malgré l'acception généralisée de ce terme en français, je crois qu'il faut l'éviter en anglais. Il s'agit en effet d'un terme bien connu utilisé (et indispensable) en phonologie, et ce serait s'exposer à une confusion terrible que de se servir d'une même désignation pour traduire deux réalités bien différentes. Il est clair qu'au sens où M. Caldwell l'entend ce mot comble un vide, mais il me semble qu'il faudrait trouver une autre solution. Rien ne me vient à l'esprit, mais je suis certain qu'on peut faire mieux — et il faudrait y parvenir le plus tôt possible multiculturels !

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Les « autres », toujours les « autres »

Le tableau ajouté à l'article de Gary Caldwell (N° 8, Automne 1982) sur les Anglophones du Québec rapporte, pour 1976, des chiffres qui sont extrêmement trompeurs. Quelque 110 450 résidents du Québec ont choisi de ne pas répondre à la question sur la langue maternelle lors du recensement de cette année-là et Statistique Canada les a groupés dans la catégorie « non déclaré ». Or, votre tableau considère toutes ces personnes comme des « allophones », ce qui signifie que vos chiffres de la catégorie « autres », pour 1976, sont beaucoup trop élevés. Malheureusement, Statistique Canada n'a pas encore publié de chiffres révisés qui permettraient de comparer les données de 1976 à celles de 1971 ou de 1981 en ce qui a trait à la langue maternelle.

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Les langues autochtones : quelques précisions

Je viens de parcourir l'article de Michael Foster sur les langues autochtones du Canada (N° 7, Hiver/Printemps 1981). Cet article est selon moi d'un très grand intérêt pour tous.

L'on me permettra cependant d'y apporter une toute petite correction. Selon l'auteur, entre 100 et 1 000 personnes parlent tshilhan (athapascane). Ce nombre me semble trop élevé. Lors des enquêtes que j'ai moi-même effectuées dans la région au cours des deux derniers étés, j'ai dénombré un maximum de 50 personnes parlant couramment cette langue, à deux endroits surtout, soit Telegraph Creek et Ishut. Il est donc clair que cette langue peut être considérée comme étant extrêmement menacée.

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LANGUES MATERNELLES AU QUÉBEC

La répartition de la population selon la langue maternelle, pour la province de Québec, Montréal et la ville de Québec, 1971, 1976 et 1981.^{1,2}

1. Au cours du traitement des données du recensement de 1976 sur la langue maternelle, on a relevé des erreurs entraînant la nécessité d'utiliser un nombre limité d'algorithmes pour la production des données finales. Même si des algorithmes différents ont été utilisés en 1981, les données de 1981 sont disponibles sous une forme qui permet de reproduire les règles de traitement de 1976. Aux fins du tableau ci-dessous, les données de 1981 ont été traitées selon les algorithmes de 1976. Les chiffres y sont donc différents de ceux qui ont été publiés ailleurs.

Il est important de noter que les données du tableau *Les langues maternelles au Québec* diffèrent de celles du tableau *Les langues maternelles au Canada*. Dans le premier, la catégorie "non déclaré" comprend les personnes qui ont le français, l'anglais et d'autres langues comme langue maternelle. Dans le second, on a assigné une langue maternelle à ces personnes. En outre, les méthodes utilisées pour éliminer les réponses multiples diffèrent d'un tableau à l'autre.³

1971							
	Français	Anglais	Autres	Non déclaré	%		
Province de Québec	4 867 250	80,7	789 185	13,1	371 330	6,2	—*
Montréal	1 819 640	66,3	595 395	21,7	328 180	12,0	—*
Québec	458 435	95,4	18 035	3,8	4 030	0,8	—*
1976							
	Français	Anglais	Autres	Non déclaré	%		
Province de Québec	4 989 245	80,0	800 680	12,8	334 050	5,4	110 470
Montréal	1 831 110	65,3	607 505	21,7	295 770	10,6	68 100
Québec	513 895	94,8	16 745	2,9	3 595	0,7	8 925
1981							
	Français	Anglais	Autres	Non déclaré	%		
Province de Québec	5 286 228	82,1	711 287	11,1	386 225	6,0	54 660
Montréal	1 932 678	68,3	527 532	18,7	337 160	11,9	30 975
Québec	551 176	95,7	15 354	2,7	5 050	0,9	4 500

1. J. Krall, Demers et J. Krall, *De la comparabilité des données sur la langue maternelle, 1976-1981*, Statistique Canada (à paraître).

2. J. Krall, *Guide de l'utilisateur des données du recensement de 1976 sur la langue maternelle*, Statistique Canada, 1980.

3. Statistique Canada, Recensement de 1981.

4. Statistique Canada, Recensements de 1971 et de 1976.

5. Les données du recensement de 1981 sur la langue maternelle pour la province de Québec, Montréal et Québec ont été complètes pour *Langue et société* par Statistique Canada.

usqu'il n'existe pas de recensement ayant trait aux effets u traitement sur les données de 1971, il est impossible d'utiliser les algorithmes de 1976 ou de 1981 avec les données de 1971. C'est pourquoi on ne peut pas différencier la population "non déclarée" de 1971 de la population française, anglaise et

Lettres à la rédaction

Une question de statistiques

NDLR: Les tableaux qui suivent mettent à jour les statistiques publiées aux pages 11 et 12 du N° 8. Ils permettent également de comparer les chiffres des recensements de 1976 et de 1981 ayant trait à la langue maternelle au Canada et dans la province de Québec. Ils ont été réalisés avec la collaboration de Statistique Canada, Linda Demers et John Kralt.

Je voudrais vous faire part de quelques observations au sujet des tableaux publiés aux pages 11 et 12 du numéro d'automne de *Langue et société* (N° 8).

Ces tableaux sur le nombre de Canadiens qui ont le français, l'anglais ou une autre langue comme langue maternelle contiennent, pour 1976, des chiffres excessivement élevés dans la catégorie « autres ». Cela est dû au fait que vous avez mal interprété le recensement de cette année-là, en effet, vous avez considéré comme « autres » non seulement toutes les personnes de cette catégorie mais aussi celles de la catégorie des « non déclaré ». Vos conclusions sur les tendances qui se sont manifestées entre 1976 et 1981 sont donc tout à fait erronées.

Donnons un exemple. D'après votre tableau de la page 12, il y avait à Terre-Neuve, en 1976, 1,7 pour cent de personnes parlant des langues maternelles « autres » que le français et l'anglais, cette proportion tombant à 0,8 pour cent en 1981. Pour le profane, cela signifie que plus de la moitié de ces personnes ont tout simplement disparu entre les deux recensements. Or, selon Statistique Canada, il n'y avait, en 1976, que 0,7 pour cent de la population dans cette catégorie, proportion qui, contrairement à ce que montre votre tableau, n'a que légèrement augmenté en 1981 pour atteindre 0,8 pour cent.

D'après vos deux tableaux, il y avait au Québec, en 1976 également, 4,44 520 personnes dont la langue maternelle était autre que le français ou l'anglais, alors que, selon Statistique Canada, elles étaient au nombre de 334 050. L'écart correspond aux 110 470 personnes qui n'ont pas indiqué leur langue maternelle. Si l'on se base sur les chiffres exacts, la proportion de personnes dont la langue maternelle n'est pas une des deux langues officielles a en fait augmenté puisqu'elle est passée de 5,46 pour cent en 1976 à 6,61 pour cent en 1981; cela contraste tout à fait avec la tendance à la baisse dont témoignent vos tableaux.

Je constate aussi, à mon grand étonnement, que la note au bas de la page 9 et le tableau de la page 11 fixent à 10,9 pour cent le pourcentage, en 1981, de Québécois de langue maternelle anglaise, alors que la proportion exacte est 11 pour cent, comme l'indique précisée le tableau de la page 12 (le chiffre précis est 10,967 pour cent que l'on arrondit à 11,0 pour cent et non à 10,9 pour cent). Cherchait-on à tripatouiller les faits pour les faire correspondre d'avantage à l'affirmation du professeur Caldwell, qui veut que la proportion de Québécois anglophones ne soit plus « que de l'ordre de 10 pour cent » ?

Richard J. Joy
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LES LANGUES MATERNELLES AU CANADA

Ce tableau donne, pour le Canada, chaque province et les territoires, le nombre et le pourcentage de personnes ayant le français, l'anglais ou une autre langue comme langue maternelle, 1976 et 1981.^{1,2}

Note: Au cours du traitement des données sur la langue maternelle du recensement de 1976, on a relevé une erreur entraînant la nécessité d'utiliser un nombre limité d'algorithmes pour la production des données finales. En 1981, des algorithmes différents furent utilisés, mais il est toutefois possible de traiter les données de 1976 selon les algorithmes utilisés en 1981. Les calculs ont donc été refaits de sorte que les chiffres donnés au tableau, pour 1976, sont différents de tous ceux qui ont été publiés ailleurs.^{1,2}

Canada			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
14 918 445	61,3	14 198 406	61
6 249 095	25,7	5 966 707	25
3 175 640	13,0	2 827 512	12
Total*		22 992 605	

Île du Prince-Édouard			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
115 045	93,9	110 391	93
6 080	5,0	6 763	5
1 380	1,1	1 076	0,9
122 505	0,5	118 230	0

Nouveau-Brunswick			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
453 310	65,1	442 048	65
234 030	33,6	227 153	33
9 065	1,3	8 059	1
696 405	2,9	677 250	3

Ontario			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
6 678 770	77,4	6 495 051	78
475 605	5,5	469 422	5
1 470 730	17,1	1 300 002	15
8 625 105	35,4	8 264 465	35

Saskatchewan			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
770 815	79,6	709 236	77
25 535	2,6	27 087	2
1 711 960	17,8	1 855 002	20
968 310	4,0	921 325	4

Colombie-Britannique			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
2 249 310	82,0	2 061 593	83
45 615	1,6	39 466	1
449 540	16,4	365 551	14
2 744 465	11,3	2 466 610	10

Terre-Neuve			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
560 460	98,7	550 419	98,7
2 655	0,5	2 844	0,5
4 565	0,8	4 462	0,8
567 680	2,3	557 725	2,4

Nouvelle-Écosse			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
793 165	93,6	775 376	93,6
38 030	4,5	37 451	4,5
18 245	2,1	15 743	1,9
847 440	3,5	828 570	3,6

Québec			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
706 115	11,0	801 124	12,8
5 307 010	82,4	5 054 253	81,1
425 275	6,6	379 053	6,1
6 438 400	26,4	6 234 445	27,1

Manitoba			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
735 920	71,7	724 148	70,9
52 560	5,1	55 366	5,4
237 760	23,2	241 996	23,7
1 026 240	4,2	1 021 510	4,4

Alberta			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
1 810 545	80,9	1 486 239	80,8
62 145	2,8	45 216	2,5
365 035	16,3	306 585	16,7
2 237 725	9,2	1 838 040	8,0

Territoire du Yukon			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
20 245	87,4	19 444	89,0
580	2,5	531	2,4
2 330	10,1	1 865	8,6
23 155	0,1	21 840	0,1

Territoires du Nord-Ouest			
1981		1976	
Nombre	%	Nombre	%
24 755	54,1	23 337	54
1 240	2,7	1 155	2,7
19 750	43,2	18 118	42
45 745	0,2	42 610	0

1,2,3 : Ces renvois se trouvent à la page 21.
* Les totaux donnés représentent les comptages officiels de 1976 et de 1981. La somme des éléments peut différer du total en raison des arrondissements faits lors des calculs.

Pour percevoir dans un pays où l'allemand n'a pas de statut officiel, pour maintenir leur identité et franchir les barrières dialectales, les germanophones canadiens doivent très souvent devenir trilingues. Nés et élevés en allemand dialectal, il leur faut apprendre le haut-allemand et, pour avoir accès au système scolaire public de l'un ou l'autre des deux principaux groupes culturels du pays, le français ou l'anglais. Si l'on se fie au passé, les germano-canadiens sauront relever ce formidable défi.

Adapté de l'anglais

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terme l'inévitable processus de l'assimilation ». Cette attitude reflétait fidèlement l'évolution d'un système scolaire qui, de paroissial à l'origine, était devenu séparé, puis « gratuit » et « public », pour faire ensuite passer l'enseignement de l'allemand du stade de langue maternelle à celui de langue seconde.

Jusqu'ici, Mennonites et Hutterites se sont vigoureusement et victorieusement opposés à cette tendance en offrant à leurs enfants deux genres d'enseignement dont l'un, bien à eux, en allemand, est juxtaposé au système public dont la langue d'enseignement est l'anglais. Cette situation concurrentielle rappelle celle des débuts du comté de Waterloo. C'est ainsi que selon un rapport récent, le seul Hutterite susceptible de se qualifier comme enseignant du système public dans un groupe de cette confession serait un Manitobain de 35 ans, nommé Elias Kleinsasser, de Sainte-Agathe.

Comme le lecteur l'aura constaté, les pressions assimilatrices des autres langues n'ont rien de nouveau pour les Germanophones, non plus que les luttes pour la conservation de leur langue maternelle. Or, nous l'avons déjà signalé, la plupart de ceux qui ont immigré au Canada sont des Volksdeutsche, venus de pays où ils constituaient des minorités ethniques et l'intégraient. En outre, la diversité de leurs origines et de leurs croyances fait d'eux une collectivité hétérogène, surtout parce que leur langue maternelle n'est pas le haut-allemand, mais un dialecte. Arrivés au Canada, ils se sont efforcés de préserver leur langue maternelle et leur religion malgré l'influence des écoles paroissiales qui ont toujours privilégié l'enseignement du haut-allemand, en dépit des pressions assimilatrices et de l'absence d'une politique cohérente à cet égard. Qu'ils aient malgré cela largement réussi, n'est pas une mince victoire.

système scolaire qui était totalement indépendant.

l'année 1842 vit apparaître les premières lois sur l'enseignement et les comités furent divisés en districts scolaires par le *Common School Act*. Les écoles séparées n'ont obtenu les mêmes droits et avantages que les écoles publiques qu'au cours des années 1850. C'est alors que se manifesta une pression de plus en plus vive en faveur de l'enseignement de l'allemand comme langue seconde et non plus comme langue maternelle. Les maîtres d'école, dont la plupart ne répondaient pas aux nouvelles exigences, devaient prouver leur connaissance du français ou de l'anglais avant de pouvoir enseigner l'allemand. Inspirée par la presse de langue allemande et s'appuyant sur la maxime de Carl Shurz qui dit qu'il « n'est pas nécessaire d'oublier l'allemand pour apprendre l'anglais », la collectivité germanophone s'engagea alors dans une bataille qui fit rage durant plusieurs décennies.

elon qu'on avait affaire à des présidents de commissions scolaires comme E. Ryerson, qui avait appris l'allemand et était plein de sympathie pour la cause, ou à des inspecteurs comme Pearce, pour lequel l'allemand était une langue « étrangère » au sens de l'anglais de métèques, les vagues d'optimisme et de pessimisme se succédaient. Bien longtemps cependant avant les événements de 1914-1918, qui devaient fixer le destin de la langue allemande au Canada et de sa presse des premiers jours, les problèmes venaient pris une tournure inquiétante sous l'égide de G.W. Ross, qui fut ministre de l'Éducation de l'Ontario à 1883 à 1899. C'est lui qui aurait confié aux municipalités le pouvoir de s'occuper en matière de langues et de statuer sur les minoritaires, en « n'accordant protection qu'aux groupes dont l'existence est manifeste » et « en laissant au temps le soin de mener à son

l'émigration, que connaissent particulièrement les Germanophones dont nous parlons ici. Enfin le sixième et dernier facteur, le caractère officiel d'une langue avant la domination anglo-américaine aux États-Unis, s'applique de toute évidence au hollandais, à l'espagnol et au français.

Toujours selon Kloss, « aucun de ces facteurs ne permet à lui seul d'expliquer la disparition précoce (ou tardive) de l'allemand au cours des générations, ni de prévoir ce que sera son avenir ».

Le premier des facteurs cités est d'un intérêt considérable lorsqu'il est appliqué à l'utilisation de l'allemand comme

langue maternelle au Canada. Voici, d'ailleurs, à partir des facteurs de Kloss, une comparaison entre, d'une part, les Allemands de Lunenburg et Nouvelle-Écosse et, d'autre part, les Mennonites germano-pennsylvaniens, les Mennonites germano-russes et les Hutterites.

Les colonies allemandes du Canada

En juillet 1749, Cornwallis, alors gouverneur de la Nouvelle-Écosse, demanda à Londres de lui envoyer un certain nombre de protestants allemands afin de peupler la région. En septembre 1750 arriva à bon port l'Amm avec plus de 300 Allemands à son bord. En 1752, ils étaient plus de 2 000 et la plupart d'entre eux quittèrent Halifax un an plus tard pour aller fonder Lunenburg.

Ainsi que l'a fait remarquer

L. Richter⁴, les pionniers de Lunenburg eurent énormément de difficultés à obtenir, pour leur édification spirituelle, les services du pasteur germanophone qu'on leur avait promis. Après une rébellion en 1754, les Lunenburgueois virent arriver le révérend Jean-Baptiste Morreau, ancien prêtre catholique devenu pasteur de l'Eglise d'Angleterre qui y fonda la St. John's Church. Les Allemands refusèrent d'y aller et décidèrent en 1760 de payer eux-mêmes un maître d'école afin d'assurer la survie de leur langue. Mais les choses allèrent de mal en pis.

Le second pasteur choisi par les autorités, le révérend Robert Vincent, de l'Eglise anglicane de St. John's, interdit l'utilisation de l'allemand à l'école. Les

enfants devaient donc apprendre l'anglais pour y être admis.

En 1768, une délégation lunenburggeoise fit savoir au gouvernement que la collectivité germanophone était privée de prédicateur depuis 15 ans. En 1770, la question fut même soumise au président du synode de l'Eglise luthérienne de Philadelphie, le révérend H.M. Muhlenberg. Il fallut malgré cela attendre jusqu'en 1772 la nomination d'un pasteur germanophone qui dirigea la paroisse pendant dix ans avant d'être remplacé en 1782 par le pasteur Schmeltzer qui arrivait d'Allemagne.

La tendance semblait malgré tout irréversible et la congrégation des Germanophones protestants de St. Andrew's de Lunenburg était sur le point de succomber à l'assimilation, cette fois-ci sous les pressions internes. Loïn d'arranger les choses, l'arrivée, en 1818, d'un autre pasteur allemand, le révérend Moschell, sembla accélérer l'assimilation. Mais, selon Sautter⁵, l'empressement qu'on a mis à suivre la recommandation qu'il avait faite juste avant de rentrer en Allemagne (fusionner la congrégation avec l'Eglise d'Ecosse), prouve qu'il n'était en rien responsable de cette anglicisation.

Il reste néanmoins que ses dix-neuf années de ministère ont abouti à la disparition d'un « îlot linguistique ». Ainsi que l'écrivit par la suite A.R.M. Lower, « mis à part les fondateurs d'Halifax et quelques colons installés autour d'Annapolis, les Allemands de Lunenburg, dont la langue a disparu très tôt, sont virtuellement les plus anciens Canadiens anglophones »⁶.

Certains diront que les Lunenburgueois succombèrent à l'assimilation et sacrifièrent leur langue maternelle pour sauvegarder leur religion. Dans quelle mesure cette assimilation a joué sur leur identité ethnique ne fait pas l'objet de notre propos. Disons simplement qu'un germaniste mennonite a récemment prédit et recommandé une évolution analogue pour ceux-ci, déclarant notamment: « Nous aimons la langue allemande et nos jeunes continueront à l'apprendre et à l'étudier. Mais nous devons leur enseigner notre foi et notre interprétation des Saintes Ecritures

dans la langue qui est devenue celle de leur pensée, de leurs émotions, de leur vie. Nous comprenons peu à peu que notre foi et nos croyances peuvent s'enseigner dans une autre langue. » Les premiers Mennonites germanophones quittèrent la Pennsylvanie pour s'installer au Haut-Canada en 1786, et les cinq premiers des six facteurs de Kloss s'appliquent à la grande part d'entre eux. Le premier, le troisième, le quatrième et le cinquième facteurs se rapportent aux Mennonites germano-russes qui se sont installés dans les Prairies à partir de 1874, de même qu'aux Hutterites venus au Canada après la Première Guerre mondiale.

Une étude sociologique récemment effectuée à l'Université du Manitoba analysait les moyens permettant aux groupes ethniques de conserver leur identité. Elle a donné lieu à un certain nombre d'observations intéressantes sur l'interdépendance de la pratique religieuse, de l'utilisation de la langue maternelle et de l'enseignement confessionnel. Du fait de la présence de la composante mennonite, « les Allemands du Manitoba ayant des écoles confessionnelles... considèrent que le mode d'enseignement est important. Les Allemands mettent la religion bien plus haut que les autres ethnies »⁷.

Au Manitoba, cependant, surtout à cause de la prépondérance de ce que Kloss appelle « l'isolation socio-religieuse » des Mennonites et des Hutterites, les Allemands semblent conserver leur langue maternelle et leur identité ethnique.

L'enseignement de l'allemand langue seconde

On peut dire que la totalité des premières écoles du Haut-Canada étaient des écoles paroissiales, depuis la petite classe en rondins construite en 1802 près de Blair, et dont le premier maître d'école fut un Germano-pennsylvanien nommé Rittinghaus, jusqu'à la première école véritable, toujours en rondins, construite à Waterloo et où enseigna le fameux évêque mennonite Benjamin. Mennonites, Luthériens et Catholiques romains du comté de Waterloo occupaient eux-mêmes de leur

origines différentes. Bien que ce dernier facteur ait largement contribué à modeler les traits de ce groupe, il n'explique pas entièrement la situation actuelle de la langue allemande au Canada.

Conservation de la langue maternelle
Plusieurs facteurs contribuent à la conservation de la langue maternelle qui est souvent la première langue d'ins-truction. Dans le cas d'une langue iso-lée, il semblerait que la survie dépende en grande partie de la superfluité et de la nature de l'îlot linguistique où elle est parlée, de la proximité des sources d'influences linguistiques étrangères, et enfin, de la « territorialisation » des locuteurs.

La volonté de conserver sa langue maternelle et son identité ethnique est souvent affaiblie, dans une société mul-tilingue, par la tentation de l'accultura-tion et de l'assimilation au groupe dominant. Cette influence peut d'ailleurs revêtir la forme d'une gentille persuasion ou de pressions directes.

Selon Kloss, six facteurs s'appliquent aux groupes, petits et grands, qui ont conservé leur langue et résisté à l'assi-milation aux États-Unis. En premier lieu, l'isolation socio-religieuse, que Kloss appelle une coupure du reste du monde, joue à cet égard un rôle majeur. Ces groupes « conservent leur langue afin de se soustraire plus totale-ment à l'influence du monde, peut-être d'ailleurs parce qu'ils considèrent tout changement comme un péché ».

Viennent en second lieu la date et l'en-droit d'installation des immigrants par rapport à l'arrivée des premiers Anglo-saxons. C'est ainsi que le français peut à juste titre prétendre à l'antériorité au Canada, l'allemand pouvant au mieux affirmer sa simultanéité. Troi-sième facteur, l'existence d'îlots lin-guistiques germanophones, comme dans le sud-est du Dakota Nord ou le nord-ouest du Dakota du Sud. En quatrième lieu, l'affiliation aux écoles paroissiales confessionnelles, qui dépendent des synodes moravien-allemand, catholique romain, ou vien-x-luthérien comme on les appelle dans le Wisconsin. Cin-quième facteur, l'expérience de la conservation de la langue avant

dialectes alsacien, franc-comtois, suisse bas-allemand, souabe, bavarois et même silesien. Les Germanophones de Pennsylvanie ont en outre cultivé leur variété propre de haut-allemand, dont la prononciation est restée à peu près celle du bas-allemand des 16^e et 17^e siècles.

Des 40 000 Mennonites de l'Ontario, deux tiers sont d'origine germano-pennsylvanienne et ont une connais-sance fonctionnelle du *pennsylvanisch*. Originaire de Russie, l'autre tiers parle le *plautdietsch*, un dialecte de la Prusse occidentale.

Cette diversité linguistique et géogra-phique a fait des Germanophones du Canada une collectivité hétérogène dont les locuteurs sont reliés par une langue commune, mais divisés par des

canadiens qui ont donné l'allemand comme langue maternelle de 1931 à 1981.

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
Canada	362 011	322 228	329 302	563 713	561 085	522 850	522 850
terre-Neuve	—	—	80	616	515	445	445
du Prince-Édouard	23	14	24	126	140	175	175
nouvelle-Écosse	989	469	480	1 523	2 000	1 865	1 865
nouveau-Brunswick	243	164	193	1 162	1 110	1 215	1 215
Québec	7 295	5 123	7 515	31 589	31 025	24 060	24 060
Ontario	82 089	66 037	72 686	183 789	184 885	174 545	174 545
Anticosti	57 312	51 463	47 996	83 994	82 715	75 180	75 180
Manitoba	138 499	120 177	99 629	89 650	75 885	59 630	59 630
Saskatchewan	63 410	62 766	65 195	97 666	92 805	91 480	91 480
Colombie-Britannique	12 066	15 903	35 318	72 473	89 020	93 385	93 385
territoire du Yukon	69	61	114	640	560	500	500
territoires du Nord-Ouest	16	47	72	485	425	385	385

il faut tenir compte du fait que les Autrichiens et les Suisses allemands ont un dialecte allemand ou le haut-allemand comme langue maternelle.

Note de l'auteur.

Source: Statistique Canada

des migrations continentales, comme les migrations outre-mer, ont répandu dialectes allemands un peu partout. est ainsi que le *pennsylvanisch*, l'alle-mand de Pennsylvanie, a donné des dialectes extrêmement différents, au point de vue lexical et phonétique, de ux parlés à l'origine en Europe cen-trale. Un érudit allemand estimait d'ail-lers qu'en 1969, plus d'un demi-milliion de Nord-américains parlaient l'allemand de Pennsylvanie dont il était l'usage de plus en plus fré-quent comme langue littéraire.

sentiellement répandu dans le sud-est de la Pennsylvanie, dans le Maryland, le New Jersey et la Virginie, *pennsylvanisch* est une dérivation de l'allemand de Rhénanie-Palatinat. Outre l'inclusion de mots anglais, il présente comme un agglomérait des

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L'allemand au Canada : ses chances de survie

GEORC K. WEISSENBOREN

Au cours des trois derniers siècles, des immigrants venus de divers pays où la langue allemande avait un statut officiel, ou encore celui de langue minoritaire, se sont installés au Canada. Il ne faut donc pas se

surprendre si les Canadiens d'origine allemande constituent aujourd'hui une communauté hétérogène. Cela s'explique par la diversité de leurs origines, la nature même de l'allemand, dont les nombreux dialectes sont parfois incompréhensibles aux divers locuteurs germanophones, et un nombre important de caractéristiques sociales, culturelles et religieuses. Les caractères singuliers de ce groupe se sont

mêlés aux influences canadiennes, plaçant ainsi la langue allemande dans une situation quelque peu précaire. Face à l'avenir, une grave question se pose : l'allemand restera-t-il la langue maternelle de ce groupe ou deviendra-t-il sa langue seconde ? Avant d'y répondre, voyons brièvement en quoi consiste la germanophonie canadienne.

Les origines

L'émigration toujours relativement forte des Germanophones vers l'Amérique du Nord se poursuit depuis le milieu du 17^e siècle. La dernière vague (412 373 personnes) s'est étalée de 1946 à 1971.

En 1981, le nombre total de Canadiens donnant l'allemand comme langue maternelle s'élevait à 522 850 et représentait 2,15 pour cent de la population.

De 1946 à 1951, les seuls Allemands admis au Canada le furent à titre de réfugiés. La plupart venaient de l'Europe de l'Est, c'est-à-dire, d'« îlots linguistiques », et de « colonies » de l'ancien Empire austro-hongrois et de l'ancienne Russie, où l'installation de minorités germaniques avait été encouragée durant des siècles par la monarchie danubienne, par la Grande Catherine (elle-même princesse allemande) et par certains tsars ou dirigeants locaux.

Dans leur fuite, ces immigrants abandonnaient les exploitations prospères qu'ils avaient créées en Galicie, en Bohême et en Moravie, en Coshchie, en Bosnie, en Bessarabie, en

La moyenne d'origine des Germanophones du Canada est la nature même de la langue allemande ont contribué à rendre cette collectivité étrangement hétérogène. L'auteur examine les facteurs interculturels et culturels qui sous-tendent cette situation



Né en Allemagne, George Weissenborn vit au Canada depuis 1951. Ayant interrompu ses études en sciences politiques et économiques, commentées à l'Université de Karlsruhe, il s'oriente ici en Études allemandes. Il obtient un doctorat de l'Université de Colombie-Britannique en 1970 et il enseigne aujourd'hui au Co-St. Michael de Toronto. Il collabore activement au German-Canadian Yearbook depuis 1973.

Le haut-allemand et ses dialectes

Qu'il s'agisse des pays de langue allemande, des regroupements germanophones isolés ou des « îlots linguistiques », les écoles s'efforcent partout d'enseigner le haut-allemand. Cela permet à cette langue de déborder les frontières nationales et de créer un lien entre des gens dont les caractéristiques socio-politiques et dialectales sont différentes. Certains dialectes allemands diffèrent d'ailleurs tellement des autres seuls quelques rares spécialistes les maîtrisent tous vraiment. On peut dire, sans exagération, que l'histoire de la langue allemande est celle de ses dialectes.

Le haut-allemand et ses dialectes

Avant la Première Guerre mondiale, selon J.M. Gibbon, peine 10 pour cent des Germanophones immigrants au Canada venaient d'Allemagne (les *Reichsdeutsche*), les autres étaient des *Volksdeutsche*.

Ces Germanophones sont habituellement qualifiés en allemand de *Volksdeutsche*. Le terme s'applique à des gens ayant une langue et une ethnie allemandes communes, mais dont le pays d'origine est différent. À l'autre extrémité du spectre se trouvent les *Reichsdeutsche*, appellation qui, avant l'application des termes *Bundesbürger* (de la République fédérale d'Allemagne) et « RDA » (de la République démocratique allemande), désignait les Allemands nés à l'intérieur des frontières de ce qui fut le plus grand pays germanophone d'Europe centrale de 1871 à 1937.

Transylvanie, en Bucovine, en Vohynie, le long du Don et de la Volga, en Crimée et ailleurs.¹ Arrivèrent ainsi au Canada sous l'étiquette officielle de « personnes déplacées », des Allemands sudètes, des Souabes danubiens, des Saxons Transylvanie, des Allemands de Coshchie et des Mennonites germano-russes.

Organiquement formés au cours d'une longue période de temps, les dialectes allemands, leur histoire et leur géographie permettent de comprendre les assises culturelles des divers groupes germanophones, dont certains — saxons et souabes — ont constitué dans le passé, ou peu s'en faut, de véritables nations.

Cette remarque aurait pu me paraître perdue, mais il y avait la mer, la gentillesse de mes hôtes, le bateau qui tan- guait doucement et ces verres qu'on ne réussissait pas à vider. Pourtant, malgré ma langueur, je dis : — « Il vous est sans doute plus facile de parler votre anglais que celui de Londres . . . »

— . . . comme il vous est plus facile de parler, mon cher, votre français canadien si particulier. »

Ah ! Cette Dame rousse ! Que pouvais-je rétorquer ?

À cet instant, un invité qui n'avait encore dit un mot, et que l'on m'avait présenté comme un courtier en immeu- bles, réclama la parole. Il se leva avec solennité, portant son verre bien haut, et il déclara, dans un français étonnant : — « Vous avez adapté le français à son nouvel environnement, comme nous avons adapté l'anglais à notre milieu. Savoir adapter, c'est le génie canadien. Si vous avez eu ce génie, c'est la preuve que vous êtes canadiens, que vous le vouliez ou non.

— Américain du Nord, Canadien, Québécois, Beauceron, peu importe, ma langue est française et elle est comprise où l'on parle français.

— Comprendre ou ne pas com- prendre, dit un autre monsieur, un Torontois qui n'avait pas encore parlé français, ce n'est pas toujours une affaire de langue. »

J'étais d'accord, et je demandai si on avait jamais étudié les effets positifs de l'alcool sur le bilinguisme dans ce pays . . .

Je ne vous raconterai pas la suite de notre discussion. Cela devint de plus en plus confus. Cela commençait à ressembler à un texte de loi sur les langues officielles.

un mot, il n'était pas question de demander une autorisation à l'Académie française.

— Pourquoi ne nous apprend-on pas cela à l'école ?

— Parce que l'école sert souvent à voiler la réalité plutôt qu'à la dévoiler.

— Si je vous comprends bien, alors il n'est pas vrai que vous parlez l'ancien français du vieux Régime.

— Ce vieux français fait aussi partie de la langue française. Quand j'étais étudiant à la Sorbonne, je m'étais inscrit à un cours sur Montaigne. À la première leçon, je m'aperçus que je comprenais plus facilement que mes collègues français. Montaigne écrivait avec des mots que j'avais entendus dans la bouche de ma grand-mère, qui n'avait jamais lu Montaigne, mais dont les ancêtres français étaient venus au Québec avec Champlain. Cette longue tradition a conservé vivant l'apport de plusieurs provinces de France à notre langue. »

Mes hôtes avaient le regard de ceux qui ne comprennent pas.

— « Buons à la langue française du Québec ! » proclama la Dame rousse.

Je la remerciai d'un salut, et j'ajoutai : — « Votre garagiste, Madame, emploie des mots utilisés par Villon, mais il sait aussi des mots comme **magané, enfionapé**. Ce sont des mots aussi beaux que ceux inventés par Rabelais. Pour un écrivain, c'est une langue d'une richesse étonnante.

— Oh ! Il me semble pourtant que c'est plus facile de parler anglais que de parler français, sur ce continent américain . . . »

un milieu entièrement anglophone et dans une langue qui leur était étrangère. Mais ces gens ordina- res, lorsque Radio-Canada présente un télé-théâtre en joual, ils changent de chaîne car ils ne comprennent pas. Ce sont eux qui accusent Radio-Canada de vulga- rité, et non pas les professeurs d'université qui prennent ce qu'ils croient être un bain de peuple.

— Vous avez des expressions bien particulières à vous, n'est-ce pas, *my dear* ? Vous allez me le concéder.

— Quand j'habitais en France, je disais parfois : « Je suis **tanne** ». J'étais sûr d'être québécois jusqu'à la racine des cheveux. Pourtant le mot se trouve chez Balzac. Ou bien pour étonner les Parisiens, je mettais mes **clagues**. Le mot est dans Flaubert. Maupassant emploie régulièrement des mots québécois, Madame ! Beaucoup de nos mots que vous croyez souvent québécois appartiennent à la très pure langue française. Nous disons par exemple **seier** dans le sens de ranger. Victor Hugo le dit aussi. C'est le plus grand poète de France (« hélas ! »).

— On ne m'avait jamais dit . . .

— Il y a beaucoup de choses qu'on ne vous a pas dites, Madame. La langue française n'a pas eu la vie facile au Canada. Vous ignorez probablement que, pour des rai- sons politiques, les collèges franco- phones ont été fermés pendant des années; vous ignorez que la première université francophone, n'a été autorisée qu'en 1852. Pour conserver sa langue française, le peuple a dû faire preuve de mémoire et aussi d'invention. Il fallait retenir les mots français de ce que nous connaissons. Il fallait inventer des noms pour ce que nous découvrons. Avant d'utiliser

Si seulement vous parliez le français de France, le vous
compréhendez. Excusez-mille fois répétée que
les Canadiens ne comprennent plus car ils savent que leurs
compatriotes de langue anglaise ne parlent pas
français de Londres. Roch Carrier relance et clôt le débat,
à fois pour toutes, mais avec humour.



Roch Carrier est l'un des auteurs québécois les plus traduits en anglais. Il remporte le Grand Prix littéraire de la province de Québec en 1967, le Grand Prix littéraire de la ville de Montréal en 1980. Un de ses romans, *La guerre, yes sir*, a été adapté pour le théâtre, joué à Montréal, présenté en Euro-Stratford.

C'est pas comme à Paris, mais . . .

ROCH CARRIER

J'étais, l'autre jour, l'invité de gens bien sympathiques de la ville de Victoria, en Colombie britannique.

— « Ah ! Monsieur est québécois ? s'étonna une Dame rousse avec ce charmant accent anglais. J'étais au Québec il y a quelques années. Subitement, j'ai senti un petit problème dans ma voiture. J'étais au nord de Montréal. Je me suis arrêtée à un garage. L'homme était tout couvert de cambouis. J'ai dit : « J'ai un petit rateau dans l'arrière-train ». Il m'a regardé avec des yeux étranges et il m'a répondu : « *Yes Ma'am' what's you 'problem ?* » A son accent, j'ai reconnu un Québécois. Il ne m'avait pas comprise quand je lui avais parlé français. *They don't speak French, I mean the real French.* »

Le garagiste avait été poli. Je sentais que je ne le serais pas autant que lui. Ce n'était pas la première fois que j'entendais le français de mon pays être mis en accusation par quelqu'un qui ne le connaissait pas parfaitement.

— « Alors, poursuivait un autre invité, en anglais, si les Canadiens français ne parlent pas français, pourquoï le bill 101 impose-t-il le français comme langue officielle ? — Oh ! *dear* ! dit la Dame rousse, ils parlent le français, mais non pas le véritable français de France. »

Je ne pus me retenir de dire : — « Madame, le Général de Gaulle parlait-il le vrai français de France ?

— Mais certainement, mon cher. — Lorsqu'il a parlé au balcon de l'Hôtel-de-Ville de Montréal, pensez-vous que les Canadiens français ont compris son français de France ? »

J'ai cru que le bateau sur lequel nous discussions allait couler tant mes hôtes parurent secoués par mon argumentation un peu brutale.

— « C'est impossible, assurai-je. Le joul est une langue fabriquée, travaillée comme tout langage littéraire. Elle s'inspire du langage populaire, ce français un peu fort par les ouvriers d'usines qui devaient travailler dans — Mais le vrai peuple, l'homme de la rue, parle le joul, assura la Dame rousse. Je me souviens de m'être assis à une terrasse au Westmount Square et d'avoir écouté le peuple parler joul. C'était charmant.

— « Le joul n'est pas ce que vous pensez. C'est une langue de lettres, une langue savante qui n'est parlée et écrite que dans les universités et les théâtres. Il faut connaître très bien le français pour apprécier le joul.

— Dites-moi, dit un autre invité, parlez-vous français, ou parlez-vous joul ? »

La Dame rousse remplit mon verre avec application. — Si nous les utilisons, ils le deviennent, comme tant de mots français sont devenus anglais. Une langue vivante s'enrichit par l'emprunt de mots étrangers. Et comme nous vivons à proximité des États-Unis, il est normal que notre langue emprunte des mots américains.

— « *Dear*, ce ne sont pas des mots français. — Si nous les utilisons, ils le deviennent, comme tant de mots français sont devenus anglais. Une langue vivante s'enrichit par l'emprunt de mots étrangers. Et comme nous vivons à proximité des États-Unis, il est normal que notre langue emprunte des mots américains.

Moi qui suis timide, je me mis à plaider comme si j'avais à défendre ma vie . . . A bien y penser, c'était ma vie que j défendais. La vie d'un écrivain n'est que la vie des mots de sa langue.

J'affirmai d'abord que la langue française au Canada est une langue d'avant-garde. Nous avons vingt ans d'avance sur la langue française parlée en France. Des mots inconnus des Français étaient courants dans le français québécois en 1983, vous les entendez à Paris et ce sont des mots à la mode : *gadjet, marketing, flipper, cool, look, gang, jet, brunch, flash, attaché-case.*

- Simultanément, il doit respecter au maximum les critères de validité et de fidélité. Ces traits d'ordre psychométrique créent souvent des problèmes par rapport aux autres qualités souhaitées. Il incombe alors au concepteur de trouver la solution qui semble la plus appropriée. Enfin, le test doit être économique, que l'on parle de la tension imposée au candidat, du temps requis ou des conditions d'administration.
- Une dernière remarque, d'ordre général. Il est primordial d'éviter la psychologie du test de langue et de se rappeler que l'instrument doit être au service du public à qui il est destiné. L'inverse serait regrettable et malsain.
1. Terminologie officielle dans cette discipline.
 2. Éléments distincts et délimitables.
 3. Le terme « question » est impropre parce qu'un item n'est pas toujours une interrogation.

ces, aucun instrument de mesure, si bon soit-il, ne saurait faire l'unanimité. Par contre, lorsque l'évaluation du niveau des connaissances paraît légitime, le test peut constituer un outil extrêmement utile et fiable, à condition qu'il présente certaines qualités que l'on retrouve de plus en plus dans les nouveaux instruments de mesure.

Les tests de langue seconde doivent mesurer la maîtrise d'habiletés correspondant aux exigences réelles du métier ou de la profession. Dans ce sens, ils doivent être conçus en fonction du candidat et du milieu. Ces besoins ne sont pas déterminés par le concepteur du test, mais par le candidat (ou son représentant) en consultation avec les spécialistes qui aident à l'apprentissage. Il faut aussi veiller à l'authenticité. Le test doit permettre de rendre compte de la capacité de communiquer à partir de contextes faisant appel à toutes les compétences de la communication.

écrit... ce qui fait que la boucle bouclée et que, dans un sens, on retrouve dans la période -scientifique. Or, ce retour est plus aèrent que réel, car les sociolinguistes associent cet instrument sur des éléments théoriques explicites, ce n'était pas le cas auparavant.

bon test de langue

avant ce qui précède, et compte tenu ritiques récents parus dans divers journaux, on pourrait se poser des questions sur les tests, en particulier sur des cas où la sécurité d'emploi, l'promotion, le droit d'exercer une profession dépendent directement des résultats obtenus. À ce sujet, deux préconisations s'imposent. D'abord, les exigences de connaissance en langue seconde et perçus comme véritables critères à qui elles s'appliquent. Il est clair que là où des doutes sérieux existent sur la nécessité même des exigen-

ctures choisies

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ses, dont certaines sont fausses ou peu appropriées, et appelées leures. Le candidat doit pouvoir identifier la bonne réponse s'il a compris, par exemple, lorsqu'il entend le stimulus suivant et que les choix suggérés sont :

Il ne fait plus très clair

a) Il est presque aveugle

b) Le soleil se couche

c) Le mélange s'épaissit

d) C'est le matin

On vérifie ainsi la compréhension du

stimulus. D'après l'hypothèse des

structuralistes, en résolvant certains de

ces problèmes, le candidat montre sa

compréhension orale dans toutes les

situations de communication. Cette

formule a divers avantages : elle est

relativement facile à construire, elle

s'applique à un nombre indéfini de

groupes de candidats et sa correction

est strictement objective.

Mais en même temps, on sent bien

qu'une phrase du type **Il ne fait plus**

très clair n'arrive jamais à l'improviste,

hors contexte. On se trouve donc loin

d'une situation authentique, bien que

ce soit la seule façon d'évaluer vraiment

l'habileté à communiquer. Il convient

donc de coller davantage à la réalité.

Par exemple, Carroll (1980) suggère

une situation simulée où le candidat

est en visite chez un ami. Ce dernier

est sorti lorsque son amie lui téléphone.

Elle laisse un message que l'on

demande au candidat de transmettre.

Cette formule est intéressante. C'est

une situation plausible dont le contexte

est connu. Le passage est par ailleurs

suffisamment long pour permettre au

sujet de se mettre « dans le bain » et

de profiter des avantages du contexte.

Cependant, les cas d'écoute sans la

moindre interaction sont plutôt rares.

Le cours magistral en est un exemple,

mais encore là, on s'attend à certaines

formes de réaction de la part des audi-

teurs : prise de notes, demandes de pré-

cisions, etc. Autrement dit, dans l'acte

normal de communication, il est

difficile d'isoler les savoirs les uns des

autres. Pour l'authenticité, les meilleurs

tests sont souvent ceux qui font appel

à plusieurs savoirs. Reprenons l'exem-

ple de l'appel téléphonique. Dans la

vie normale, le candidat aurait fait la

commission aussi bien par écrit que

de vive voix. De cette façon non

seulement peut-on vraiment contrôler

la compréhension du message, mais

aussi la capacité de rétention qui

permet de le retrasmètre selon un

registre acceptable entre amis. Malheu-

reusement, ces tests sont difficiles à

corriger objectivement et, pour respec-

ter la validité et la fidélité, il faut, dans

l'état actuel des choses, accepter des

compromis comme les items à choix

multiples, artificiels, que l'on utilise

pour apprécier la compréhension d'un

acte de communication authentique.

La compréhension écrite

La compréhension écrite est un

domaine à part. C'est en effet un acte

de communication normal que de pren-

dre un livre, une revue, un journal et

de les lire pour s'instruire, se renseigner

ou se divertir. Pourtant le lecteur ne

lit pas n'importe quoi, mais seulement

des textes qui répondent à ses besoins.

D'où la difficulté de produire des tests

collectifs valides. C'était possible avec

la doctrine structurale et ses items

discrets, mais comme le test doit tenir

compte au maximum de la réalité, une

telle solution n'est pas acceptable.

Parmi les expériences tentées, retenons

celle proposée par Carroll, où les candi-

dates reçoivent un dossier composé de

plusieurs documents sur un sujet cor-

respondant à certains de leurs besoins

préalablement déterminés. L'examina-

teur tente alors de vérifier divers para-

mètres de la compréhension écrite. Par

exemple, il fait établir un graphique

à partir de données disponibles dans

un texte suivi, ce qu'un étudiant peut

très bien être appelé à faire. Toujours

chez les étudiants, la compréhension

de l'écrit se combine bien à l'expression

écrite par la prise de notes ou le résumé.

Mais on achoppe, là encore, sur l'objec-

tivité de la correction. C'est un trait

commun à tous les tests où l'expression

intervient.

L'expression orale

Dans la vie courante, on imagine mal

des situations où le locuteur ne ferait

que parler; aussi ne semble-t-il pas

souhaitable de proposer des tests où

ce savoir serait mesuré seul. On le fait

dans la technique structurale en posant

des questions très contraignantes du

type **Quel âge avez-vous ? Où sommes-**

nous ? et le reste. Mais les réponses

ne permettent ici de couvrir qu'une

toute petite partie du code. Lorsque

l'expression orale entre en jeu, il est

très compliqué d'atteindre un degré

acceptable d'authenticité. Le candi-

dateur ou à un jury en entrevue. Il e

utopique d'espérer beaucoup de

naturel, la situation ne s'y prêtant n

lement. D'autres inconvénients inte

viennent. L'entrevue est coûteuse ei

temps de candidats et de spécialistes

difficile à organiser et à évaluer de

façon satisfaisante. S'il s'agit d'un

groupe important, la notation en est

impossible à cause du temps et des

coûts impliqués. C'est malheureuse

ment un défi que le domaine des tes

de langue n'a pas réussi à relever.

Aussi tend-on aujourd'hui à allier

l'expression et la compréhension or

les, notamment, et à faire de l'une la

manifestation de l'autre, ce qui cor

pond à la façon habituelle d'utiliser

la langue parlée. La recherche dans

cette direction paraît prometteuse.

L'expression écrite

L'expression écrite prend toutes sor

de formes : lettre, journal, notes,

résumé, rapport, etc., mais elle sup

toujours une participation directe d

l'individu, qu'il s'agisse du fond ou

de la forme. Il existe aujourd'hui un

formulaire très prisé qui combine ce

savoir et la compréhension de l'écrit

Dans le test de clôture, un mot sur

cinq, six ou sept est supprimé d'un

énoncé selon le degré de difficulté

voulu. On demande alors au sujet d

restituer les mots manquants (ou leu

équivalent). Par exemple, **Le Préside**

de la France . . . annonce que son p

ne . . . pas à la conférence sur . . . de

me. On part du principe que p

un individu connaît la langue, plus i

est en mesure de trouver ce qui man

que. Cela produit d'ailleurs d'excellen

résultats.

On reproche néanmoins à ce procéd

de ne mesurer que la connaissance c

code, la compétence linguistique, et

de ne pouvoir évaluer les autres dim

sions de la communication. Dans l'o

que sociolinguistique, ces griffes son

justifiées. Le meilleur test d'expressi

écrite est probablement le texte libr

la composition, où, comme nous le f

sions remarquer plus avant, le candi

doit faire la preuve de toutes les cor

tences nécessaires à la communication

fort complexe, la communication, à quatre savoirs, et ce sur le plan strictement linguistique. C'est d'ailleurs, on l'a vu plus haut, ce que leur ont fortement reproché les sociolinguistes qui prônent la compétence globale de communication. Dans la pratique du testing, cela a revêtu plusieurs formes.

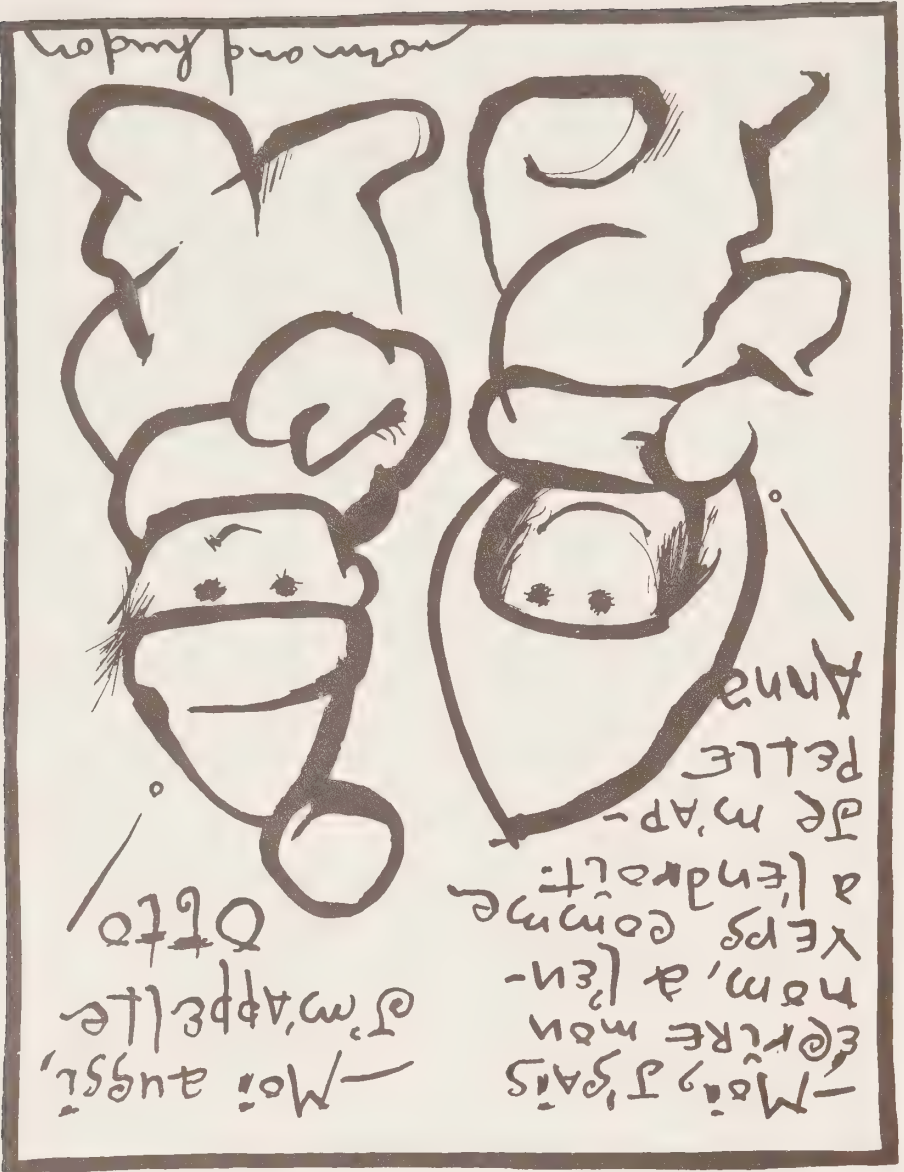
Compréhension orale

L'objectif d'un test de compréhension orale est de vérifier jusqu'à quel point un passage en langue parlée a été compris par le candidat. Pour les structurales, le problème peut être résolu par l'atomisation, la technique privilégiée étant l'item à choix multiples. On propose dans un tel item plusieurs répon-

précises et les résultats révèlent le niveau atteint.

Les quatre savoirs

Pendant la période structuraliste, on a insisté sur la notion des quatre savoirs : la compréhension orale et l'expression orale, la compréhension écrite et l'expression écrite, qui, une fois possédées, constituaient la connaissance de la langue. Cette division en ensembles productifs (l'expression) et réceptifs (la compréhension) venait principalement du besoin de donner sa juste place à toute la dimension orale de la langue, autrefois négligée. Les structuralistes innovaient donc en établissant des domaines précis de compétence et en réduisant un phénomène



code (qu'ils nomment compétence linguistique) est loin de suffire pour permettre l'emploi d'une langue comme moyen de communiquer. À cet égard, il est impératif de posséder la compétence de communication, dont les composantes pourraient être la compétence linguistique, la compétence du discours, la compétence socio-linguistique et la compétence interactive.

La compétence linguistique est la maîtrise des règles du code : place des mots, marques du genre, du nombre, temps, de la personne, sens des mots. C'est également ce qui était mesuré jusqu'alors. La compétence du discours est la maîtrise des règles d'organisation d'un texte (oral ou écrit) en un ensemble cohérent et bien structuré. La compétence sociolinguistique est la maîtrise de l'utilisation et de l'interprétation des règles sociales qui se rattachent à la communication. Par exemple, on n'emploie pas le même registre de langue dans une présentation officielle ou lors d'une conversation entre amis de longue date. Enfin, la compétence interactive est la maîtrise de la gestion de l'acte de communication sur deux plans : les rapports entre les participants et les stratégies de communication non verbale, d'empathie, etc.

Comme on peut le constater, c'est l'acte de communication qui est mis en cause dans cette approche. Sur le concepteur, il s'agit de trouver des techniques qui permettent au candidat de montrer son degré de compétence de communication.

Sur cela, on lui fixe certaines tâches

Né à Montréal en 1929, Normand Hudon a travaillé à l'Armée canadienne et l'Europe depuis une trentaine d'années. Ses milliers de dessins, de caricatures et d'illustrations ont paru dans les journaux du Québec, dans le magazine Time, dans Paris-Match, etc. C'est lui qui fut choisi pour exécuter le plafond du Pavillon du Canada et la murale du Pavillon de l'humour lors de l'Expo 67. Il vit présentement à Magog au Québec.



De la mesure en toute chose

RAYMOND LEBLANC

Domaine complexe, les tests de langue seconde offrent à l'heure actuelle une image plutôt cahotique, leurs concepteurs étant tiraillés entre une tradition psychométrique qui date d'une quarantaine d'années, et une volonté de renouveau qui cherche encore sa voie.

Essayons, donc, oh ! très brièvement, de nous situer en retraçant l'évolution de cette discipline, puis en examinant à tour de rôle les composantes habituelles d'une batterie de tests.

On s'accorde habituellement pour reconnaître trois grandes étapes qui ont marqué les tests de langue seconde :

- la période pré-scientifique,
- la période psychométrique-structuraliste,
- la période sociolinguistique-intégrative.

La période pré-scientifique

Remontant aussi loin que les écoles de l'Empire romain et prenant fin vers la Seconde Guerre mondiale, cette période se caractérise, en ce qui concerne l'enseignement, par une méthode essentiellement fondée sur la grammaire et la traduction. La mesure des connaissances de la langue cible était très empirique et laissée au professeur, qui employait le thème et la version, les phrases à compléter, la composition et autres outils de ce genre, le test oral ne servant que rarement. Pour critiquer rapidement cette période, notons un manque apparemment de fondements théoriques justifiant le recours aux techniques préconisées. Ajoutons qu'on ne voit pas bien à quelles habiletés de communication correspondent, par exemple, le thème et la version. Force nous est pourtant de constater qu'actuellement, on tend à revenir aux phrases à compléter et à la composition, parce que ces deux instruments recouvrent toutes les habiletés nécessaires à la communication par l'écriture. Aussi ne faut-il peut-être pas faire trop rapidement le procès de la période pré-scientifique du seul fait de son appellation.

La période psychométrique-structuraliste

On entre là dans l'ère scientifique du testing¹ qui, commencée à la fin des années 40, dure toujours, comme en témoignent les tests récents. C'est le règne de la linguistique structurale

américaine, base théorique de l'enseignement des langues

et, par conséquent, des tests.

Ceux-ci reposent sur une double hypothèse. D'abord, la langue cible — la langue à apprendre — présente un ensemble de difficultés que le spécialiste peut repérer en comparant cette langue à sa langue maternelle. Ensuite, en prouvant la maîtrise d'un certain nombre de ces problèmes dans des « situations linguistiques valides », on peut déterminer le niveau de connaissance acquis. Ces situations sont définies comme un contexte linguistique. Autrement dit, un élément à tester est considéré comme employé dans une situation normale s'il apparaît dans une phrase, par exemple, plutôt que de manière isolée.

correspond à l'énoncé.

Outre l'objectivité, les qualités psychométriques que l'on attend d'un test sont la validité (il doit effectivement mesurer ce qu'il prétend mesurer) et la fidélité (il doit fournir des faits fiables). C'est donc clairement sous la double influence de la psychométrie et du structuralisme que se situe cette période.

La période sociolinguistique-intégrative

Après les prises de conscience provoquées par les générations de linguistes qui insistent sur l'aspect créateur du langage, par les sociolinguistes, obsédés par toutes les dimensions de la communication, il n'est pas étonnant que l'on assiste ces dernières années à un nouveau tournant. C'est la période des sociolinguistique-intégrative. Ses tenants, en particulier Hymes (1972), s'efforcent de montrer que la seule maîtrise



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français langue seconde, l'
doit aussi une introduction
linguistique générale.

De nos jours, les promotions, la sécurité d'emploi et même le droit d'exercer une profession, tiennent parfois dans bien des cas mises en question.

Les tests de langue seconde, en tant que tels, ne sont pas la solution.

Le système scolaire doit absolument préciser ce qu'est un enseignant multiculturel, prévoir une formation spéciale et tracer un plan de carrière à ces professeurs. Il n'y a aucun doute que cela susciterait un intérêt considérable. À l'heure actuelle, les écoles primaires qui désirent établir des programmes spéciaux ont tendance à douter de leur aptitude à attirer un enseignant spécialisé et à obtenir des fonds pour plus d'une année. Pour assurer la continuité, il faudra établir clairement le cheminement professionnel des professeurs de langues seconde. La bataille en ce sens est d'ores et déjà engagée, enseignants et parents se serrant les coudes.

Adapté de l'anglais

1. Langue et société, n° 1, Automne 1979, p. 25.

Malgré les progrès impressionnants accomplis dans le Victoria au chapitre de l'éducation multiculturelle, certains problèmes persistent. L'un d'entre eux tient à la tendance des enseignants à considérer le multiculturalisme comme un élément distinct, ajouté au programme d'études, et à croire que celui-ci peut rester inchangé à condition qu'il y ait un cours intitulé « Etudes ethniques ».

En outre, beaucoup de jeunes reçoivent encore une éducation unilingue et uniculturelle. Pour bien des gens, le multiculturalisme constitue une idée trop différente et hardie. Très peu d'écoles ont adopté une véritable politique en la matière, la plupart ayant plutôt des programmes timides et séparés au titre desquels le professeur va, par exemple, définir le caractère ethnique de ses élèves au lieu de les laisser découvrir leur propre identité.

Malgré des fonds destinés à divers programmes urbains et ruraux englobant les niveaux primaires et un certain nombre de classes du secondaire. On ne saurait passer sous silence la se sur pied (au Centre d'éducation communautaire de Richmond, dans l'état de Victoria) du projet de publication HODJA qui a pour objet la production de publications destinées à l'éducation multiculturelle et multilingue. Enseignants et travailleurs communautaires y fournissent une foule de données. Déjà, l'on a créé des écritureaux des affiches en plus de 25 langues, mis plusieurs jeux multiculturels et même publié un dictionnaire de mathématiques anglo-vietnamiennes. Le projet subventionné par la Commission laire australienne, qui l'a jugé d'importance nationale », et les ventes provenant des ventes sont investies dans la production.

EXPLORE

TROUSSE D'INFORMATION SUR LES LANGUES

spécialement conçue pour les jeunes de 13 à 17 ans et mettant en lumière l'universalité de l'anglais et du français.

Elle comporte trois volets :
EXPLORATIONS
un jeu... tours de pistes et tours du monde
tournant autour de cartes «langues»
LANGUES DU MONDE
une carte interactive... quadruple jeu de couleurs et de renseignements illustrant la myriade de langues parlées au Canada et dans le monde.
LE DOSSIER LANGUES
saisissante de l'univers des langues.
d'activités et d'illustrations, une vision
Réalisée par le Bureau du Commissaire aux
langues officielles grâce à des fonds publics.
la trousses EXPLORATIONS est distribuée
gratuitement. On peut se la procurer en écrivant
au : Bureau du Commissaire aux langues
officielles, 66, rue Slater, Ottawa (Ontario),
K1A 0T8. Prière d'indiquer si vous écrivez
au nom d'un groupe ou à titre personnel.



aborigène est spécialisée, bien que ne comprenant aucun professionnel.

Compte tenu de leur situation socio-économique et des préjugés dont ils sont victimes, il n'est pas étonnant que les écoliers aborigènes aient peine à donner leur plein rendement. C'est précisément pour surmonter ces problèmes qu'un grand nombre d'adultes s'emploient avec acharnement à améliorer leurs perspectives d'avenir.

Un cas vécu

Les initiatives linguistiques et culturelles prises dans diverses écoles de l'Etat de Victoria reflètent assez fidèlement le travail de défrichement accompli partout en Australie. Celles de l'école primaire de Fernree Gully, dont les élèves sont à 88 pour cent anglo-australien, donnent une excellente idée de ce qui se fait à cet égard.



Cet établissement s'est en effet donné pour politique que « tous les enfants, de toutes les écoles, doivent participer à des programmes multiculturels ». Ces programmes, à caractère linguistique surtout, font appel à la participation des parents et aux ressources de la collectivité, ce qui a l'avantage de mettre dans le coup aussi bien les élèves que leur famille.

Parents et adultes sont ainsi invités à prononcer des allocutions sur leur pays d'origine et le processus d'immigration, et à prendre part à des activités culinaires, linguistiques et artisanales. Cela leur permet, entre autres choses, de sensibiliser les enfants aux diverses échelles de valeurs et à la terminologie utilisée pour discuter de différences et de similitudes, de respect et de tolérance. D'aucuns ont observé que « l'ambiance de l'école est toute imprégnée de l'esprit du programme multiculturel ».

Au vu de ces résultats, on a convenu qu'il fallait refondre le cours des Etudes générales pour l'axer entièrement sur l'éducation multiculturelle. « Après un séjour de sept ans à Fernree Gully, les enfants auront acquis une connaissance et une compréhension approfondies des principaux groupes culturels représentés à l'école, dans la collectivité et dans l'ensemble de l'Australie ».

Écoles secondaires

Dans la région de Brunswick-Coburg, où les Anglo-saxons sont en minorité, huit écoles secondaires ont collaboré à l'élaboration des programmes linguistiques. Selon une enquête effectuée en 1980, il semble que plus de 90 pour cent des parents, dont 80 pour cent sont anglophones, soient favorables à l'instruction bilingue et à l'enseignement des langues communautaires dans les écoles publiques. Ils estiment en effet que la culture est indissociable de la langue qui la véhicule. Auparavant, on considérerait plutôt le bilinguisme comme un bûlet à traîner au même titre qu'un dialecte de la classe ouvrière, et l'enseignement de l'anglais se faisait dans une ambiance négative et avec l'idée d'un manque à combler. Dans ce groupe d'écoles, l'apprentissage des langues populaires ne se fait pas uniquement en classe. Les parents reçoivent régulièrement des renseignements dans leur langue et il arrive que des réunions se tiennent entièrement en italien. C'est ainsi que le bulletin d'information d'une école renferme des articles rédigés par les parents, dans leur langue.

Certaines écoles techniques ont également fait preuve d'innovation dans ce domaine. Que dire par exemple de cette classe de menuiserie de 7^e et 8^e années dont les premiers travaux consistent à fabriquer une machine à spaghetti, à cause justement de la composition du groupe ? À la même école, le multiculturalisme est intégré à l'enseignement des mathématiques. Ainsi, on demande aux élèves d'effectuer un voyage imaginaire autour du monde, au cours duquel ils seront appelés à changer une somme fictive de 100 \$ dans la devise des pays visités.

Au niveau primaire, beaucoup d'écoles de l'Etat de Victoria ont mis en place des programmes de sensibilisation

Répartition des principaux groupes ethniques australiens selon la langue maternelle.¹

Langue maternelle Nombre de locuteurs

Afrikaans et anglais	12 655*
Albanais	1 380*
Allemand	183 644*
Anglais	11 446 000*
Arabe	34 612*
Arménien	4 800*
Bulgare	1 421*
Danois	7 566*
Espagnol	48 299*
Estonien	5 313*
Fiji	4 015*
Finois	10 359*
Français	80 988*
Grec	262 177*
Hongrois	19 618*
Italien	449 521*
Japonais	4 929*
Letton	14 478*
Lituanien	7 051*
Macédonien	16 693*
Malais	14 945*
Maltais	36 035*
Mandarin	29 903*
Néerlandais	64 768*
Norvégien	3 306*
Polonais	62 945*
Portugais	8 263*
Roumain	4 662*
Russe	8 290*
Serbo-croate	26 964*
Singalais et tamoul	9 091*
Suèdois	3 725*
Tchèque et Slovaque	16 602*
Thaï	1 004*
Tonga	448*
Turc	14 731*
Ukrainien	17 585*
Yiddish	24 000*

1 Ce tableau ne tient pas compte des 260 langues aborigènes d'Australie dont 150 à 200 sont peut-être encore parlées aujourd'hui.
* Données statistiques de 1971.
Source: H. Kloss et G.D. McConnell, *Composition linguistique des nations du monde*, 4, l'Océanie, Québec, Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1981.



sont sur le point d'entrer au secondaire à se rattraper en matière de calcul, de lecture et d'écriture, on organise à leur intention des camps de transition.

Le milieu de l'enseignement aborigène de Victoria connaît actuellement un bourdonnement d'activités souvent novatrices. Quoique les Aborigènes se consacrent pleinement à leur travail, ils donnent rarement la pleine mesure d'eux-mêmes. On ne connaît pas la cause exacte de cette anomalie, mais sans aucun doute, la pauvreté et la maladie y sont pour beaucoup. Selon les statistiques établies par le service de santé de Fitzroy, il existe, chez les adultes, un taux de morbidité élevée et un niveau d'instruction et de spécialisation plutôt faible. D'après cette enquête, seulement 40 pour cent de la population de la région visée a terminé des études primaires, 44 pour cent des travailleurs n'ont aucune spécialisation ou ne sont que semi-spécialisés et 27 pour cent vivent de prestations sociales. En outre, 18 pour cent seulement de la main-d'oeuvre

est de conseiller les collectivités en matière d'enseignement, de les aider à s'épanouir comme elles l'entendent et de donner certains cours liés aux programmes para-scolaires.

Il existe actuellement, dans l'Etat de Victoria, 11 localités ayant leur propre comité ou coopérative d'éducation aborigène. Ces groupes sont composés surtout de personnes à scolarité très limitée qui veulent donner à leurs enfants toutes les chances possibles. La participation aborigène au système d'éducation est fort impressionnante. Elle vient en grande partie d'enseignants, bénévoles ou très peu rémunérés, qui donnent leur avis sur le matériel approprié, font des conférences dans les écoles et prennent part à la formation en cours d'emploi. Ils aident aussi les professeurs à régler les problèmes de racisme à l'école et font vivre la culture aborigène en présentant son histoire et en mettant en lumière ses particularités en regard, notamment, aux relations familiales et aux possessions matérielles. Pour aider les enfants qui

pour sa part, l'Etat de Victoria s'est employé à mettre en oeuvre des initiatives nouvelles, par l'intermédiaire de son comité consultatif sur l'éducation aborigène. Formé de bénévoles, cet organisme travaille en étroite collaboration avec les Services d'éducation aborigène, une division du ministère de l'Education de l'Etat. Cette dernière comprend 20 employés, dont tous, sauf deux, sont des Aborigènes, et une cinquantaine d'aides-enseignants autochtones. Leur principale fonction consiste à faire participer la collectivité aborigène à la vie scolaire, à présenter des études aborigènes ou à fournir l'aide adéquate pour ces cours et à aider les enfants dans leurs études.

Services d'éducation aborigène n'emploient aussi sept enseignants sources qui voyagent constamment dans quatre coins de l'Etat. Leur tâche

subjectivité avec laquelle tous les énoncés les intéressants y ont été écrits.

de la population scolaire, offrent un vaste éventail de programmes multiculturels. Enfin, près de 100 000 petits Australiens fréquentent les écoles dites ethniques — qui se tiennent l'après-midi, en soirée ou en fin de semaine — où une trentaine de langues sont utilisées.

En ce qui concerne les Aborigènes, les écoles ont pris récemment diverses initiatives destinées, d'une part, à sensibiliser tous les enfants à la culture de ces peuples et d'autre part, à faire connaître aux jeunes Aborigènes leurs langues et leurs cultures.

Alors que j'étais Commissaire aux relations communautaires de l'Australie, j'ai toujours cru que nos écoles pouvaient constituer des bancs d'essai de la tolérance. Au moment où j'ai été nommé, en vertu de la Loi de 1975 sur la discrimination raciale, j'ai choisi de faire de l'enseignement, notamment celui de la langue et de la culture, le principal instrument de lutte contre le fanatisme et la discrimination raciale.

C'est dans cet esprit qu'ont eu lieu dans tout le pays, des conférences destinées à solliciter l'appui des États et des autorités scolaires catholiques et indépendantes en vue d'établir de nouveaux programmes linguistiques et culturels adaptés à un milieu scolaire multiculturel et polytechnique.

L'expérience a bien montré que les relations communautaires étaient au mieux dans les écoles primaires qui avaient adopté des programmes de langue et de culture secondés destinés à tous les élèves, indépendamment de leur origine. C'est précisément ce que j'ai signalé dans mes six rapports annuels présentés au Parlement australien pour faire valoir l'importance de la langue comme moyen de combattre la discrimination.

Il existe divers types de programmes bilingues. Les enfants peuvent, par exemple, suivre les cours dans leur langue maternelle jusqu'à la troisième année tout en étudiant simultanément l'anglais. Une autre façon de procéder est de faire de l'anglais, dès le premier jour, la principale langue d'enseignement, quitte à introduire immédiatement

la ou les langues de la communauté intéressée.

Appui des parents

Afin de sonder leur opinion sur l'enseignement de la langue seconde au primaire, mon Bureau, alors que j'étais Commissaire aux relations communautaires a effectué une enquête auprès des associations de parents et d'enseignants de l'Australie. Notre but était de veiller à ce :

- que les élèves ne perdent pas leur patrimoine;
- qu'ils ne soient pas aliénés de leurs parents faute d'une langue commune;
- que le processus de conceptualisation ne soit pas retardé parce que l'élève ne possède qu'une connaissance insuffisante de l'anglais et de sa langue maternelle.



La majorité s'est prononcée en faveur de l'enseignement de la langue seconde au primaire, où, d'après des travaux de recherche, une langue s'apprend plus facilement et plus durablement qu'au secondaire.

L'Australie a mis à l'essai des initiatives linguistiques de toutes sortes. De plus en plus d'écoliers apprennent des langues populaires, le nombre d'établissements dits ethniques ne cesse de croître et les inscriptions y augmentent constamment. L'on vient en outre d'établir un nouveau lien entre certaines écoles primaires et ethniques par l'adoption de ce qu'on appelle les programmes d'insertion ».

Administrés par des organismes communautaires, de concert avec des externats reconnus, et financés par le Programme des écoles ethniques de la Commission scolaire, ces

programmes se distinguent tout à fait de ceux qui sont dispensés dans les écoles ethniques après les heures de classe normales.

Il s'agit, dans ce cas, de desservir, par une clientèle linguistiquement homogène, mais plutôt un groupe multi-ethnique. Dans l'Etat de Victoria, 28 000 élèves de l'école primaire apprennent l'italien grâce aux programmes d'insertion dont s'occupent surtout l'Association d'assistance italienne. Signalons qu'environ 700 cent des participants ne sont pas d'origine italienne.

Il est clair que ces programmes constituent un excellent moyen d'enseignement à tous les langues communautaires. Ils favorisent également la collaboration entre groupes ethniques et l'amélioration des méthodes d'enseignement utilisées dans le système actuel.

Les Aborigènes : un cas à part
Après en avoir été exclues pendant 20 ans, les langues et les cultures aborigènes commencent maintenant à reparaître dans les écoles australiennes. Même s'ils ne constituent que dix pour cent de la population totale, les Aborigènes ont des revendications spéciales à titre de peuples fondateurs installés dans ce continent depuis plus de 40 000 ans, ils représentent la plus vieille civilisation encore existante.

La Nouvelle-Galles-du-Sud, l'Etat le plus ancien et le plus peuplé de l'Australie, vient tout juste d'adopter un programme élaboré par les Aborigènes, en collaboration avec le ministère de l'Education. Il a pour objectif principal de veiller à ce que toutes les écoles présentent judicieusement l'histoire, la culture et le patrimoine de l'Australie aborigène. Il s'agit de familiariser les enfants d'autres origines ethniques avec l'histoire des premiers Australiens et à lutter contre le fanatisme et les stéréotypes qui ne servent qu'à creuser le fossé entre les collectivités.

Cette initiative vise aussi à sensibiliser les jeunes Aborigènes à leur ascendance et à renforcer leur amour-propre. Leur histoire et leur identité ont, en effet, grandement souffert des effets imprégnés des manuels scolaires et

Les stations
privées de télévision ont
commencé à offrir des
émissions originales
ciblées d'origine
indienne et créole.

Pour sa part, le gouvernement national a respecté son engagement de mettre en ondes des émissions de télévision destinées aux groupes minoritaires. La programmation multiculturelle est transmise de Sydney et de Melbourne. Même les stations privées de télévision ont commencé à offrir des émissions orientées vers les Australiens d'origine italienne ou grecque. Enfin, la radio commerciale a mis fin à sa tendance à l'unilinguisme, et a maintenu les langues ayant survécu à l'obscurantisme.

Les éditeurs viennent de se rendre compte que les jeunes Australiens représentent diverses ethnies et que près de 700 000 d'entre eux parlent une langue autre que l'anglais au moment de commencer l'école.

La solution : l'enseignement
A la lumière des initiatives prises par le Bureau du Commissaire aux relations communautaires, tous les Etats australiens de même que les Territoires du Nord et de la Capitale, ont adopté le principe de l'enseignement multiculturel et mis en oeuvre des programmes en ce sens. L'Australie-métropolitaine remporte la palme à cet égard, puisque la moitié de ses écoles primaires offrent aux élèves la possibilité d'apprendre une langue seconde.
Il y a deux sortes de cours : ceux qui visent le maintien de la langue des enfants parlant déjà une autre langue que l'anglais, comme le grec ou l'italien et ceux qui sont conçus pour les petits Anglophones. Ces derniers ont généralement le choix de plusieurs langues, dont l'irlandais, qui est souvent la langue ancestrale de beaucoup d'entre eux.
De leur côté, les écoles catholiques, qui regroupent de 25 à 30 pour cent

fait savoir qu'elle avait pris des initiatives dans ce domaine. Enfin, le système scolaire du Queensland a accompli des progrès sensibles au chapitre des programmes linguistiques et culturels.

La part des médias

Les médias eux-mêmes sont entrés dans la danse. Désormais, ce n'est plus seulement à Sydney et à Melbourne que l'on peut suivre des émissions diffusées dans 52 langues différentes, mais aussi à Adelaide (qui, à bien des égards, a été à l'avant-garde de ce mouvement), Perth, Canberra, Brisbane et Hobart. Les Aborigènes diffusent aussi régulièrement dans leurs langues.

La presse australienne publie une centaine de journaux dans douze langues, y compris, pour la première fois en cent ans, deux bulletins de nouvelles en chinois. Même les journaux anglais se sont mis de la partie. En effet, trois journalistes de Sydney, Melbourne et Adelaide rédigent une « chronique ethnique ». Les journaux comprennent aussi des sections bilingues; ainsi lors du tremblement de terre à Fribuli, il y a deux ans, ils ont donné en italien la liste des morts et des blessés. Cela contrastait nettement avec l'attitude passée.

Ventilation, selon l'origine ethnique, des élèves d'une école urbaine typique.*

Origine	%**
Italienne	40,0
Greque	17,8
Anglo-saxonne	16,0
Libanaise	7,5
Portugaise	2,15
Asiatique	1,7
Malaise	1,35
Yugoslave	1,35
Mauritienne	,9
Pakistanaise	,45
Polonaise	,45
Guyanaise	,45
Espagnole	,45
Egyptienne	,45

* Ecole de East Thornbury, banlieue de Melbourne.
** Comme ce tableau constitue une approximation, le total des pourcentages n'égale pas 100.

une des conséquences les plus considérables de cette évolution a été la reconnaissance des langues et des cultures aborigènes, qui représentent environ deux pour cent de la population. Après 150 ans de conflits et deux générations de paternalisme destiné à radoucir les derniers jours d'un peuple gonisant », les 500 000 Aborigènes originiaux, répartis en 574 nations parlant autant de langues, n'étaient plus que 50 000 il y a 25 ans. On prévoit maintenant revenir, en l'an 2000, au nombre initial.

es affrontements culturels furent beaucoup plus farouches en Australie qu'au Canada et l'anglo-mogénisation imposée de façon beaucoup plus catégorique. C'était la doctrine de la race et de la langue unies. Le dernier massacre de peuplades aborigènes a eu lieu en 1926, l'année même de ma naissance.

La presse australienne publie une centaine de journaux en douze langues, y compris, pour la première fois en 100 ans, deux bulletins de nouvelles en chinois.

fallait donc que la révolution culturelle se fasse rapidement, de façon intensive et dans toutes les couches de la société, si l'on voulait éviter la violence qui accompagnait nos jours d'affrontements en matière de droits fondamentaux.
existe désormais, à l'échelle fédérale dans les Etats de la Nouvelle-Galles-Sud, de Victoria et de l'Australie-Étrangère, des administrations dites multiculturelles qui ont précisément pour tâche de faire valoir la nature multiculturelle de la société.
Bureau du Commissaire aux relations communautaires est tenu de valoir à ce que tous les Australiens puissent parler leur langue et vivre selon leur culture. L'Australie occidentale vient pour sa part de nommer son premier agent des affaires multiculturelles, tandis que la Tasmanie a

Avant d'examiner les progrès marqués par la révolution culturelle australienne en matière de langue et de culture, il conviendrait de comparer la situation qui régnait dans nos deux pays à l'époque pré-révolutionnaire. Au Canada, les deux principales ethnies sont venues de France et de Grande-Bretagne et, depuis la Confédération de 1867, l'on y a toujours reconnu l'existence d'au moins deux langues et deux cultures.

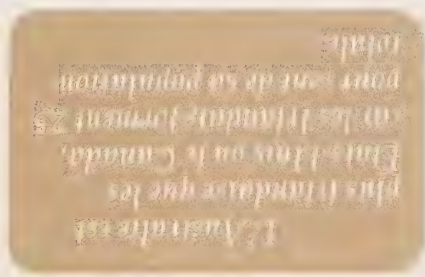
Le Canada et l'Australie ont toutefois continué à défendre et à appliquer des mesures d'assimilation. Voici par exemple ce que dit de la situation canadienne de l'époque l'historien Blair Neaaby, dans une publication du Bureau du Commissaire aux langues officielles du Canada :

Les premières décennies des années 1900 sont celles de l'industrialisation et de la laïcisation du Canada. Le patriotisme canadien se mesure toujours par le degré de loyauté à l'Empire britannique. C'est en outre l'époque d'une immigration massive qui aboutit à l'implantation dans l'Ouest de groupes ethniques d'origines diverses... et qui ne va pas sans soulever de sérieuses inquiétudes quant à ses conséquences pour l'identité culturelle des provinces occidentales. La situation linguistique canadienne varie d'une région à l'autre, mais on retrouve partout une constante : l'anglais doit favoriser l'assimilation, ou tout au moins rassembler les collectivités autour d'une langue commune, et l'école publique sera l'instrument de cette « anglo-homogénéisation ».

Même situation en Australie où l'on insistait cependant davantage sur l'anglo-homogénéisation et où la politique d'assimilation était appliquée d'une façon presque fanatique, niant la valeur de tous les groupes sauf un. À cause du conflit culturel pris une tournure beaucoup plus violente qu'au Canada, où l'affrontement anglo-français a au moins abouti à la reconnaissance du fait français.

La composition ethnique
Au point de vue démographique, ce sont les Irlandais et non les Français, qui occupent le deuxième rang en

Australie. Si l'Angleterre entretient depuis fort longtemps avec la France une relation pacifique et est son alliée depuis près de deux siècles, ses rapports avec l'Irlande, au cours de la même période, ont été belliqueux et le conflit est loin d'être réglé.



Les soulèvements et les affrontements des Irlandais d'Australie se sont soldés par un échec. Ne jouissant pas d'une force assez importante pour appuyer leurs revendications linguistiques, à toutes fins utiles abandonnés à leurs propres moyens dans une colonie britannique de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Aujourd'hui, cependant, l'Australie apparaît plus irlandaise que les États-Unis ou le Canada, car les Irlandais représentent 25 pour cent de la population totale.

Les Allemands viennent en troisième place, 10 pour cent environ de tous les Australiens sont de souche germanique. Mais les deux guerres mondiales ont presque anéanti les programmes linguistiques et culturels, la législation ayant frappé d'interdits, sous peine d'amende ou d'emprisonnement, sinon les deux, l'acte « odieux » d'enseigner une langue autre que l'anglais.

Plus d'un million d'Australiens sont de descendance italienne et, après l'anglais, l'italien est la langue la plus parlée au pays. Viennent ensuite les personnes d'origine grecque, au nombre de 600 000. Le grec se classe, au second rang comme langue communautaire et Melbourne, la deuxième métropole australienne, est la troisième ville « grecque » au monde après Athènes et Thessalonique.

L'Australie compte aussi plus d'habitants d'origine maltaise que la République de Malte elle-même. Cependant, considérés comme sujets britanniques

anglophones à l'époque de l'Anglo-émigré en Australie au cours des années 1800, le peuple l'Australie. Le peuple Macassar a entrepris pendant six siècles des liens avec l'Australie du Nord et l'a enrichie, dans un climat de paix et de bonne volonté, de sa langue, de ses techniques et de ses apports démographiques.

Les Chinois, venus surtout de Canton, un historien australien a appelé les « Irlandais de Chine », formant au siècle dernier, la troisième ethnique de l'Australie orientale. En effet, au début des années 1900, le quart de la population de Sydney était chinoise. Mais, victime de persécutions, d'émigrations et de mesures interdites aux membres de leurs familles de rejoindre la population active, ce groupe a considérablement diminué. Pour montrer à quel point les Sino-australiens devaient éviter de se faire remarquer, signalaient que, durant les années 20, un distingué avocat de la Victoria interdisait à sa famille de parler chinois ou d'utiliser un nom autre que leurs noms anglais. On rappelle aussi le cas de ce marchand de Sydney qui, au début du siècle, se joignit aux Calédoniens et s'est mis à porter le kilt et à jouer au cricket.

Plus d'un million d'Australiens sont de descendance italienne et, après l'anglais, l'italien est la langue la plus parlée au pays.

Après avoir servi son pays comme député, puis comme ministre de l'immigration, Albert Jaime Grassby a été pendant sept ans Commissaire aux relations communautaires de l'Australie. Une *After*, est consacrée au racisme en politique. L'évolution sociale, culturelle et linguistique de l'Australie n'a donc plus de secrets pour lui.



Le plus jeune peuple de la terre

LIBERT JAIME GRASSBY

Avec 15 millions d'habitants, 140 ethnies, 90 langues et 80 religions, l'Australie est de toute évidence l'une des grandes mosaïques humaines du monde. Cette réalité démographique a suscité, au début des années 70, une révolution culturelle qui, pour ne pas avoir eu les échos de celle de la Chine, se poursuit toujours et promet de transformer les aspects de la vie australienne furent touchés, mais est à un système d'enseignement conçu en fonction du multiculturalisme et à la reconnaissance de la diversité linguistique et culturelle du pays qu'il faut surtout en attribuer le succès.

L'instar du Canada, l'Australie a été une colonie britannique, sujette, comme il se devait, à la règle de l'assimilation. Pour maintenir le mythe de l'homogénéité, fondement de la politique, l'on a répété, envers et contre tous, que l'Australie était à 98 pour cent « britannique ». Ce chiffre correspondait en un sens à la réalité politique, mais aucunement la réalité ethnique. Il aurait fallu, pour le maintenir, considérer comme « britanniques » tous les natifs de l'Australie (peu importe leur origine), les personnes naturalisées ainsi que les immigrants venus des 50 pays qui constituaient à l'époque l'Empire britannique.

N'est pas étonnant, dans ce contexte, que la connaissance d'une langue autre que l'anglais ait été considérée presque comme un acte d'hostilité envers l'Etat. De leur côté, les Aborigènes et leurs langues étaient censés s'annihiler, tandis que les personnes dont la langue maternelle n'était pas celle de l'Angleterre ne pouvaient avoir que la honte ou l'effacement par le partage.

Mais parce qu'elle a accueilli au XIX^e siècle plus d'immigrants par habitant que tout autre pays, l'Australie subit, depuis 25 ans, une transformation radicale. Les Australiens constituent à l'heure actuelle le plus jeune peuple de la terre, 40 pour cent d'entre eux sont des immigrants et ils forment, sans compter Israël, le plus fort contingent de travailleurs nés à l'étranger.

1973 : une doctrine nouvelle
C'est pour tenir compte, d'une part, des changements majeurs qu'a connus la société australienne et, d'autre part, de la diversité étouffée en vain dans le passé, que l'on a proclamé officiellement en 1973, dans un document préparé en vue du colloque sur la stratégie pour l'an 2000 de l'institut Cairnmillar et intitulé *L'Australie face à l'avenir*, la nouvelle doctrine de la société multiculturelle. Celle-ci fut promptement adoptée par les gouvernements des Etats australiens et continue d'être appliquée par l'administration nationale actuelle.

Cette doctrine s'insérait en fait dans la quête d'indépendance et la nouvelle perception politique et culturelle de l'Australie. Elle faisait également suite à l'échec de la théorie traditionnelle du « creuset » des Etats-Unis où l'assimilation, menée à fond de train pendant trois siècles, avait supprimé les langues, cultures et patrimoines divers et abouti à des tensions qui se sont traduites par des villes en flammes et des incarcérations multiples. D'ailleurs dans les années 70, les Etats-Unis et le Canada ont eux aussi abandonné cette notion en faveur du principe du multiculturalisme.

tion et d'opinion, est une publication trimes-
trielle du Commissaire aux langues officielles,
Max Yalden. Elle a pour objet d'alimenter la
réflexion et de servir de tribune pour l'examen
des grandes questions linguistiques qui se
posent au Canada et à l'étranger.
Les opinions exprimées ne reflètent pas néces-
sairement celles du Commissaire et n'engagent
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Note de la rédaction

Une «révolution culturelle» a permis aux divers
groupes linguistiques australiens de faire res-
pecter leurs singularités et de s'exprimer dans
leurs langues. Albert Jaimé Grassby nous fait
connaître cette intéressante page d'histoire dont
il est lui-même, depuis plus de dix ans, un des
acteurs importants.

Le second article nous ramène au Canada où
le linguiste Raymond LeBlanc fait le point sur
les examens de connaissances linguistiques.
Quelle est donc la portée véritable de ces tests
qui, en plus de mesurer la capacité de communi-
quer des candidats, risquent parfois de modifier
sensiblement leur carrière?

Le français du Québec soulève à l'occasion des
commentaires aigres-doux de la part de ceux
qui ne le connaissent pas vraiment. L'écrivain
Roch Carrier fait ici allusion aux détracteurs
du parler québécois dans un texte plein de
charme et d'humour.

Pour sa part, Georg K. Weissenborn retrace l'his-
toire des Canadiens d'origine germanique
depuis qu'ils se sont installés en Amérique du
Nord, au 17^e siècle. L'universitaire torontois ana-
lyse également leur situation linguistique cou-
rante et tente de voir quels défis leur réserve
l'avenir.

En dernier lieu, la rédaction invite ses lecteurs
à répondre à un questionnaire spécialement pré-
paré à leur intention. Il s'agit, pour *Langue et
société*, de mieux connaître les attentes de son
public et d'y répondre le plus adéquatement
possible.



ANGLES et société

Printemps 1983

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Peterborough, September 10 and 11, 1982.

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The linguistic challenge of the '80s: Issues in bilingualism

This special issue of *Language and Society* contains a record of the proceedings of a colloquium convened on September 10 and 11, 1982, at Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario by Max Yalden, Commissioner of Official Languages. The theme of the colloquium was The Linguistic Challenge of the '80s: Issues in Bilingualism.

The fifty or so participants included distinguished Canadian business people, academics and journalists as well as politicians and public servants from both the federal and provincial levels of government. Together they represented all regions of Canada and both official language communities.

In his letter of invitation to participants, the Commissioner noted:

Since the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, a great deal has happened in the field of official language starting with the federal and New Brunswick Official Languages Acts continuing up to ... the entrenchment of linguistic rights in the Constitution. Yet there have been few occasions to reflect on where we have got to and where we ought to be heading. I think it is time to remedy that lack.

Following an introductory address by the Commissioner, participants devoted a half day to each of three key fields: the public sector, business and education. At each session, delivery of a principal paper was followed by comments by two designated discussants and by a general discussion. The colloquium concluded with an address by His Excellency the Governor General, Edward Schreyer.

At the opening session, the question of bilingual districts stole the limelight. Proposed by the Bilingual Commission and provided for in the federal Official Languages Act, bilingual districts have never been formally proclaimed. Has an opportunity been lost forever? Are the political difficulties that proclamation might bring insuperable? Is there another way to get the same result without running into such difficulties? These and other questions were debated with a mix of pessimism and optimism.

group of distinguished Canadians gathered at Trent University last fall to assess the future of bilingualism in Canada. Thomas H.B. Symons, Vanier professor at Trent University, and Jean de Grandpré, Chairman of the Board of Bell Canada Enterprises, served as discussion leaders. This special issue of *Language and Society* features excerpts from a variety of the presentations given at the colloquium as well as highlights of the ensuing debates on language reform.

Participants in the second session, which was devoted to language in the public sector, sought to determine the direction that language reform measures should take in the future. Should a major thrust be given to breakthroughs, particularly in language of government? Should the present system be dismantled? Or should the goal be steady and consistent progress along the lines of current federal and provincial language policies? Opinions were split between proponents of gradualism and those who saw continued reform as an urgent matter that called for concrete action and imaginative gestures of generosity towards the linguistic minorities.

The third session dealt with language and business, focussed particularly on language of work in Quebec and in other French-speaking regions of Canada. The discussion covered a broad range of issues: the language or languages of corporate headquarters, the responsibility of Crown corporations to act as linguistic trend-setters, the advantages and disadvantages of government intervention in the area of language legislation regulating the private sector, and the overall effects for business and society of Quebec's francization programme.

On language and education, the topic of the final session, the discussion unravelled into several quite distinct threads: the impact on educational authorities of the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms; the search for a national language-in-education strategy; a call for universities to set second-language entry and graduation requirements; and the equally important need for Canadians at large to be better informed of educational options vis-à-vis language education.

It was not the purpose of the colloquium to reach formal conclusions or adopt resolutions, a number of very specific issues and proposals were given serious consideration. All participants agreed that the task of language reform remains unfinished. There was far less consensus on the question of language shift among English-speaking Canadians if new initiatives are pressed in the '80s, and among French-speaking Canadians if they are not. Participants became increasingly aware of the fine line that separates consolidation from complacency, initiative

from upheaval. In sum, the most striking single thread that ran through virtually every discussion was the question of the pace of reform.

As co-chairmen of the discussions, we were able to say little at the time. Now, however, our patience is rewarded with this opportunity to set down some of our reflections. First, it seems clear to us that some language reform measures must advance more quickly than others. For example, members of the public have a very fundamental right to receive federal services in the official language of their choice; the effort to provide such services in a proper manner must surely take precedence over certain less urgent questions. At the same time, it should be clear that lasting progress in language reform will depend upon appropriate and effective developments in the sphere of public education.

If, understandably enough, little consensus was reached on the detailed application of the many language reform programmes that exist in today's Canada, the Trent Colloquium served an undeniably useful purpose by helping all concerned to put their respective tasks in greater perspective. The challenge of the '80s will be to ensure that the progress of the past decade translates into a permanent, concrete and essentially natural condition in which English and French enjoy equality of status in government, business and education, three areas of society that directly affect virtually every Canadian.

Tom Symons

Thomas H.B. Symons

J. de Grandpré

Jean de Grandpré

Co-Chairmen

Has language reform, a product of the political crisis of the early '60s, established a greater degree of linguistic justice and thereby attained its goal of improving relations between Canada's Francophones and Anglophones? This question was addressed by Maxwell Yalden, Commissioner of Official Languages; Paul Lacoste, Rector of the University of Montreal and Senator Lowell Murray, an active participant in the work of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on Official Languages.

An overview of language reform

MAXWELL YALDEN

A starting point for our discussion might be to ask whether, either individually or collectively, we Canadians give our particular and often precarious linguistic environment the attention it demands. Some people, of course, think that language matters already take up an inordinate amount of time and money and would be better left to find a less conspicuous level among our social priorities. It is not a view I share, but that may be due to professional bias. It is nevertheless worth asking what kind of attention to, and intervention in, language matters Canadian society in the '80s will support.

To answer this kind of question, we need to examine what Canada set out to do in the area of language reform, how realistic our expectations were, and how to modify them in light of experience.

Obviously, not everyone agreed with the various proposals that emerged from the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. But there has been a degree of consensus on a number of principles, starting with the recognition of the two official languages in law and in practice, and proceeding through a wide variety of reforms at both federal and provincial levels. Here I need only mention the Official Languages Act of 1969; the Parliamentary Resolution of 1973 on language in the Public Service of Canada; the 1982 Charter of Rights; the New Brunswick Official Languages Act; the progress achieved in Ontario toward a more bilingual administration; the recent decision of the Government of Manitoba to make services more readily available in French; and advances in virtually all provinces with respect to minority-language education.

If we ask whether this means that governments have accomplished everything we set out to achieve, or even that the major problems have been resolved, the answer is quite obviously in the negative. But if we also ask whether it was reasonable to suppose that this could be done in the dozen or so years we have been involved in this work, the answer is equally clear.

It may well be that progress so far has not been sufficient to convince our French-speaking population, particularly but by no means exclusively in Quebec, that they can have a real stake in this country without sacrificing their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. Considering where we started from, where we are today is pretty remarkable. But judged against the expectations which many had to begin with, and judged against the profound and legitimate sense of grievance that many French-speaking Canadians felt at outset, the game is still in the balance.

This should not unduly surprise or dismay us. Leaving aside those who are convinced from the beginning that a bilingual regime for Canada was either evil or impossible, I am inclined to argue that our initial sense of idealism and urgency may have misled us in more than one respect — for example, into the belief that, because the underlying injustices seemed obvious, they could be quickly and easily corrected; or because official bilingualism had a certain acceptance in principle, it could as readily be applied in practice.

There is no question that the years since the end of the work of the B & B Commission and the promulgation of the Official Languages Act have been a school of hard knocks for those who entertained these rather dewy-eyed beliefs. We have learned, I think, to take a more realistic measure of the complexity of linguistic relationships and of our ability to mould them.

Perhaps, above all, we have begun to learn the limits of what the state can accomplish. We cannot aspire to or impose a kind of bilingualism that asks too much of us as human beings or which is false to the fundamental notion of reciprocity. Like it or not, the effort to make Canada an effectively bilingual nation means steering a difficult course between consent and a certain amount of pushing. And that means presenting a perspective on the progress of language reform which makes some kind of sense to most Canadians.

at kind of long-term accounting, we have no reason to hang our heads. Much that is positive has happened and the underpinnings are in place. Let me quickly review the situation with you and see what we might learn for our future in the '80s.

Linguistic equality — principles and structures

In accordance with its mandate, the B & B Commission has recently referred to the "equal partnership" of English and French communities in Canada. The word "partnership" resonates with overtones of mutual trust, collaboration and sharing of benefits. It also supposes practical arrangements that are set down for all to see, and some structure of parallelism or reciprocity to give them form.

The kind of linguistic equilibrium that Canada has chosen to develop over the last fifteen years places a strong emphasis on individual language rights within a concept of limited territoriality. In contrast to the Belgian model, which sets up essentially unilingual territories (with Brussels as a bilingual area), we have sought to establish a structure that offers not only considerable scope for individual choice in the bilingual heartland, but even a fair degree of minority-language support elsewhere.

Geography, linguistic demography and even our political system make this structure difficult to realize. That we have done as well as we have is a measure of our will to succeed.

Nevertheless, there is still an abiding scepticism among non-speaking Canadians about the reality and viability of these arrangements as a means of protecting and promoting the French language and culture. The constitutional amendments of last spring are of the first importance, and remain to be fully tested. The recent judgement of the Supreme Court in *Justice Deschênes* is clearly a landmark decision, but doubtless only the beginning of a lengthy process of evaluation of the impact of the language rights set out in the Charter.

In other words, in most provinces the official-language situation is still a long way from home and dry. And the lot of Anglo-Quebecers is for the moment preferable to that of Francophones outside Quebec, disturbing minorities in that province have already resulted in a substantial Anglophone exodus.

The federal scene

The federal government, in addition to providing leadership and support, becomes a sort of test case for the workability of institutional bilingualism aimed at maximizing individual rights over large geographic areas. Three things seem to emerge with particular clarity from the federal experience in implementing the Official Languages Act:

It is not possible to do business in two languages in many circumstances and over great distances calls for much more organization and administrative discipline than many at first imagined;

- even when the institution finally begins to get itself organized to do business in two languages, a key dimension is missing if public servants themselves are merely going through the motions rather than joining in the process;
- for both reasons, it is very difficult but very necessary to maintain the political pressures that alone can produce consistency and conviction.

Today is not the time to present a detailed critique of the federal performance. I certainly think enough has been done, particularly in the area of service to the Canadian public, to show that it can work. But, like any other system, what may be significant for its future are those points at which it works less well.

Two such points are especially worthy of our attention, for they recur wherever language issues are dealt with in this country. They involve the question of significant demand or sufficient numbers, and the related conditions necessary to permit an equitable use of both languages in situations where both language groups are present.

The federal administration has taken a very long time to come to grips with the issue of numbers and demand, and even now its position is far from clear. The problem reminds us that one of the challenges we face in the '80s is the challenge we have been facing all along: how to provide usable, real individual choice without overtaxing the system.

One way the authors of the Official Languages Act thought these issues could be addressed was by creating "bilingual districts". The virtue of that idea, and one that remains largely unexplored, is that bilingual districts can focus and fix both the legitimate expectations of the minority and the practical obligation of the majority in a given area. Other alternatives may be feasible. But with the federal test case to guide us, can we be sure they will not be more confusing than otherwise? The problem with bilingual districts is not the districts themselves, but what lies outside them: the vague and inconstant area of "demand", which may or may not be significant, and the lack of clear, consistent criteria for determining such significance.

The point of all these considerations — and one of the themes I hope will command our attention — is that no amount of fine principles will bring about an equitable two-language regime unless we can put some rigour into the concept of demand; or, put another way, unless we can ensure some degree of linguistic justice without endorsing the unrealistic goal of universal linguistic free choice.

The provincial scene

Moving from the institutional problems of the federal government to those of the provinces, we quickly become aware of divergent linguistic realities and divergent approaches to them. If it is a failing at the federal level to want to deal with all minority language situations in the same way, it is equally disconcerting that, at the provincial level, they are almost all handled differently.

I submit that we will not have begun to meet the linguistic challenge of the '80s unless we can induce a greater symmetry into the provincial treatment of linguistic minorities. Canada is an immense country; and we must expect real differences from province to province, region to region. But certain conditions must be more or less the same everywhere and for everyone.

Minority-language education

Minority-language education is a case in point. Conditions, numbers and financial and human resources vary widely in different parts of this country. But some attention to overall standards is essential. If we believe at all in the minority's right to linguistic survival, we cannot do less than assure them a reasonably controlled linguistic environment for their children in their most formative years. This may well involve, where feasible, a degree of physical separation and cultural distinctiveness in our schools. The argument that this kind of arrangement disables the minority for full future participation in the social mainstream is one that I have yet to hear convincingly defended.

A more valid argument may be that we cannot always afford to educate our minority-language children in separate institutions and with a full range of distinct pedagogical facilities. Changes in educational expectations as well as changes in the school population itself certainly present some severe limitations to what would be both practicable and acceptable.

The '70s have recorded both gains and losses on the minority education front. It has taken that long, particularly where Francophone minorities are concerned, to make the point that their needs are greater than those of the majority, not less. Just because they are more scattered and more prone to homogenizing pressures, they should be natural targets for creative use of our most up-to-date educational technologies. Instead, the reverse has more often than not been the case.

Second-language education

Second-language instruction is also a mixed bag. In some respects it is dispiriting to look back to the B & B Report in this area, for one has the impression that precious little has changed. But there is a real difference — not so much in what is happening in second-language classrooms, but in the attitudes and motivation of some parents, children and teachers. There, I think, one finds the sprouting seeds of a transformation that could well bear fruit in the '80s.

It is suggested from time to time that individual bilingualism is at a double disadvantage in this country: it saps the linguistic vitality of minorities and is hard to maintain to any useful degree among the majority. There is some truth in both contentions. But we all know of situations elsewhere in which people happily maintain several languages with neither discomfort nor disability. The explanation seems to lie not in any hereditary indisposition to language learning among Canadians, but rather in singularly narrow and inhibited attitudes. The minority may have reason to find bilingualism treacherous; the majority has no such excuse.

Contacts between languages are probably as varied in Canada as anywhere. Opportunities and human resources for second-language learning are all around us, and yet overall general performance is mediocre at best. Even the French immersion boom, while it presents heartening glimpses of the sort of second-language competence that can be achieved, is still not much more than the exception that proves the rule.

Let us not delude ourselves. We will not cause all chauvinistic prejudices to fall away simply by inculcating in Canadians a widespread and functional familiarity with a second official language. Things are not that simple. But what we might reasonably hope and work for in the '80s is to demonstrate the value our country attaches to its language resources and to remove some of the insidious burden of bilingualism that tends to fall unequally on the less advantaged rather than on the more advantaged language groups.

I confess I am not very sanguine about our chances at this time of developing a broad consensus on second-language education — but I would be happy to be persuaded to the contrary. My response to the common view that other considerations take precedence over clearer orientations and better educational structures for second-language instruction is simply that Canada can no longer afford to be without them.

The work world

The status and use of languages in the work world is perhaps the most difficult of all to come to grips with. Nowhere else does the conflict between theoretical equality and natural expediency come into sharper focus. Two main problems are involved: the external environment which conditions our freedom to use our first or preferred language; and the sort of personal linguistic trade-offs people make to obtain the rewards of the marketplace.

These problems have been taken up in varying degrees by the federal government, by one or two provinces and by the private sector. Their approaches have ranged from structural incentives to the provision of general conditions in which, it is hoped, the right human choices will prevail. On the whole, the results have been positive, if limited, in scope.

We have by no means put paid to assumptions that English is the only fit language in which to communicate the mysteries of certain trades and professions. Most of Canada outside Quebec has yet to awaken to the fact that French has professional and commercial currency throughout the world. Nor has an equitable balance been fully accomplished in Quebec. Francization has accomplished a good deal but there is still considerable distance to go in implanting the French language firmly in the business life of the province. And the position of English has been eroded with consequences for the Anglophone community with which we are all familiar. These developments are relatively recent and I doubt that anyone can know conclusively at this point which language-of-work strategies will produce the most lasting and desirable results. On the other hand, we have

that the status and use of English and French are amenable to some manipulation in the workplace and the overall relation between our national languages is now a healthier in that respect.

Conclusion

The late '60s and the '70s will surely go down in history as a period in which we embarked upon far-reaching language reform and social experimentation. Whether we have succeeded fully is another matter, but I think we can say confidently that what looked nearly impossible a generation ago is now well under way. Some of our hopes may have been at times utopian, but what has been achieved speaks for our maturity and readiness to adapt.

Three principal achievements stand out most prominently. First, the reform movement has extended beyond the essential provisions of the Official Languages Act to become a much wider concern of institutional and social significance. Second, much of what has been achieved has been the outcome of the leadership and support of Parliament and all federal political parties. And third, after no insignificant amount of hesitation, reluctance and, at times fear, encouraging changes of attitude have taken place in segments of English-speaking Canada in support of changes which are deemed desirable or necessary.

The most difficult challenge of the '80s, from my perspective, will be to ensure that our political leaders are persuaded of the importance — in practice as well as in principle — of persevering with what may appear a long, emotionally draining and often unrewarding course of action. The temptation is all too real to conclude that the fundamental problems have been resolved and that the details can be left to the bureaucrats. Or that there are other more urgent concerns to which language reform must take a back seat.

Much, of course, has been decided and there is much that the bureaucrats can be getting on with without day-to-day surveillance from their political masters. And who can deny that there are other pressing problems of state besides bilingualism? But language reform will proceed only if we are committed to go on pushing for it and to accept it in all its administrative consequences, however difficult they may appear at times.

I do not myself know exactly how far we are prepared to move in this direction. Indeed, that kind of precision is perhaps not all that important in what is, after all, a profoundly human and therefore unpredictable affair. What is certain, however, is that we still have a long way to go. And without being at all starry-eyed, I do believe we are quite capable of finishing what we started.

Lacoste's remarks

In my view, the basic question with regard to language reform has two parts: are we doing enough, and if not, how far are we willing to go? Before attempting an answer, we should examine the objective criteria involved, our reasons for doing more (or less) and the goals we are seeking to attain.

For example, one of these criteria might be what has been achieved in the language-of-service and language-of-work areas. Are people getting more services in French than they used to? And is French now being used more as a language of work in the federal government? In answering these questions, we should refer to the reports of the Commissioner of Official Languages or to those of the Select Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of

Commons. Generally speaking, the results are often very disappointing.

Socio-political tensions

The main effect of change in the language field over the past few years has been in Quebec, where there has been a considerable increase in the number of young Anglophones who are becoming bilingual. The reason for this clearly lies in the behaviour of the Francophone majority who no longer accept having French treated in Quebec as though it were a minority language. On the whole, the attitudes of a majority, combined with the law of numbers, have exerted an almost irresistible pressure. Of course, there has also been legislation, certain aspects of which are or were going too far, but the progress of French and the very relative decline of English are only incidentally attributable to this fact.

In his presentation, Mr. Yalden very properly emphasized the existence of a certain amount of coercion and incitement from public authorities, and a certain degree of acceptance or assent from individuals and groups. What makes public authorities exert pressure and what leads individuals to join the movement?

Here again we find the idea of pressure. Generally speaking, governments do not like to disturb citizens any more than necessary. In Canada, the creation of the B & B Commission, the Pearson Declaration and the measures that followed were mainly the result of the political crisis of the early '60s. And individuals react in the same way. The stronger the pressure and the fear of some greater evil, the more they will accept being disturbed. An aggravated political

crisis encourages certain linguistic concessions. Conversely, an easing of the crisis is very likely to cause a slackening off.

What kind of country do we want?

In concrete terms, do governments and individuals feel that Canada's very future is linked to language reform? I refer here to effective reform, with all the concerns that this entails for many people. Personally, I doubt it. In fact, I question whether Canada's future is really linked to such reform.

If we think of Canada as a political entity, I doubt whether language issues play a decisive role. I have some reservations about the Commissioner's remark that we must continue the bilingualization process because Canada has no choice — if he means only the continuation of Confederation.

However, if we look beyond the simple survival of Canada as a political entity, the answer is different. We must then ask ourselves: *"What kind of Canada do we want? What kind of country do we want?"* In this perspective, language reform takes on new importance and I would agree with the Commissioner that "Canadians cannot afford not to pursue language reform vigorously."

If we want a country that gives a place to justice and equality, a country based upon mutual respect and understanding among groups, a country that wants to use each person's contribution to the full, then reform is as indispensable as ever. According to this criterion, the answer to the question "Are we doing enough and should we do more?" becomes obvious. We have surely not done enough to make Francophones feel sufficiently at ease outside Quebec and in business circles in Quebec. Thus, incitement, and even coercion in some cases, should be intensified. This is my very deep belief. At the same time, there are already some changes to be made in Quebec so that the required francization movement is not seen as a threat to the minority.

Language of work

Are we doing enough? For those who still believe in language reform, it is

distressing to read in the latest report of the Special Joint Committee that many federal departments cannot even say to what extent language directives are being applied, and that many have no uniform method of monitoring the measures that are or are not being taken. The B & B Commission was right in stressing the need for general and systematic controls.

Perhaps we have done enough to ease some tensions, to provide some reassurance or, at best, to give a glimpse of more or less distant results. We have certainly not done enough, however, if we truly believe that we must at least partly respond to the ideal of Canada proposed long ago, the ideal of a country in which each person feels like a complete citizen. Our determination will be reflected in the fate of the Committee's recommendations, to the effect, for example, that the right to work in French in the federal government be enshrined in law.

The minorities

The Commissioner of Official Languages made some very timely comments on some of the problems presented by minorities. He notes that there should be more symmetry in the way they are treated. At the time of the B & B Commission, the lack of symmetry was shocking. There was more than one way to correct this situation. The Francophone minorities could have been given a status comparable to that of the Anglophone minority in Quebec; or the Anglophone minority could have been given a status more similar to that of the Francophone minorities; or some common denominator between the two might have been sought. The Commission clearly preferred the first approach.

Unfortunately, however, negative or at least restrictive trends have triumphed on both sides. But there is still time to react. The federal Charter of Rights and Freedoms, now entrenched in the Constitution, provides a single criterion for the entire country vis-à-vis access to education in either official language. According to a landmark decision that

has just been handed down, this provision applies to Quebec, notwithstanding a section of Bill 101. The only regrettable factor is that a sufficiently broad-based system could not have been established with the consensus of interested parties.

I am eagerly waiting to see how, in the other provinces, school authorities and then the courts will handle requests for education in French based on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Will there develop a reasonably uniform and stable jurisprudence to govern the concept of "where numbers warrant"? Only then will we see if the notion of equality between Francophones and Anglophones in Canada is viable.

In actual fact, the fate of the minority is hardly encouraging. The latest statistics reveal a declining situation for Francophones in almost all provinces, and an astounding exodus of Anglophones from Quebec. Would the situation really be much different if we had different language policies? Can different policies really attenuate both trends in the future?

We thus return to the first part of the question I raised: "Are we doing enough to guarantee language rights? One thing is certain — we cannot prevent Francophones from becoming anglicized and we cannot stop Anglophones from moving. However, according to one concept of Canada, we should have language policies that allow each person to feel relatively at ease as he is and where he is.

Bilingual districts

In order to achieve this goal while at the same time respecting the dominance of English in almost all the provinces and of French in Quebec, the B & B Commission proposed a much studied formula — that of bilingual districts. Today, the Commissioner of Official Languages has reminded us that this formula has never been fully explored.

The federal government took a step in the right direction by establishing bilingual administrative regions. However, we are still wide of the mark, because the original purpose

lingual districts was to ensure a
h more broad-ranging variety of
ices in many more regions. It was
pursue difficult to apply the formula.
was this a reason not to launch at
a few experiments?

Language of business

the business world, how could we
agree that French does not have
appropriate place — even in
Quebec? What was done to correct
situation (and what appears to have
been one of the reasons for many
frustrations), has already had costly
repercussions for this province at the
national level. More so than some of
the 1970's irritating aspects, which
could be removed fairly easily, it is
more complex language-of-work
that has spurred emigration to
other provinces.

The problem is that reform comes up
against a wall of well-established
interests and deep-rooted preconcep-
tions. People still rationalize and
justify resistance to change. The
Commissioner cited one of them:
“English is the language of business.”

Elementary realism forces us to admit
that English is the first international
language of business and that it is used
throughout almost the entire North
American continent. This obviously
has repercussions, but it does not
follow, as we often stubbornly suggest,
that English should always and every-
where be dominant in the business
world, or even that it should be used
almost exclusively.

Clichés die hard, and that one is no
different from many others. How often

do we hear that many Francophone
minorities do not really care, or that
bilingual Anglophones do not have
the opportunity to use and thus keep
up their French, or that bilingualism
is a kind of cultural illness? Or even
that language isn't really all that
important?

Such clichés are unfortunately part
of our national folklore, but they at
least have the advantage of reminding
us of certain realities without making
us stray from our objective. In order
for Canada to become the kind of
country we want it to be, it must
develop and sustain generous and firm
language policies. To the pessimists,
I would venture the adage: If at first
you don't succeed, try, try again.

Well Murray's remarks

Let me state at the outset my own
conviction that no subject is
more important than language
for the future of a country. While this
subject may not receive universal
attention, I believe that more and more
people do recognize that linguistic
equality is essential to Canada and
its citizens. Even at a time when many
individuals are preoccupied with
economic questions, I think more and
more Canadians recognize as phoney
the argument that, because other
problems — inflation, unemployment,
interest rates — are pressing, we can
not neglect language matters.
The pace of language reform will vary
from time to time, but there is no ques-
tion of putting it on a back burner
or neglecting it.

Linguistic equality being of the
essence of Confederation, I think
we are beginning to understand
that it is not something to which you
can assign a ranking on a scale of 1 to 10
when compare it with attacking
national disparity or providing for
national defence or whatever. All of

these things are important and require
continued attention.

Changes in public opinion

Much of what appeared to be new
and threatening some years ago is now
being taken for granted. Public opin-
ion is sometimes more sensible on
these questions than the politicians.
Take, for example, the controversy
over *les Gens de l'air* in 1976. I believe
that the timidity of the federal govern-
ment (and of the federal opposition
parties) in face of their reading of
public opinion was unnecessary. I
recall seeing a poll shortly afterwards
in which there was majority approval
in Western Canada for the simple
proposition that French-speaking
pilots should be able to communicate
in French with French-speaking air
traffic controllers in Quebec airspace.
In 1979, when the Chouinard Report
came along, it was accepted by the
government of the day and there was
not a ripple in public opinion.

Gallup and the various political parties
that commission public opinion

studies would agree that, while fears
and concerns about federal language
policies were volunteered by a small
percentage of Canadians some years
ago as a top-of-mind issue, the issue
is non-existent today as a volunteered,
top-of-mind concern. Gallup did a poll
in June of this year which showed that
26 per cent of the respondents claimed
to be bilingual and 47 per cent wished
they had learned both languages at
school. About 25 or 26 per cent had
no opinion or did not care. Max Yalden
has referred to the changes in attitudes
and motivations of some parents, chil-
dren and teachers about second-
language education. All of this is
evidence of a more congenial environ-
ment on language matters than was
the case a few years ago.

Bilingualism and Quebec nationalism

There are clouds on the horizon as
well, and I think we do well to identify
and discuss them. Many Anglophones
thought they heard Prime Minister
Trudeau say, when all this began, that
if they accepted these new language
policies in the federal government and

across the country, Quebec nationalism would go away. Imagine, then, the surprise and chagrin of some to find nationalism growing in Quebec, even while bilingualism spread across the rest of the country.

I don't want to be flippant about this. I do believe that the efforts made towards linguistic equality by the federal government bought precious time for Confederation and prevented a terrible rupture in our country. I also believe that any retreat from the goal of linguistic equality would tip the scales fatally in Quebec against Confederation. And I think that more Anglophones sense this today.

But am I wrong in saying that neither a bilingual federal regime, nor language rights for Francophone minorities in the provinces meet the aspirations of Quebec nationalists? I speak not of those whose goal is separation, but of those nationalists (still, I trust, in the majority) who are federalists. Politicians and the media will have to try to separate the two issues of language equality in Canada and Quebec nationalism, because both will be with us and must be dealt with.

Anglophone perceptions

Another cloud is the perception among Anglophones that while the federal government and those of Ontario and New Brunswick, as well as other institutions and individuals, are becoming more bilingual and are moving constantly in that direction, the momentum in Quebec is in the opposite direction — away from bilingualism, away from minority language rights, and towards a more unilingual province. Over time, these developments are bound to have some impact on public opinion in English Canada and it will not be helpful to the cause of bilingualism in the federal government or in the provinces that have English-speaking majorities.

So we have our work cut out for us to preserve the consensus that has been growing slowly and painfully over the past decade in this country. We must persuade people not to give up on bilingualism, but to deal with it in a positive light and to support it for the right reasons.

Amendments to the Official Languages Act

It is significant that, in the 13 years since passage of the Official Languages Act, the federal government has not brought forward a single amendment to that legislation. The government did bring the Parliamentary Resolution on Official Languages forward in 1973, and there has been a constitutional debate in which language matters were very important. But year after year, amendments to the Act have been advocated by the Commissioner of Official Languages in his annual reports, without effect.

I appreciate that there are difficulties with parliamentary timetables and so on, but I have not much doubt that the government has refrained from bringing in even relatively non-controversial amendments to the Act at least in part because it does not want to open up the Official Languages Act to parliamentary and public debate again.

They have not, as Max Yalden pointed out, proclaimed bilingual districts. They have not come up with an alternative to bilingual districts and so far they have shown no inclination to accept the one put forward by the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

I think one of the problems with bilingual districts is that the criterion seems to be a numerical one. The recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was to eliminate from the Act all references to bilingual districts and to join in the Act the two concepts of "where there is significant demand" and/or "where numbers warrant" and to require the active offer of services to the public in both official languages.

At the same time, we would eliminate such phrases as "to the extent that it is feasible" which we felt was too convenient an escape hatch for managers who may want to avoid organizing their operations in such a way as to provide services in the two languages.

Max Yalden expressed concern that alternatives to the bilingual districts concept — which, frankly, I don't think the government will proclaim — might be confusing. Well, our alternative is

not confusing at all. It's very simple. How would we define areas where there is significant demand and/or where numbers warrant? We would let the Commissioner decide.

Our recommendation was that the Governor in Council would identify those areas on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Official Languages and according to the criteria of "significant demand" and/or "where numbers warrant".

The need for public debate

To the extent that the government may be fearful of public and parliamentary opinion, I can only say that public opinion now has a somewhat better understanding of what the language issue is about. Of course, some misunderstandings and fears still exist, but I believe it is better to have them out and on the table, discuss them in some public forum and try to resolve them in the Canadian way by achieving some consensus.

The obvious forum for this process would be the Joint Parliamentary Committee. But to play that role, the membership and orientation of the Committee would have to change somewhat. The present membership consists of MPs and senators who have a stronger commitment to bilingualism than is found in Parliament and in the country generally.

The Committee has done a good job in calling ministers and deputy ministers to account for their performance on language policy and we have effectively prodded the agencies and the departments of government to get on with it.

Over the next little while, however, I think the best contribution the Committee could make to linguistic progress in this country would be to provide a forum for the resolution of conflict and the achievement of a consensus on language policy.

In some ways, I believe that the basis is there for further progress on language matters in the '80s. I think we can make some headway on language of work and more headway on equitable participation in the Public

ce without creating new conflict
division in the country or creating
inequities. I am even a little more
ine than Mr. Yalden about the
es of developing a broad consen-
n second-language education,

although I am hardly an expert on
those matters.

Progress among the provinces will be
very uneven for a while. But the pres-
sures from parents and students which

already exist will, I believe, force the
slower provinces to catch up in order
to meet the demand from government
and the private sector for people who
are bilingual.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION PERIOD

First Session

Although this discussion period was largely
voted to the issue of bilingual districts,
the first speaker dealt with the notion that
policy issues or challenges concerning
linguistic equality in Canada should take
the individual's emotional and psychological
background into consideration. Bilingualism
could be approached with moderation;
people should be motivated rather than
forced to learn a second (and sometimes
third) language, and emphasis should be
placed on regional strategies and motiva-
tional techniques rather than on strictly legal
measures. One of the challenges of this
era will be to make all Canadians aware
that they do not live in a melting-pot society
that assimilates different nationalities.

The next speaker opened the debate on
bilingual districts by stating that the future
of the official languages regime depends
on the creation of such districts in specific
areas. In the past, bilingual districts have
not always been effective in dealing with
the problem of language rights, mainly
because the administrative guidelines and
procedures create problems for people living
outside such districts.

Max Yalden, the Commissioner of Official
Languages, was then asked to comment on
the pros and cons of bilingual districts. First,
he said that although this idea had been
proposed by the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism, bilingual
districts had never come to anything. Second,
no bilingual district advisory boards had
even been appointed, but the Government of
Canada, for political reasons, had disre-
garded their reports. Mr. Yalden added that
unless the Official Languages Act is amended,
the Government will be obliged to appoint
another board. He had no problem accepting
the recommendations of the Special Joint
Committee of the Senate and of the House
of Commons on Official Languages, but
added that if his Office became a permanent
bilingual districts advisory board, he would
require additional personnel. Third, a
"lingual lozenge" was likely to arise in
certain districts of northern New Brunswick
and northern and eastern Ontario. All other
districts would become rather artificial even
though they would provide a certain
measure of certainty and stability. Lastly,

he believed that the minority requires the
protection of constitutional and legal guar-
antees, particularly in New Brunswick,
Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba.

The following speaker defended the idea
of bilingual districts. He said that the B &
B Commission had clearly understood the
need for such districts but the difficulty lies
in determining the percentage of Anglo-
phones or Francophones to warrant the
formation of a district. It is necessary to
create bilingual districts in order to establish
uniform treatment for minority groups. To
be effective, however, Quebec would have
to cease to be a *de facto* bilingual district, and
certain other regions of Canada would have
to become bilingual districts. The creation
of bilingual districts is likely to encounter
many political difficulties, but avoiding the
issue would not give the necessary
psychological results.

It was then observed that, in many Canadian
communities, French has no real standing
other than when it is used between members
of the Francophone community.

A member of the academic community
wondered whether the concept of bilingual
districts was to encourage people to become
bilingual or to require that public servants
introduce bilingualism into governmental
structures. He added that many people are
beginning to realize they must become bilin-
gual in order to function or get ahead in the
Canadian workplace.

Max Yalden responded to these questions
by stating that the idea of bilingual districts
has already had a considerable impact.
Although the Government has not chosen
to proclaim such districts, directives have
been issued whereby certain areas have been
declared bilingual regions, and senior offi-
cials in these regions must become bilingual.
The Government's rules and regulations will
have an impact not only in the Public
Service, but also in universities and other
schools. The widespread popularity of
immersion programmes, particularly in
Alberta, is evidence of this.

To these remarks, another participant added
that bilingual districts essentially create

three problems. The first concerns the delin-
eation of the region, the second, the reactions
in large parts of English-speaking Canada
to these districts and the third, Quebec's
reaction. This led to the remark that if an
advisory board recommended that Montreal
become a bilingual district, it would be
making a terrible political mistake.

Another university official thought that in
many northern Ontario communities the
economic survival of the town is a priority
and everything else is insignificant. While
he did not believe there would be a strong
demand for bilingualism from these
communities, he felt the federal and provin-
cial governments should provide the initia-
tives and responsibilities for bilingualism
in these areas.

One participant felt there was no point in
reviving the already dead issue of bilingual
districts. They had not been popular
anywhere in Canada except Manitoba and
New Brunswick. This comment was
favourably received by the next speaker,
who added that a problem arises when the
government and the area cannot agree on
where the bilingual district should start and
end. An alternative solution would be to
establish bilingual administrative centres.
If the federal government were to decide
on such a centre in Quebec, it could provide
bilingual services and regulate all businesses.

Jean de Grandpré, the Co-chairman of the
colloquium, concluded by stating that the
discussion reflected reasonably well the atti-
tudes of Canadians toward bilingualism. No
one had dealt with what Canada could do
to become bilingual or what sacrifices had
to be made to maintain political and
psychological unity. The discussion had
centred around the idea of bilingual districts,
a practical but very difficult question. Bili-
ngualism demands an extraordinary compre-
hension and effort at all levels of Canadian
society.

Language and the public sector. Has the federal Public Service, formerly an English-speaking bastion, changed so radically over the past decade that equality between our two main language groups can now be said to have been achieved? Definitely not, was the unanimous response of this session's main speakers — Gordon Robertson, President of the Institute for Research on Public Policy; Tom Wells, Ontario's Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and Serge Joyal, Canada's Secretary of State. What, then, should be done? Force the issue or move cautiously?

Principle and the art of the possible

GORDON ROBERTSON

This morning Max Yalden has referred to the fact that we have made a certain amount of progress in Canada in language policy, and the same is certainly the case as far as the Public Service of Canada is concerned. In assessing where we are, there is some value in considering where we started.

The Public Service in the '40s and '50s

When I entered the Public Service of Canada 41 years ago, its character was what it had been for a good many decades. So far as language was concerned, there was no problem, none whatever. It was not even a question of looking at a situation and deciding that there *was* no problem: the question simply did not arise. And because there was no language problem, there was, of course, no language policy. The operation of the Public Service in English was as much a part of the natural order of things as the operation of the law of gravity. A question about the propriety of the one was as improbable as a question about the other.

Professor J.L. Granatstein commented on the situation in an article in *Options*, based on his book *The Ottawa Men*, about the "mandarins" of the pre- and post-war period. He said that, among the outstanding figures of the Public Service, there was not a single French-Canadian. He goes on:

Not only were Québécois not represented at the very top, but they were also denied a share of power at the lower levels. For example, a report on employees in Finance noted on January 8, 1940, that there were no French-Canadians in the Deputy Minister's office, only 17 (out of 147) in the Administration Branch, and six (out of 65) in the Accounts Branch. More than a dozen years later, in 1953, John Porter's study of the bureaucratic élite noted that French-Canadians held only 13.4 per cent of the top posts in the public service and a French-Canadian had been Prime Minister for five years.

It was so unusual to hear anyone speak French in the Public Service of the '40s that it was a matter of note. Provincial

public services outside Quebec had no tincture of French whatever, either in language or in officers. Federal Crown corporations operated as if French did not exist. Major national gestures were thought to have been made in putting French on our currency and on our postage stamps.

It was almost incredible that such a situation could have existed in a country in which one-third of the population spoke French and most of that third spoke *only* French. And yet that situation endured for another 20 years before bilingualism, let alone biculturalism, was recognized as a national fact of some significance and as an issue that required serious attention because it had been so totally ignored. The character of Canada in its public institutions, including schools outside Quebec, reflected an unstated assumption by the English-speaking majority that French-Canadians would be French in Quebec, but that Canada was English in thought, manners and language. So accepted was the unstated assumption — and so unproductive had been the protests in Manitoba and Ontario over rights and schools at the turn of the century — that even French-Canadians did not react in any strong or sustained way until the Quiet Revolution of the '60s in Quebec.

Language reform: trial and error

So far as the Public Service of Canada was concerned, the critical outcome of the B & B Commission report was the Official Languages Act, proclaimed in 1969. The Act provided for equality of status of English and French in federal institutions and for members of the public to be served in their own language. It's important now to remember that these ideas were totally new, and the translation of concept into reality was to be long and painful.

Clearly neither service to the public in French nor equality of status could be real unless there was an equitable participation of Francophones in the Public Service. Equally clearly, equality implied that French-speaking public servants had a right to work in their own language. The basic propositions were apparent: the problem was how to put them into practice in an established institution wh

structure and operation had known nothing of such ideas. There was not an equitable proportion of Francophones at senior levels or, indeed, at any level in many departments. Staff that was providing service, even in Quebec, was not designed to provide it in French. And French could not inevitably be the language of work in most institutions where neither peers nor supervisors would understand either oral or written communication in that language. The merit principle protected the basis of appointments and promotions. Except in a few cases, the knowledge of two languages has never been regarded as an element of merit for appointment to, or promotion in, the Public Service of Canada. Without important changes of attitude and method, promotion by transfer and appointment to permit either service or work in French could not be made in a way that would not do violence to the merit system as it had been conceived and applied in the past.

It took much trial and error to meet the complex problems of a large and sprawling organization as the Public Service. Initial reliance on each department and agency to achieve the necessary changes proved totally inadequate. Except where there was genuine interest and firm dedication to the objectives of language policy, little was achieved, and that little produced much criticism and opposition.

In 1973, a new tack was adopted. All parties in the House of Commons approved a number of principles for achieving language reform in the Public Service. The resolution stipulated the conditions under which employees would be required to become bilingual and when they would be allowed to remain unilingual. A highly structured system of rules and definitions was substituted for the unproductive departmental discretion that had prevailed. The new system did produce results, but at a substantial cost. Requirements made sense in broad policy terms often produced ludicrous problems in particular situations.

In 1975, it was decided that a complete review of language policy was required. The study, by a special committee in the Public Service, took two years. It recommended change in method and, in 1977, a third system was instituted. It restored initiative and control to departments, but subject to the production of clear objectives and plans for language, with close review by the Treasury Board and by the Commissioner of Official Languages. Since then a special Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament has been reviewing the progress of language reform in the Public Service.

We have now had some 13 years of trial and error, of serious criticism by some and of resentful indifference or opposition by many since the Official Languages Act was brought in. The degree of achievement is less than I had optimistically expected in 1969, but the Public Service is now a very different place. It would be wrong not to recognize that the achievement has been substantial.

Balance sheet: qualified success

The provision of services in French is by no means perfect, but the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official

Languages for 1981 makes clear. But it is equally clear, as the report states, that "Service to the Canadian public in both official languages is more widely available than it has ever been."

The participation of French-speaking Canadians in the federal Public Service has improved substantially. In 1965, the proportion among all ranks was 21.5 per cent; in 1981 it was 26.4 per cent: a proportional increase of 25 per cent. At the higher levels the improvement is more striking, although it is hard to get precise comparisons because of the inadequacy of statistics before 1969. However, in 1965 the French-speaking proportion in positions paying \$10,000 and up was only 10.8 per cent. In 1980, in the senior management category, the top management group in the Public Service, Francophone representation was 22.4 per cent. In short, the proportion of French-speaking public servants of all ranks is now roughly equal to the proportion of that language group in our total population, although it is still short of that mark in the higher levels. In Crown corporations the figures are much less satisfactory, ranging from about 15 per cent to around 18.5 per cent.

The most complex part of the achievement of equality of status in the federal Public Service is the establishment for French-speaking public servants of a real capacity to work in their own language. If one accepts the capacity of the '40s and '50s as zero and that of the '60s as virtually zero — even in the federal Public Service in Quebec — there has been progress. There are departments in Ottawa where the two languages are indeed used on a basis approaching equality, but we should not fool ourselves that that is normal. Some recent figures in the "bilingual regions" of Canada, which include the National Capital, are striking. Studies show that, on average, Anglophones use their own language 92 per cent of the time in those regions. Their French-speaking colleagues, on average, use their own language only 60 per cent of the time. In interdepartmental meetings, English is still spoken virtually 100 per cent of the time. There are a few exceptions, but they are rare.

To sum up, great progress has been made since 1969 toward the effective provision of service to the public in the two official languages and toward a balanced participation of our two language communities within the Public Service. We have not achieved anything approaching a general capacity for French-speaking public servants to work in French, although the situation is distinctly better than it was. A further substantial gain has been in the climate and attitudes about language in the Public Service. It is now generally accepted as a legitimate area of policy vitally related to the facts of Canada. The resentment and opposition of the mid-'70s have diminished. It would, however, be optimistic to say they have disappeared, either inside the Service or as an unstated political reality outside it. Where, then, do we go from here? What should be the objectives and the policy for the '80s?

Options for the '80s

There seem to me to be three possibilities. One would be to make a major new effort to achieve everything implied

by the principle of equality of languages in the federal public sector, and especially to remove the significant deficiency in language of work. A second option would be to decide that enough constitutional, legal and practical supports have now been put under language equality, and the three elements that arise from it, that we can dismantle the present apparatus. The third possibility would be to decide that something along the lines of that apparatus, together with the elements of audit and vigilance we now have, must continue and become a permanent part of the public sector in a federation like Canada.

While a counsel of perfection would argue in favour of a major effort on language of work, I doubt if this would be wise and if it would achieve results commensurate with its costs, either in effort or in the danger of renewed resentment about language.

We have, in the last ten years, seen a continuation and an acceleration of the process of territorial polarization of language in Canada. The Anglophone population of Quebec has diminished and probably will continue to do so. Anglophone dominance in the rest of Canada has continued unabated. With the constitutional rights on language of education, the minorities in both parts of Canada will have protections they did not have before. There is a most encouraging interest in many parts of English-speaking Canada in French immersion education for children of Anglophone parents. If that is maintained it will, over time, produce a number of effectively bilingual Canadians of whom some will go into the federal Public Service. However, for the better part of a generation I think it is very doubtful if we are going to see a much higher proportion of genuine bilingualism emerging from English-speaking Canada than we have seen in the last few years. If that is so, it would be optimistic and hazardous to take the measures to establish at an early date a generalized requirement to work in both languages in the federal Public Service and Crown corporations. It would require policies and programmes that would make very difficult the appointment or promotion of many otherwise qualified people from Western Canada and, indeed, from most areas outside the "bilingual belt". There is already in those areas a sense of injustice about what are thought to be unfair limits on opportunities for appointment and advancement in the Public Service. A more vigorous policy in the immediate future could stimulate new opposition on the language front. We might well lose more than we have gained in terms of national understanding and unity.

The argument for the second possibility is seductive. The Charter of Rights now makes constitutional provision for the "equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use" of the two official languages of Canada in all institutions of the federal government. There is also a clear provision in the Charter guaranteeing a constitutional right to Canadians to be served in their official language in any head or central office of the federal administration and in other offices where there is significant demand or where it is reasonable because of the nature of the office. Canadians have recourse to the courts if they consider these new consti-

tutional rights to have been violated. Governments, ministers and public servants will be aware of their constitutional obligations in these areas of language — something totally new in Canada. In addition, there is the Official Language Act and the vigilant eye of the Commissioner. With such provisions, is it necessary to maintain the elaborate system we now have of departmental language plans, scrutiny by the Treasury Board and periodic or continuing review by a Parliamentary committee?

While one would like to believe that our present imposing and expensive system could be dismantled, I doubt very much if it should be. The progress toward language equality in the public sector in the last years has been achieved on as a result of unusual political determination and relentless administrative pressure. The opposing forces of convenience, operational efficiency and sheer inertia will not diminish or disappear. As long as they exist, language equality will, like liberty, be preserved only by eternal vigilance. That vigilance will not be maintained unless we have a system very like our present one with strict standards and requirements and with audits and reports upon administrative success or failure in meeting them. The constitutional provisions will be a major help. However, the courts and the law, unaided, can only go so far in matters where special policies and programmes are needed to produce results. The Francophone population of Manitoba can vouch for the possible inadequacy of constitutional provisions alone.

We are working our way through the crisis to which the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism referred in its first report. However, it becomes increasingly clear that the essential nature of Canada in relation to language is not going to change in any fundamental way. Our two official languages will continue to be preponderant in their respective areas, with French more secure and more totally the language of Quebec than in the past. With the decline in immigration unlikely to be reversed, English-speaking Canada may become less of a mosaic and more of a melting pot, with a greater degree of linguistic and cultural uniformity and English as its focus. This twofold linguistic polarization will not, however, constitute two territorial unilingualisms. We have been successful in establishing more complete and more secure rights for the official language minorities than in the past or than exist in most multilingual countries. However, we do not yet have a situation in which a significantly larger part of our population is effectively bilingual and it is therefore imperative that our public sector be one that provides service, participation and basic equality for the two languages. Without such a Public Service, there is no way that government can be preserved with the character necessary for the unity of Canada. To put it another way, the factual needs of the linguistic geography of Canada in the future seem almost certain to reinforce what the new constitutional provisions require. This makes it all the more important to ensure we do not endanger the great gains that have been made toward language equality in the federal service.

The need for sustained effort

Why, then, have I argued against the option of a major

port to resolve the language-of-work problem? I have admitted that it is not complete in the Public Service as it is in the private sector and even less complete in Crown corporations.

There are basically two reasons for proclaiming and establishing the principle of language equality for the federal public sector in Canada. One is justice to the French-speaking community. The other is to strengthen and support the unity of the country. The degree of injustice in our history, of which the injustice in the Public Service has been a part until very recent years, was a reproach to Canada and endangered its unity. We have achieved a situation that is much more just than it was 20 years ago. The justice is not complete, nor is equality total. The question we now have to ask is whether the measures needed to achieve perfect justice at an early date would create a new danger to unity. The other question is whether, in a matter of this kind, perfect justice is indeed attainable. It may be that it is not. It may also be that, within decent and tolerable limits, the burden of being in the minority is to bear more of the load of compromise when some course less than perfection must be found.

The facts of our linguistic geography, together with the limited extent of effective bilingualism in English-speaking Canada in the immediate future, are the problem. They lead me to indicate that a major effort to press for equality of language of work in the near future would give rise to a kind of inequities and resentments that would cause more injury than aid to our unity.

We cannot be totally confident of the inevitability of gradualism, but I suspect it would be wiser to put our faith in that rather than in some new programme to achieve perfection quickly. I have referred to the great interest in

English-speaking Canada in the education of young children in French. There has also been a very substantial change in the parochial resistance to learning a second language. We have not yet seen any energetic or imaginative policies by provincial governments to make effective the assistance that has been provided by the federal government for second-language education. Perhaps the changes in public attitude will encourage provinces and schools to introduce programmes that will produce more real bilingual capacity than our educational systems in English Canada have produced thus far. With more French immersion education and diminished resistance, we might well see by the end of this century a situation in which it will be entirely feasible to have real equality in the language of the workplace in the Public Service.

If we did achieve such equality, that, together with the revolution in the educational system of Quebec, should leave little doubt that we will gradually complete a balanced participation of the two language groups within the Public Service in the areas where it is now deficient. As to language of service to the public, the Commissioner of Official Languages has a new weapon in the Charter of Rights. He and the Courts will see that rights will triumph.

The federal public sector in Canada has been transformed under the language policies since 1969. In my view, the steady pressure that has been a part of those policies should be maintained, but with a careful eye on the realities that sometimes argue for constructive delay or even, if necessary, for accepting less than perfection in this imperfect world. It may well be that, so far as the public sector is concerned, the linguistic challenge of the '80s is to consolidate the gains that have been made and to look to final achievement in the '90s.

Gordon Wells' remarks

We have just heard the reflections of a very distinguished Canadian, eloquently describing a period he lived through, beginning at a time when the accepted norm was an all-English public service at the federal level and continuing to the present.

What has characterized this period is the pace in which great progress has been achieved: federal services in both languages are now more widely available than ever before and many of the goals originally contemplated when this whole program began, particularly with the Official Languages Act in 1969, have now been achieved.

He went on to indicate what he sees as the challenge and the route to take in the '80s. He analysed three possible avenues that could be taken. First, undertaking major new efforts and new initiatives; second, disbanding all the mechanisms and depending on constitutional guarantees; or, third, moving ahead on key decisions that have already taken place. And I think he used the word "gradualism", a word we have used to describe what we are doing in Ontario.

I cannot disagree with Gordon Robertson's final conclusion that the third approach, gradualism, is the one to take in the '80s, particularly in the interests of national unity. However,

in concurring with him on this, I feel a bit of regret, because I know some of us would like to feel that striding off with major new programmes is the route to take.

But I must say, as one who has been involved in this whole process for at least the last 10 years and looking ahead to some of the problems that have to be met and solved in the '80s, gradualism offers the best hope for consolidating what has been achieved and making even more significant gains.

We have always tried to move ahead on language matters in the Province of Ontario, doing those things that

we felt were right, trying to avoid the conflicts and shortcomings that were evident and which came to light in the federal programme, and yet still trying to make substantial progress. We have always believed in Ontario that it was the responsibility of the national government to operate in both languages. Thus, the Province of Ontario has strongly supported the Official Languages Act, just as we very strongly support the new constitutional guarantees of language rights. However, we have always believed there were differences between what was appropriate for the national government and what was appropriate for us. Ours is a province where Francophones account for about six per cent of the population, whereas the national government, in the interests of national unity, has to take into account the feelings and aspirations of a much larger Francophone minority.

Our policy in Ontario, as stated by Premier Robarts in 1967 and reiterated by Premier Davis in 1971, was that we would provide, where possible,

facilities for the Francophone people of our province to deal with their government in their own language. It was also that we would move forward in the educational area to protect the linguistic and cultural background of the Franco-Ontarians, to a total establishment of their own school system. Recently, moreover, we have moved ahead in the courts to guarantee criminal trials and, in a number of areas of the province, civil trials.

All of these things have been done with a fair degree of acceptance. There has been some controversy in certain areas of education. But, basically, we have been able to progress and to legislate in those areas, and we feel we have kept the pledge that Premier Robarts and Premier Davis made. Our government feels it must continue to recognize that Franco-Ontarians are entitled to deal with their government in their own language and to have services provided in their own language, and to have a right to a degree of equality in a number of these

areas. I say "right" because I believe it is a right, even though it is not guaranteed in any legislative manner in Ontario.

I would defend very strongly the approach we have taken. I don't want to go into detail here, but let me point out that the climate in our province is much, much different from what may be found at the federal level or even in some of the other provinces. We have been able to achieve all we have because of gradualism. I know some will disagree with me, but I say we could not be where we are today in the provision of those services if gradualism had not been our approach. In my view, gradualism is the right route to go in our province to reinforce and to move ahead in the provision of increased French-language services.

And, I believe — echoing Gordon Robertson — gradualism is the right path to follow on the national level in pursuing the great achievements that have been made.

Serge Joyal's remarks

Since I should like this discussion to be as useful as possible, I will not address you as a member of the federal Cabinet, for I wish to do more than make an official statement. I have for too long been closely involved with the subject of linguistic equality in Canada to separate my personal convictions from my strictly political duties. If I may then, Mr. President, I should simply like to share with you some of my reactions to the statements made by your distinguished guest this afternoon.

Not for historical reasons, but because of what is happening in Canada today, I was sorry to see that Mr. Robertson's remarks lacked a sense of urgency, which I myself feel strongly. As a Quebecer, I belong to a generation which I believe will make history, since it will soon have to redefine its allegiance to Canada. That is why I believe this issue is a matter of urgency.

The Charter of Rights

I was directly involved in developing the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms and participate regularly in debates about our two official language communities. If things continue at the same rate as in the '70s, I am afraid the number of Quebecers who voted in favour of a negotiation or a new association with Canada in 1980 (40 per cent of the vote) will increase significantly and that the next election in Quebec does not augur well for the future of Canada. Certainly, the current economic crisis works, as it were, in our favour. In today's discussions on national unity, the problems of unemployment, inflation, factory shut-downs, business bankruptcies and all the calamities that afflict us work in favour of closer co-operation. This situation leads many Quebecers, including Francophones, to give a back seat to the fundamental question we

are discussing, even if only temporarily. Call me a cynic if you wish, but the fact is that, as a politician, I must be re-elected if I wish to act in the interests of the society in which I live. However, if we rely too much on the present situation and fail to take the measures required, we will merely be burying our heads in the sand.

I would like to speak to you about the Deschênes decision. I know Mr. Justice Deschênes well, for I was one of those who appeared before him in 1976 to evaluate the repercussions of the Official Languages Act, to which you have contributed. I am not here to judge you, but would simply like us to evaluate together the real short-term effects of this legislation. In appearing before him, I had two goals in mind: the first was to reassure myself of the supremacy of the principle of linguistic equality, and to determine its application on a national scale.

er to define what precise obligation is placed on the federal government. I distinctly remember that it took six months to determine that the principle of linguistic equality had passed language-of-work rights to a certain balance in the Public Service. As you know, these points are not clear in the wording of the Official Languages Act (Section 31), unclear, that we asked ourselves whether this section was merely declaratory. You are correct in saying that we have come a long way since 1976. But these efforts were agreed to only because of the fact that prevailed at the time. The problem today is that some people are fed up with making concessions, in particular the minorities, and, as you said, the burden of change always falls on their shoulders.

In any event, the minority does not threaten the stability of the Canadian government, regardless of the party in power. In Quebec, however, it not only threatens the stability of the government, but also the unity of the country. I therefore believe that defining the principles and provisions of the Official Languages Act is a matter of great urgency, as is the ratification of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It is rather paradoxical that the first to pay the price of this Charter, which we sought to make as fair and effective as possible, should be the Francophone minority. It should also be noted that the illegal ruling of national importance made under the new Charter was made in a Quebec Superior Court.

Although the majority of speakers in my view endorse the Charter (I myself hoped that these inherent rights would be applied as soon as possible in Quebec), it is still the Anglophones of Quebec who are politically the losers vis-à-vis the interests of the majority of Canadians.

Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons
Former Clerk of the Privy Council, Robertson, you are aware of the concerns of politicians and of ministers, concerns which are

constantly changing. Very often, issues of linguistic equality, and language-of-work rights are, I daresay, reduced to the status of just another administrative matter. When there is no urgency, these problems are put aside. For this reason, I proposed the creation of a joint Senate/House committee, so that these problems would be a constant concern of the government. It took four years of pressure on the Canadian government, both Liberal and Conservative, to win our case. I was convinced that it would do no harm to national unity and that by putting the language question on the agenda, I would succeed in convincing my Francophone compatriots that it was one of our basic objectives.

Of course this new organization may present political problems since it must serve as a forum for debate about infractions of the Act, its shortcomings, or problems of implementation. To paraphrase the statement of the B & B Commission: we are at the peak of the crisis, and the economic situation is providing us with only a temporary respite. Consequently, in my view it is essential that this committee become a permanent body, that its role be firmly established and its educational role broadened. It must hold public proceedings before all Canadians. Just as the constitutional committee was perceived by all as a credible public forum in the major task of drafting a Constitution that reflects and expresses our ideals and objectives, I believe that the on-going debate on linguistic equality should unfold for all to see. Therefore, I strongly recommend that the Committee's sessions be televised and that its work be broadcast as widely as that of the constitutional committee. This would bring the question out in the open. The Canadian mentality has evolved in the past fifteen years, and I think we all agree that this matter should be a national concern.

But to come back to what I was saying, the Committee's mandate should be broadened. It cannot be made a permanent body if its only task is to evaluate the report of the Commissioner of Official Languages. In Canada, the issue of linguistic equality extends far beyond the federal scene. Language

reform must be pursued and adapted to the current reality. The Official Languages Act has served us well until now, but it requires careful study and major re-working. The role of the Commissioner must be strengthened. The Act's provisions must be given the priority they deserve and the rights of French and English as languages of work must be clearly set out. The Act should contain provisions to the effect that our two major language groups be equitably represented in the Public Service of Canada and that there be measures to make imperative staffing obligatory.

Constitutional reform

In a related area, constitutional reform is still incomplete, particularly with regard to language rights. The Charter does contain some provisions, beginning with Section 16, which reiterate linguistic equality, but it does not constitutionalize the provinces' obligations in this regard. As a Canadian living in Quebec and as a spokesman for the federal option in that province, I believe that the Deschênes ruling unfortunately repeats the arguments of our adversaries. As you yourselves have already stated, the burden falls most heavily on the shoulders of the minority. This is something that, as a politician, I would like to work toward changing.

Awareness among Anglophones

If, in the view of some, I have played the martyr's role in the federal government, it has been to show my compatriots that despite everything, the flames are not about to die. We need such people to keep the holy war under control; without them, relations would be even more strained. It is also in the interests of our adversaries that these people lay down their arms. My greatest concern is to determine how the provincial governments can also take up the fight, how they can make Anglophone citizens aware that there is indeed a crisis, a crisis of great urgency for themselves more than for Francophones. In *Le Devoir*, Jean-Pierre Proulx wrote an editorial entitled "*Sous le coup de l'émotion*," (In the heat of the moment) in which he said: "Until they demonstrate clearly their willingness to act, the support given by provincial

premiers to the Constitutional Charter will do nothing but blind Canadians to the real facts. In half the Canadian provinces, this willingness has still to be demonstrated." (Our translation.)

This means that if the entire burden of the new Constitution must be shouldered by Quebec's Francophones, we will have failed. The Anglophone provinces must take concrete and symbolic action. In Ontario, in particular — and I am sorry to repeat this — we must avoid actions which appear to be clear refusals of claims which are legitimate. Take, for example, the proposal for a bill that was passed almost unanimously in Ontario's Legislative Assembly, only to be rejected by the government using its parliamentary majority. I find this abnormal. Another example: an eloquent and positive report recommended this summer that Francophones manage their academic institutions in Ontario. This decision must not be postponed indefinitely.

I demand that the Anglophone provinces do something positive for the Francophones of Quebec. I always have the impression that concessions are made grudgingly, unwillingly, or on the sly. We must encourage gestures of spontaneous generosity toward the Francophone minority in English Canada.

This is critical if we are to establish the credibility of the solutions we are working toward and to which you, Mr. Robertson, contributed in the '60s and '70s. It is necessary in order to meet the challenge of the next Quebec election. I tell you this because it is a serious and urgent question that comes before me every day. Every day, I must return to Quebec, not only to explain what I am doing at the national level, but also to justify myself in the eyes of a large majority of my fellow Quebec citizens. We must open the eyes of Anglophones who have immediate responsibilities in this debate.

We must act immediately and not in two or four years' time. From this perspective, I believe that the next constitutional conference is of critical importance.

We must avoid leading Quebecers to believe that the language issue has been resolved once and for all by the rest of Canada. Anglophones must become aware of the progress that remains to be made and the problems that must be overcome; they must bring these issues to the conference table themselves. This is the only way to make progress. In many cases this will require changes in mentality and attitudes. But the political situation of 1982 is much different from that of 1970. Although Quebec has temporarily postponed the idea of separation and opposition, the problem of national unity still remains to be settled. I repeat: it is even more urgent now than in 1965 when the B & B Commission alerted us to the dangers we face.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION PERIOD Second Session

Keith Spicer opened the discussion by noting that those present had just heard the classic Ontario view of language reform. However, he suggested that, since that province's actions in the linguistic field have a determining effect on the credibility of language reform, Ontario's gradualist policy may not be enough. Recalling an earlier presentation, Mr. Spicer mentioned that, while it was well and good to adopt a crusading attitude toward reform, this approach would perhaps have to be tempered by an understanding of the linguistic majority's position. He also said that words and expressions used in discussing language issues in Canada should be as concrete as possible so that Canadians may obtain a clear view of the real goal of reform — respect between the two language communities.

In response to a question by a fellow participant, Gordon Robertson then clarified his earlier statement which implied that the Commissioner of Official Languages has a new weapon in the Charter of Rights. He had meant that language rights may now be defended in the courts, and not that the courts had been enlisted in the Commissioner's service. However, he did not know where the minorities would obtain the funds needed for a legal defence of their rights.

The next speaker compared the step-by-step and gradualist approaches, the former being more purposive than the latter, which, he held, consists in the use of constructive

delays. He then provided a first-hand account of the effect of such policies on the Francophone minority in Ontario.

Other participants added to the debate on urgency *vs* gradualism. One said that, if too slow, gradualism is a dehumanizing process leading to terminal erosion of the minority community. Another reminded the assembly of the parallel issues for the Anglophone community in Quebec, while a third warned of the cynicism that the gradualist approach may generate.

Max Yalden stressed that gradualism must have a goal and an inherent sense of urgency. He also pointed out the contradiction that, although it is the minority that is directly affected by bilingualism, it is the majority that determines whether the official languages regime is working. The fact that, in many cases, minorities are not militant perhaps suggests that the majority should set higher goals than reform through gradualism.

Another speaker cautioned against attaching too much significance to the word "gradualism". The recent court case concerning the language provisions of the Charter of Rights, coming as it does so soon after the Charter itself, would seem to indicate that progress is being made more rapidly than expected.

A businessman contested Gordon Robertson's conclusion that the linguistic challenge of the '80s is to consolidate the gains made

thus far and to look for final achievement in the '90s. Instead, he felt the principal task is to bring the provincial governments up to a level of bilingualism more consistent with Canadians' aspirations.

Another participant shared his concerns, saying that the proposals amounted to a meandering step-by-step approach that would not lead to positive change. Mr. Robertson answered that this interpretation was founded on a slight misunderstanding of remarks he had made in his opening statement. He agreed that the institutions of the current official languages regime should be maintained and new ones added, and that a certain pressure should be brought to bear to hasten the reform process. He felt, however, that too much pressure would be unwise because there exists a very real danger of backlash, particularly in the West. In the absence of a vigorous new reform effort, certain policy changes may nevertheless be made, for example in the area of imperative staffing. Such changes would, of course, have their attendant political costs.

Following an exchange about Ontario's role and the need for continuing pressure in official languages matters, Tom Symons, the Co-chairman of the colloquium, summarized the discussions and adjourned the session, stressing that the iceberg was moving slowly, but that it was certainly moving in the right direction.

language and business. Two representatives of business, Pierre Lortie, President of the Montreal Stock Exchange and Jon Grant, President of Quaker Oats Company of Canada, and a journalist, Mark Harrison, Editor of the Gazette, examined the thorny issue of language of work in the business sector. Is their view of language policy consistent with the fundamental nature of Canada and its national and international interests?

The Achilles' heel of bilingualism in Canada

PIERRE LORTIE

Our subject is not particularly easy to deal with: it is explosive and all too often produces highly emotional reactions. And yet it should be discussed in the most detached and analytical manner to enable the most essential elements of the problem to be made clear. It is in this frame of mind that I approach my subject today. From the very outset I should like to state that I am not a specialist in language matters; my remarks are only those of an observer and of a member of the business community.

Language issues have always been — and still are — a reef which many a dream of harmonious relations between the founding peoples of Confederation has been dashed. The problem has now shifted from education and government to the business world. To help us understand the issues, I think it is essential to speak of "language of organizations" rather than "language of business." By language of organizations I mean the language or languages used to administer and manage a business, department or agency; the language of business more properly means communications with customers or outside parties. As we can see, these two questions cover totally different issues.

Language of business: significant progress

As a result of private-sector solutions and government intervention, the use of languages in communications with customers is no longer a major problem in Canada. Studies conducted on behalf of the B & B Commission revealed the efforts and desire of Canadian business to serve its customers in the language of their choice. This rational adaptation resulted from the quest for effective economic transactions.

The customer or the citizen is king . . . and is served in his language. As a general rule, no matter what the language of work and language of internal operations may be, the business sector in Canada tends to serve its customers in French or English wherever such is justified by sufficient numbers. In large concentrations of English- or French-speaking areas. However, it seems that progress can still be made

in the area of legal documents and other written communications, both of which are closely linked to the language of organizations. I shall return to this point in a moment. Regardless of the opposition voiced from time to time, one fact remains: *the Quebec experience shows that bilingual service to customers is easy to achieve and is not prohibitively costly.* This statement holds true not only for basic consumer goods, such as food products, but for more complex services too.

Thus, either through natural adaptation or as a result of federal or provincial legislation, national and private corporations generally communicate with their customers in the language of the latter's choice. There are, of course, examples of businesses that prefer to lose customers rather than adapt to these legitimate requirements; and there are customers who decide not to press their demands too much. Generally, however, I believe the current situation is relatively satisfactory. Promotion of bilingualism in the business world appears to have had a good track record during the '70s.

In some quarters, this statement is used as an argument for easing the pressure. Victory is proclaimed and the proposal is made to demobilize the army! In my view, such reasoning is shortsighted, and totally ignores the fact that the language of work is a key factor in any genuinely complete bilingualism policy.

This amputation of an essential limb appears to be a normal state of affairs for Canada's bilingualism policy, which so far has virtually ignored the question of language of work in the corporate sector. Even where the federal government has regulatory power (chartered banks, communications, etc.), it has never intervened to ensure that French has an equitable place as a language of work.

I believe that the problem of languages used in the headquarters of national organizations will become a particularly important issue during the '80s. This problem is the Achilles' heel of Canada's bilingualism policy.

Functional organization of businesses

Analysis and experience show that every corporation is structured into two types of units: operations and headquarters. Operations units deal in technical and commercial activities which may be divided into regions, divisions, plants, groups and so on. It is here that most of the staff are employed and it is here we find the future managers. Headquarters provide the overall management and supervision of operations units. Managerial staff are usually appointed to headquarters after spending some time in operations units. In small- and medium-sized businesses, the "headquarters" level is that of senior management.

Language of work in operations units

Recruitment for operations units is conducted at the regional level. The employees reflect the characteristics of the available source of manpower, and their operating language, voluntarily or not, is the language of the majority of their employees. Multinational corporations thus tend to operate in French in Quebec and in English in the other Canadian provinces. Anglophone Canadian corporations will use French in Quebec and Francophone corporations will use English in their operations outside Quebec.

Studies attest to the fact that enormous progress has been achieved in this area over the past twenty years. According to a 1978 study, the mother tongue of 84 per cent of Quebec workers was French. Studies conducted on behalf of the Gendron Commission in 1971 showed that these Francophones use French 87 per cent of their time at work. A 1979 follow-up to the study conducted by Roy Morrison⁽¹⁾ revealed that the major firms' manufacturing and sales activities in Quebec reflected the majority Francophone character of Quebec⁽²⁾.

Francophone participation, already substantial in 1964, had grown considerably by 1979. During that fifteen-year period, French had become the dominant language of work and English, which had been on an equal footing with French in 1964, was relegated to an increasingly subordinate role. Most of the Quebec-based corporations with a heavy concentration of Anglophone managers have modified their language practices over the past twenty years. On the language-of-work front, the francization of Quebec activities has been largely completed, and corporations have also increased their number of Francophone managers. Although some progress still remains to be done in this regard, their under-representation should be reduced over time.

Exceptions

First of all, some operations units located in Quebec continue to use English as the language of organization because most of their clients and contacts are outside Quebec. These are organizational groups that deal in highly technical sectors and work both in manufacturing and in highly specialized professional areas. For such companies, the normal sphere of influence goes well beyond provincial borders. Within these firms, English is used extensively, even in Quebec. Secondly, there are firms located in Francophone regions outside Quebec, but whose management has not seen fit to adapt to the milieu because of the

administrative changes that this would entail. Here I am thinking of Northern Ontario and New Brunswick, where concentration of Francophones or the social pressures of the milieu are not sufficiently strong to produce language changes in the firms.

What does all this tell us? First, in most operations units located in Quebec, the francization process has taken place naturally and probably did not require stimulus from legislative or regulatory measures. Consequently, the formal processes relating to the francization of businesses set in motion by programmes introduced by Bill 22, and adopted and made mandatory by Bill 101, will have little effect on the evolution of the francization process. For these units, the only noteworthy effect of this legislation is the strong encouragement given to the use of French in documents intended for internal use, a sector that took hold somewhat more slowly than other elements of francization in Quebec. The progress in written communications may explain why most Quebecers consider that the language legislation has had a positive and powerful effect on promoting the French language and in advancing the cause of Francophones.

Secondly, it seems likely that the language legislation applied to operations units located within Quebec, but whose normal frame of operation is found outside the province, is going to have somewhat harmful results. These corporations generally have rather tenuous relations with the milieu in which they have established their operations. This is very understandable. When 90 per cent of sales are conducted in outside markets and when the nature of operations calls for a network of intensive and on-going relations with a foreign client, the priorities and dominant influence on business operations are those of the client and not of the immediate environment. To a very large degree, the difficulties of implementing Bill 101 in the corporate sector result from the fact that the Bill's underlying philosophy seeks to impose the model which has developed naturally in most "regular" businesses to highly technical operation units, and does not take into account that the frames of reference and operational conditions of those units are totally different.

Thirdly, the difficulties found in regions where companies have not adapted to local conditions illustrate a weakness in the Canadian legal framework vis-à-vis language of work in the business sector. One wonders whether the province should not have at least as much responsibility for resolving these problems as the federal government — and perhaps more. In this regard, the language of work in the business sector provisions in Bill 101 and the experience we have had in Quebec in implementing this legislation could together be extremely helpful in devising ways to correct these weaknesses. It should also be noted that operations units located in the English-speaking regions of Quebec are experiencing difficulties not unlike those experienced by Francophones in other Canadian provinces.

Headquarters of national corporations

The issues are different for the headquarters of national corporations. In order to understand the reasons for this

ference, one must first appreciate that linguistic diversity is a natural barrier to exchanges. We must also understand that the prime function of a headquarters organization is to co-ordinate, manage and give direction. All of these activities are based on the quality of communications among headquarters employees, between this team, the clients in the economic environment, and finally, between the headquarters and senior staff in operations units. One of the essential qualities that management personnel in a headquarters unit, especially that of a large organization, must have, is the ability to communicate with ease both orally and in writing.

A fundamental headquarters function of being a communications hub has a number of consequences for linguistic behaviour. To the extent that the use of several languages reduces the quality and intensity of communications, the normal tendency is to use only one language. This dominant language will become the language of the organization. Usually, it will also be the language of the "owners", though there are exceptions to this rule.

The pressure in favour of a unilingual language of work in a large headquarters has quite unfortunate consequences in a country like Canada. Managers will hesitate to pursue their career within an organization in which the dominant language is not their own.

Studies conducted by Allaire and Toulouse on Francophone graduates show that these graduates hesitate to accept a position in a firm in which English is the language of work. This is a normal attitude. All other things being equal, a Francophone is placed at a disadvantage vis-à-vis an Anglophone in a work environment where English is the principal language of work, particularly for managerial positions. Where effective communication skills are an important factor for success, the Francophone manager will be placed at a disadvantage for part of his career if he has to operate in a language other than his own. The same phenomenon can be seen for Anglophones; very few of them work in the management category of departments of the Government of Quebec or in corporations where the dominant language is English.

In spite of these functional constraints, the most natural solution consists in using only one language at headquarters. In establishing linguistic bridges to communicate with clients or national clients or with administrative units whose operating language is not that of the headquarters unit, the natural solution has been used for many years in Canada.

Studies have shown that this model is widely used. Francization and "francophonization" still remain essentially Quebec-based phenomena. The Francophone presence and use of French within headquarters units located in Ontario is still marginal. If we examine the language of managers in the 105 largest corporations in Quebec, we find that 20 per cent of managers in corporations with headquarters in the province are Francophone, whereas the figures drops to 4 per cent for other corporations.

Furthermore, we find that Francophone representation within the headquarters of large, traditionally Anglophone manufacturing companies located in Quebec, is less than 50 per cent. Unlike Quebec-based operational units, these headquarters are not becoming Francophone. While Francophone representation in these organizations is certainly not negligible (the average being approximately 40 per cent among management staff), and while the use of French is increasing, the situation is very different from that found in operations units.

The natural solution might be just and equitable if the ownership of Canadian business were shared to a larger degree between Anglophones and Francophones, and if multinational corporations, generally U.S. owned and with large headquarters units, did not play so important a role in Canada. However, things being what they are, this involves considerable friction and numerous difficulties. For obvious socio-political reasons, national corporations with headquarters located in Quebec find it very difficult to apply the natural solution. They must therefore make special adaptations which, competitively speaking, increase their costs. Thus, national corporations with headquarters in Montreal have more Francophones and use official and administrative documents in both languages. These corporations are placed at a disadvantage because of multilingualism, since few businesses with headquarters outside Quebec have to follow this practice.

The existence of language legislation in Quebec and the absence of any federal legislation open the door to decisions that may have serious consequences. The management of a Canadian corporation may decide to move its headquarters from Quebec, thereby avoiding the incremental costs involved in maintaining headquarters in Montreal while benefiting from the advantages of the Canadian economy. This phenomenon has effectively reduced the number of Canadian corporate headquarters in Montreal and has deprived Quebec of a number of management positions, the longer-term effects of which are self-evident. However, it must be noted that these factors have played a major role in accelerating this process.

In view of this, Bill 101 provides the headquarters of national corporations with an opportunity to obtain exemptions, thereby enabling them to operate in English. However, difficulties relating to access to English schools for children and professional language requirements restrict the practical effectiveness of such exemptions.

Given the inequalities in ownership and the use of English in the Canadian headquarters of multinational corporations, Francophone management personnel are competing with their colleagues at headquarters in a language which is not their own. Thus, they have to agree to use English as their principal language of work if they hope to rise to more senior positions. The only companies currently not placed at a disadvantage by remaining in Quebec are those which for a long time have voluntarily accepted the Canadian linguistic duality by introducing an integral form of bilingualism at their headquarters.

Ideal institutional bilingualism may be described as follows: managers at headquarters work either in French or in English. All of them are bilingual. Management documents are drafted and received in either official language. Headquarters deals in French with operations units where French is the language of work, and in English with those where English is the language of work. Generally speaking, the former are located in Quebec and the latter outside the province. All senior managers of operations units are bilingual. One of their criteria for promotion is bilingualism. This state of affairs ensures balanced representation among managers and legitimacy for both languages within the organization.

Unfortunately, Canadian firms which have adopted this innovative model are few in number in Montreal and non-existent in Toronto. Federal departments would do well to study and imitate these private sector models, which have managed to resolve this problem of diversity in the use of languages within a management organization.

Until now, I have not mentioned Crown corporations. The natural solution is difficult for them to apply because ownership is public and therefore shared by both language groups, a situation that requires a different set of rules.

Major policy issues

Let me now raise some of the basic questions that any bilingualism policy should seek to answer.

- Should the Canadian government continue to allow the headquarters of national corporations to leave Quebec without taking some countermeasures? If it appears theoretically possible that federal intervention based on a Charter of Human Rights guarantees equal opportunities for everyone, regardless of the official language used, it must be recognized that there is currently no consensus in Canada with respect to applicable intervention in the private sector.
- Given that the inadequacy of the natural solution results from the weak participation of Francophones in the ownership of national corporations, would it be appropriate to require private Canadian Anglophone corporations to support more bilingualism than the natural balance would appear to justify?
- Given the federal government's lack of intervention in the relocation of headquarters and its respect for the free circulation of capital, should it compensate for the inevitable transfers of private corporation headquarters from Quebec by establishing Crown corporation headquarters in the province?
- There are two solutions with respect to Crown corporations. First, the government could require by regulation that they dispose of a high degree of bilingualism at their headquarters. Such an obligation would involve major organizational change in order to enable management staff, as their careers develop, to gradually learn both official languages before completing their career at head-

quarters. This would mean imposing upon federal Crown corporations the innovative methods used by private companies which have voluntarily decided to reflect Canada's linguistic duality.

- The second solution would be to provide for specialization or linguistic segmentation of Crown corporation headquarters. The headquarters of certain Crown corporations would be set up in Francophone regions and would operate in French, whereas others established elsewhere would continue to use English. In both instances, linguistic bridges would ensure communications with those outside the headquarters unit.

One point is of major importance: there would be no question of giving the managers of these Crown corporations the luxury of defining the major parameters of their language operation. This is a responsibility that belongs to the Canadian Parliament or Government of Canada and it is regrettable that, until now, the federal bilingualism policy has evaded this issue.

The need for innovative solutions

Private or public Canadian corporations are duty bound to reflect the linguistic duality of Canada. This should not even be questioned with respect to federal institutions. A sense of responsibility in this regard requires that changes be made to current practices.

One of the gains of the '70s was the legitimization of French as a language of service to the same extent (or almost) as English. Federal policies on labelling, public documents and signage contributed to this and caused fundamental changes of attitude about language of service throughout the country. Similar measures must now be taken to legitimize French as a language of work within major national organizations.

Beyond the natural solutions of localized bilingualism or linguistic bridges, institutional bilingualism may be a real possibility. Any corporation with sufficient coverage should be able to reflect Canada's linguistic duality among its staff by organizing sectors in which one or other of the two languages is the language of work. At the same time, it should increase the level of bilingualism of its headquarters wherever located. However, the cost of producing such adaptations to the Canadian reality are sufficiently important that one cannot expect this innovative solution to become generalized in any spontaneous manner. It is currently too easy for large Canadian corporations to evade these constraints, even if this genuine "tax evasion" incurs major social costs for Canadian society.

One of the best ways to integrate a language within an organization is to use it in major management documents. Translation should be prohibited, because where there is a dominant language and a secondary language, it would only draw attention to the accessory role played by the latter. People often use the example of a large multinational firm with less than 20 per cent of its employees located in Quebec which drafted in French all the analyses and the report on

largest investment in its history. The company's chief executive officer wanted to set a precedent and even had documents distributed to the board of directors in French. This measure had a significant and decisive impact on the attitudes and linguistic climate of the organization.

It would be unwise to under-estimate the cost of current attitudes of major private and public national corporations in Canadian society. Their effects are seen in the reduced mobility of Francophone managers and their serious and considerable frustrations. A number of Canadian firms have therefore categorically decided to limit their Quebec activities to their Francophone managers, who are thus not only hindered in their career aspirations but also deprived of the opportunity to acquire experience that participation in transfers to other units of the corporation involves.

One issue here is the mobility aspirations of young Francophone Canadians. Surveys reveal that the Francophone population in Quebec makes a clear distinction between

French as a language of communication and French as a language of economic advancement. Although Francophones are satisfied with the situation in the first case, they consider it far less satisfactory and even worrisome in the second.

Although the issue has not yet surfaced as a major point of contention, every day the situation grows more tense since a number of surveys have revealed that career aspirations among young Francophones are clearly higher than among other young Canadians.

This is why I believe that the greatest challenge facing Canada's bilingualism policy during the '80s is to find a just and balanced solution to the use of languages within various Canadian corporations.

1. R.N. Morrison, *Corporate Adaptability to Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. A study for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ottawa, 1970.
2. Secor Inc., *La présence francophone dans la grande entreprise manufacturière du Québec 1964-1979*, January 1980.

Grant's remarks

Pierre Lortie has focussed on a problem that a lot of us see, but which does not seem to have any immediate solutions. I will come from a slightly different tack and, in our discussions, we can examine what we can actually do to increase the level of bilingualism in industry in the '80s.

The true language of work is that which allows communication to flow as easily so as to maximize the return on the effort expended. In this regard, there are a number of such languages: the scientific language of research, the computer language, the social language and, of course, English, French and so on.

There is, as Pierre Lortie pointed out, the language of business. No question about it, any sane business is going to adopt the pragmatic attitude that it makes sense to communicate with the customer in the merchant's language. Certainly this has been true for many, many years in the Province of Quebec. It is also true in some other places — northern Ontario, for example, where salespeople may be bilingual English and French. For many years we gave the client a lip service only. Until relatively recently, we would take an

English-language television commercial designed in Toronto, dub it in the French words with "lip sync", and then run the same commercial in Quebec. We ourselves knew it was an unmitigated disaster. For most of us operating with national and international brand names, brand development was much lower in Quebec than in the rest of the country.

What we finally realized was that, wherever you want to sell, you tailor your consumer communications to the local culture. And you can best do that by having your advertising designed by people who live in that culture. It took a long time for this realization to come home to business in this country.

Language and the multinationals

I would now like to expand on the global dimensions of language of work. As most of you likely know, North Americans are extremely provincial. If you look at some true multinational corporations like Nestlé and Unilever, both of which are in the consumer products industry, you find a mix of nationalities among top management. In fact, at Nestlé in particular, the nationality of senior executives and the chief executive officer changes as these positions are

held by people who have come from the many countries where these companies operate.

The language of the senior executive suites changes according to who happens to be chairing the meeting. Except when there is a North American around. Then everyone has to move into English to accommodate the poor provincial from the United States or English-speaking Canada.

I have talked to a number of people who find this extremely embarrassing. A reverse psychology is at play: far from feeling superior because others must use their language, they feel they are being talked down to because they are the ones whose linguistic abilities are not good enough. So apart from being bilingual at home, we Canadians have to look beyond if we are going to be contenders in world markets.

German is obviously an important language around the world, particularly because of the strength of Germany's industrial development. Another key language is Spanish because of the fast-growing and exciting, though turbulent, South American market that some companies have picked as a long-term opportunity for Canada.

Let me develop my thinking a little bit. Because of their traditional unilingualism, North American and British companies, even the multinationals, tend to promote their own nationals to top positions. Those are the only people they really understand; they have difficulty trusting people of different national backgrounds at the helm. Companies like Nestlé and Unilever have no problem with this kind of thing. It is a function of the provincial, unilingual traditions that English-speaking people tend to have.

Francophones in management

I don't necessarily agree with Pierre Lortie that Francophone managers are at a real disadvantage in this country. Until recently, young managers coming out of Quebec business schools have not been trained in international management techniques, but that has changed and we are now seeing some exceptionally good people who can and do compete very effectively with Anglophones. To increase this representation, we must be prepared to move more aggressively, even in the short term.

Let me tell you about some things that have happened at Quaker over the past year. Three people were appointed to three important jobs across the country — district manager in British Columbia, district manager in Ontario and a marketing manager at head office in Peterborough. All three positions were won

by Francophones. We did not choose Francophones to "balance the books"; we chose on the basis of education, training and development, experience — in short, on merit.

Managerial mobility

The barriers to this mobility go beyond what we have just been talking about. The problem is essentially one of family culture, a very difficult thing for all of us to come to grips with.

Anglophones, whose ties are generally confined to the nuclear family, can pick up and move much more readily than Francophones, who tend to be part of an extended family that includes grandparents and cousins and uncles and so on in their particular locale. Such ties make it difficult for Francophones to move to the west coast, for example, to pick up some experience, even if it is only for a year.

We had an example of this at Quaker. We were opening up an operation in France and we desperately needed someone with marketing and sales experience over there. Obviously, Francophones were best prepared for the job, but because of extended family relationships we could not encourage any of those on our staff to take what promised to be a very exciting two-year assignment.

By way of concluding remarks, I would like to leave you with a couple of thoughts.

First, I think that the private sector should start to take bilingualism more seriously than in the past. We should begin to insist that there are promotion advantages to Anglophone managers if they become bilingual. It has been too easy to appoint a sales manager who has responsibility for Quebec and is not bilingual. There is nothing wrong with telling managers that bilingualism may be one of the considerations for promotion along with skills in accounting, advertising or human relations. This is something we as managers share a responsibility for trying to change.

Second, if Canada is to enhance its position around the world, more Canadians must make more effort about language. The first step for each individual is to learn both our official languages, the next, to become multilingual. If Canadian agri-business in the '90s and through the year 2000 is going to export more foodstuffs around the world, it makes sense for us to be able to operate in many languages, and not just in English and French because of our needs at home.

Thus, we must break the inertia among business leaders and start encouraging bilingualism. It makes sense not just because of our two founding peoples in Canada, but because we have to break out of provincialism if we are going to do business around the world.

Mark Harrison's remarks

Like Pierre Lortie, I am not a specialist or expert witness on the subject of bilingualism. As an editor, however, I am made aware almost every day of the strong and emotional reactions evoked among Anglophones and Francophones alike on the issue of language.

I should like to offer a few general observations based on Mr. Lortie's remarks and on my own impressions as a comparatively recent resident of Quebec. Let me try to focus on the

extent to which bilingualism in the business world has been at once helped and hindered by legislation, and especially by the passage of Bill 101 in Quebec.

As Mr. Lortie noted, French has become well established as the language of work in Quebec in recent years. One may argue whether this is the result of natural evolution or of language legislation. I suspect it is a combination of both, though I'm inclined to believe that French would

not yet have taken its rightful place within the heartland of French Canada had it not been for the legislative measures adopted by successive Quebec governments.

I say that because I recall the experience of Bill Tetley who was minister of financial institutions in the Bourque government when it was decided that new Quebec corporations would be obliged to have French and English names, but that the 120,000 existing Quebec companies would be asked

ply voluntarily. Mr. Tetley is how the official opposition at me argued that existing com- should be forced to have ch as well as English names, e insisted they would comply ntarily.

n notices were sent to each of 20,000 companies, fewer than 25 lied. Mr. Tetley then wrote a nal letter to the presidents of the major Quebec companies, asking to comply. Nine volunteered. a survey was taken to find out he response had been so nega- The most frequent reply, perhaps rstandably, was that the proposed ge was simply not seen to be in ompanies' interest.

a small episode, perhaps, but ds some light on why legislation eemed necessary to compel some ure of bilingualism in the mercial life of Quebec.

can easily understand the resent- and frustration of Francophones, ially in Montreal, who for so long in a society where most commer- ges were unilingual English, e the language of the workplace ften English, and where service ny stores and business establish- s was available only in English.

e August 26, 1977, when Bill 101 enacted, a single language, French, een established by law — rightly e paramount language, and in y areas, as the only language of ness, of education, and of public ces. This process is probably alleled in the Western world, s part of a broader social evolution h has transformed Quebec in t years. In the business world, 01 is obliging companies, with ceptions, to conduct their affairs ilingually but in French, from op floor to the boardroom.

egislation has inevitably bred frustrations and annoyance. But April 30, 1982, according to the e de la langue française, more 66 per cent of the 1,614 largest ec companies — those with 100 re employees — had their fran- on certificates, attesting that they

were operating in French or had a programme under way for that purpose. Of the 2,269 companies with 50 to 100 employees, 49 per cent had certificates. We may expect total compliance by the deadline of December 31, 1983.

Claude Aubin, the new president of the Office, reported recently that the establishment of French as the language of work has led to an increase in the creativity, initiative, partici- pation and productivity of Franco- phone employees, particularly at management levels.

These are among the positive results which have flowed from Quebec's language law. There is no doubt that it has also created a greater sense of cultural and linguistic security among Francophones in Quebec and has led to a greater sense of social tranquillity within the Francophone community than existed a few years ago. All of us can welcome these trends.

Regrettably, however, the pendulum has swung too far in some respects. Several aspects of the Quebec language law seem excessive, punitive, even vindictive in their impact on the use of English, and have aroused wide- spread resentment within the Anglo- phone and Allophone communities.

Some of those excesses are in educa- tion and social services which are outside the scope of my remarks this morning. However, reference has been made to the recent landmark judge- ment in the Quebec Superior Court in which Chief Justice Jules Deschênes ruled that certain aspects of Bill 101, restricting English-language educa- tion, were unconstitutional and that the Quebec government in defending these aspects of the Bill reflected a "totalitarian" concept of society.

I believe that similar criticism can be levelled against several other provi- sions of Bill 101 that affect the business community.

In some of its regulations and in the insensitive way they have sometimes been applied, the language legislation has been arbitrary and on occasion intolerant. This can only undermine

the efforts of those trying to extend and strengthen the cause of bilingua- lism throughout Canada.

I refer primarily to the impact of Bill 101 in areas affecting the use of signs, posters and advertising, in language tests for professions and to some extent in the language of work. No aspect of Bill 101 is resented more deeply than Section 58, which has required the abolition of all English words on most signs, posters and commercial advertising. It is hard to think of any other jurisdiction in the Western world where it is deemed necessary to expunge a whole language from public view.

It implies that the mere sight of a few English words — even if accompanied by their French translation — consti- tutes an affront to Quebec's majority. In some respects, as Claude-Armand Sheppard noted recently, the use of English is now a crime in Quebec.

No social revolution, of course, can be entirely free of injustices and abuses. In a democratic society, one can even justify some degree of coer- cion in the general interest. But to use the power of the state to abolish minor- ity rights, on the ground that this is necessary for the security of the major- ity, is a most dubious proposition. The legislative attempt to stamp out the use of English as a public presence sometimes leads to bizarre incidents.

One recalls the case earlier this year of a broker in Hull, a unilingual Fran- cophone, who was warned he was breaking the law because the sign on the door of his family firm contained the word "realtor." Although he explained that the word was a regis- tered trademark of the Canadian Real Estate Association, he was told to remove it nevertheless.

One recalls how, in Montreal, a real estate firm was recently convicted and fined \$100 for posting two small signs in front of two houses in a predomi- nantly English-speaking suburb of the West Island. The signs contained the offending words "For Rent".

Then there was the case in the heavily Anglophone West Island of Montreal

in which a lawn-care firm owned by Mr. Claude Larochelle was ordered to remove the word "lawn" from his bilingual truck signs, leaving only the French word "pelouse". His chief competitor, an American firm, carries the name "Chemlawn" in three-foot-high letters on its trucks. Because "Chemlawn" is a trademark registered before Bill 101 came into effect, it is legal. That left Mr. Larochelle asking why he, a Francophone, operating a company that serves primarily an English-speaking area, cannot announce in English the business he is in but his American competitor can. He is still awaiting a reply.

Last March, when the section of Bill 101 requiring commercial signs to be in French only was challenged in Quebec Superior Court, Judge Jacques Dugas held that the Province had the power to restrict the use of English in business, just as Ontario had restricted the use of French in education until 1924.

"Freedom of expression," he wrote, "does not include freedom to choose the language of expression," a view which may strike some people as rather odd. One wonders what use freedom of expression is without the means to express it. It is as though freedom of religion were defined as the right to worship, providing it is only in an Anglican church.

The resentment engendered within the Anglophone community by the prohibition on signs is directed, of course, against the Quebec government, not against the Francophone community, because it is recognized that many Francophones themselves feel this part of Bill 101 to be excessive.

A survey conducted last year by Sorecom, a highly respected polling organization in Quebec, showed that 64 per cent of Francophone Montrealers and 95 per cent of Anglophone Montrealers felt Bill 101 should be amended to permit bilingual signs.

A second area of concern is in the language tests set up under Bill 101, whereby non-Francophones, graduating from professional schools in Quebec, cannot practise their profession

without passing special language tests in French. Francophones coming up through the French school system, of course, are not required to take the test because they are automatically deemed to be proficient in French.

The tests have deprived competent and even bilingual people of their right to work in their chosen field simply because of their inability to pass a written test. Some of you may be aware of the case of Joanne Curran, a fluently bilingual Anglophone nurse, who was deprived of her job because of her failure to pass a written test.

The testing program has been criticized by the Quebec government's own agency, the Conseil de la langue française, which advises the government on language policy. It has urged that the tests be abolished. But as of today they remain, with a few minor changes.

In Montreal today, it is almost impossible for a unilingual Anglophone to find a job except in high-technology industries with international markets, such as Northern Telecom. Most jobs now require, properly, "a minimal knowledge of French," at least written and oral, according to a study undertaken last spring for Alliance Quebec, the newly-formed umbrella group set up to defend the rights of non-Francophones.

The survey of 32 large, Montreal-based firms and 11 smaller companies indicated that below the upper management level, local companies now tend to operate almost entirely in French.

Since 1977, the cost of francization incurred by Quebec companies has been estimated by the Office de la langue française to be more than \$100 million.

Another study, conducted for the C.D. Howe Institute in 1980 by Yvon Allaire and Roger Miller, who teach business administration at the University of Quebec in Montreal, reported that 330 of the largest firms, with 500 or more employees each, had spent an average of \$105,000 each to accommodate French as a working language since 1977.

The study reported that French-speaking employees continued to be under-represented at top management and even middle management levels, a finding that supports Pierre Lortie's observation this morning.

But the evidence is sometimes conflicting, and we have no reliable and up-to-date data on the progress of francization at the management level.

One linguistic expert, Monica Heller of the University of California, spent three months last year studying the process of francization at a major Montreal beverage manufacturer that was traditionally English until the 1960s. She found that at top or middle management levels, Francophones were recruited, trained and quickly promoted as part of company policy.

Remaining Anglophones tended to be older workers, with more seniority and experience than their young French-speaking superiors, which sometimes caused tension at meetings. In some departments, the use of French in meetings was decreed at the risk of alienating older Anglophones — a relatively new phenomenon, perhaps.

Yet, she found, most Anglophone workers accepted francization as reasonable, and instances of open hostility were rare.

I think the majority of Quebec Anglophones have the same attitude — an acceptance of the paramountcy of the French language and a readiness to ensure that their children, at least, must be fully bilingual to function within a predominantly French-speaking society.

But I think there is a sense that it ought to be possible to encourage and to welcome the assertion of French-language rights without the kind of excessive and coercive measures which deny the existence of English and which go far beyond the kind of "pushing" that Max Yalden referred to yesterday.

Three years ago, on the 10th anniversary of the Official Languages Act, Davidson Dunton, a co-chairman of the B & B Commission, wrote that "

cept of equilingualism," as he said it, was not only fair but must seem to be fair.

Quebec today, it is not always easy for Anglophones to detect fairness in language policy that reflects neither bilingualism nor equilingualism.

While our attention in the '80s must be focussed primarily on the extension of Francophone rights across Canada, and with all deliberate speed, I hope the legitimate concerns of Anglophones in Quebec, who often feel themselves beleaguered these days, will not be ignored.

There is a linkage here, I believe, because the long-overdue extension of Francophone rights across the country can only be accelerated if the excessive aspects of Quebec's language legislation are eliminated.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION PERIOD

Third Session

A representative of the business community noted that companies are moving their head offices out of Quebec not only because of the language issue, but because senior executives are taxed more heavily than their counterparts elsewhere in Canada. He added that bilingualism would not succeed if senior managers were not convinced of the importance of equal opportunities for Francophones and Anglophones.

Another businessman expressed the view that the federal government intervenes enough already in the private sector, and that asking it to fill the gap left by departing companies is not the best solution. Nor is it wise to force companies to keep their head offices in Quebec. Taxes are too high and senior executives have problems educating their children in the language of their choice.

Jean de Grandpré pointed out that Bell Canada has adapted to the situation and uses French and English where appropriate. Communications in the Quebec region are in French, and those that pertain to the company in general and to other companies are in English, with translations for the Quebec region. Bell Canada's policy is that English is the main language of work at head office because the technology in this field is almost exclusively in that language. It has nevertheless been able to attract very competent Francophones.

A senior public servant saw Ottawa and Montreal as pairs in the bilingual zone, and Quebec City and Toronto as pairs outside the zone. He would like to set up units working in the minority official language in other major centres within the bilingual zone.

Another participant stated that, regardless of where a company's head office is located, its highest priority must be effectiveness and efficiency. For this reason, he was not sure how fast Canada's business community could move toward the model proposed by Mr. Lortie although he agreed with it as a long-term objective. He felt that Francophones should not expect a bilingual situation to exist soon in head offices outside Quebec.

One businessman said that in expanding his company he had tried to set up a partnership between Quebec and Ontario to

prove that Francophones could succeed outside Quebec. He discovered that Ontario had a completely different culture. For a true partnership to exist, the partners have to get to know each other, the first step being to learn each other's language.

The next speaker noted that most of the discussions had revolved around linguistic rather than cultural differences. In his view, the cultural aspect was what should really be emphasized. He wondered how one could prove that language legislation in Quebec has had a negative impact. Given the increased sense of cultural security and opportunities for advancement that the Charter has produced for Francophones, the legislation should not be judged too harshly. He questioned the reliability of Mr. Harrison's statistics from a study on bilingual signage, stating that according to other data, the majority of Francophones are in favour of Bill 101's provisions regarding unilingual French commercial signage. Over the past ten years, the professional and economic expectations of young Francophones had been rising and were higher than those of their counterparts in the rest of Canada. Unless large companies made significant linguistic changes, they would be unable to meet these expectations and the resulting dissatisfaction could have serious political repercussions.

This speaker was asked if he believed Francophones had higher aspirations because they had started out so far behind Anglophones. As regards the education provisions in Bill 101, did not Francophones think that Anglophones should have the opportunity to be educated in English provided they were able to communicate in French?

He agreed that Francophone Quebecers appeared to be generally in favour of loosening the Charter in that area, and that the Canada clause was a popular option. He was unable to say why Francophone expectations are what they are.

A member of the academic community felt there was too much optimism about language of service in the business world. He cited the example of the private sector in New Brunswick, where private companies appeared to be waiting for government to legislate on language.

A public servant said the private sector should be more involved than government in making people aware of the advantages of bilingualism. She noted that her department was trying to change people's attitudes with programmes such as Open House Canada which helped reduce prejudice and create a more positive atmosphere, two essential conditions for the promotion of bilingualism in the private and public sectors.

Mr. Lortie was asked to clarify his statement that the federal government had not intervened to give French an equitable place as a language of work, and had not made the people in the business world aware of this question. He replied that the federal government had not issued regulations that changed the actual behaviour of organizations, as Bill 101 had done. In his opinion that was the only way to make any real change.

A representative of a Francophone association asked if business should be unilingual French in Quebec and unilingual English outside Quebec, or bilingual across Canada, or if demand should be met as it arose. What policy should Canada adopt in the '80s?

In Pierre Lortie's view, any solution involving making certain areas in Canada unilingual was doomed to failure; Canadians are a mobile workforce and many firms go beyond territorial boundaries.

When asked whether one should speak of the "founding peoples" in a country that has Indians, Inuit and many other nationalities among its population, Pierre Lortie answered that the Constitution referred to the founding peoples, and that while other cultures had certainly enriched Canada, these two groups had been singled out. However, there was nothing to prevent organizations from operating in languages other than English or French.

Jean de Grandpré, the Co-chairman of the colloquium, concluded the session with a summary of the main contributions, such as the statement that tax disparities and attitudes vis-à-vis Anglophones would have to change in Quebec.

Language and education. With responsibility for passing on knowledge, revealing the present and exploring the future, do our educational institutions help prepare young people to give the best of themselves in a country that is irreversibly bilingual and in a world where English and French are not the be-all and end-all of everything? Robin Farquhar, President of the University of Winnipeg and David Johnston, Principal of McGill University, attempted to determine whether our schools provide our official language minorities with the means to excel without having to give up their own language.

Full speed ahead, apply the brakes, or change course?

ROBIN FARQUHAR

After sitting through the past day and a half, I have become more convinced than ever that education is a very major source of any solutions to the problems we have been talking about.

My task is to provide an overview of language and education. Obviously I must be selective in my foci, and I shall organize my remarks accordingly. First I shall sketch the range of topics and issues involved. Then I shall identify a few basic assumptions, and finally I shall propose some thrusts for possible incorporation in subsequent action.

Fundamental issues

Language and education are both extremely complex phenomena and so are their interactions with each other, especially in the context of our national development in Canada. The factors involved are too numerous to mention in total, but I would like to offer an idea of the scope of the subject by posing some of the pertinent questions.

The first is: **Who constitutes our target group when we talk about language and education?** Are we talking about Francophones in Quebec learning English? Francophones elsewhere in Canada learning English? Francophones elsewhere in Canada maintaining their French? Are we talking about Anglophones in Quebec learning French or Anglophones elsewhere in Canada learning French? Either Francophones or Anglophones learning a language other than English or French? Native people or immigrants anywhere in Canada learning English or French or maintaining their indigenous or mother tongues? A whole range of very different populations is involved, and the issues differ substantially according to the target group in question.

What is the status of a language for a particular target group? Does education in a language involve first-language maintenance for minority groups? Does it involve second- or third-language learning for majority groups or for minority groups? The status of a language for a particular target group affects both the pedagogical and political approaches to language education, and all these possibilities must be

addressed in a country that aspires to official bilingualism within a context of multiculturalism.

When and how should language education take place? Should it take place in bilingual schools, mixed schools or unilingual schools? It has been argued, with some research support, that, at least for minority groups striving to maintain their first language, education should take place in unilingual schools that they control.

Should second-language education be presented as a language of study, as in the core approach or the conversational approach — that is, “We are studying French” or “We are studying English”? Or should it be presented as a language of instruction, as in the immersion or the transition approach? Of course there is no answer to that. It needs to be presented both ways, depending on the aspirations and the situations of the students involved.

It has been argued that where a second language is the language of instruction, immersion for majority groups is attractive in that the second language is gained, whereas the transition approach often used with minority groups is subtractive in that the first language is lost. With immersion, we also have to decide whether it should be full or partial, early or late. Research demonstrates that effective language education requires different approaches for different groups in different demographic circumstances.

Do we have the educational technology to teach language effectively? Do we know when to use the communicative approach and when the structural — two very different approaches to language instruction? Each is probably appropriate under different circumstances. Do we have adequate instructional materials and equipment available? Are we training enough qualified language teachers? The answer to all these questions seems to be: “No, but we’re working on it.”

A fifth question that helps define the complexity of this topic is: **At what level and to whom should language**

Learning opportunities be offered? Should they be offered at the elementary-secondary and post-secondary levels? During school hours, after school, on weekends? For credit or on a non-credit basis? In compulsory or optional programmes? Should they be for children and youth only or adults as well? Should they be offered in an instructional setting only or rather in an entire cultural milieu involving the media, publishers and the arts, religious and community agencies?

It is evident that an exclusive focus on young people in schools is inadequate for effective language learning. It must be supported by supplementary opportunities to learn and use the language with other people in other settings, and these opportunities need to be coordinated and integrated to the fullest extent possible.

Language education largely a matter of pedagogy? Pedagogy involves instructional technology, which means methods, materials, equipment, trained teachers. It also involves learning behaviours, which means the abilities and attitudes of the students concerned. Without adequate pedagogy, effective language education cannot take place. Pedagogy is necessary but it is not sufficient, for there are other factors that may be even more significant in language education.

Some of these factors are philosophical. Is the primary aim of language education survival — for example, survival of a minority culture or survival of an individual in terms of access to employment? Or is the primary aim enrichment and the interest of developing a new skill or simply in the pursuit of a good liberal education?

Others are political. What are the respective roles of the federal government, of the provincial governments (both independently and together) and especially of municipal governments, which in my judgment have been largely overlooked so far?

What is the role of individual schools, compared with that of school boards and provincial departments of education? Does it make a difference to what you do in language education if a jurisdiction is designated officially bilingual? Should English-language education and French-language education be managed separately?

Should first-language instruction and second-language instruction streams eventually merge when the language involved is the same even though the groups served are, of course, different? For example, should Anglophone students in French immersion programmes join with Francophone students in first-language programmes at some point in their educational development? If so, at what level?

Of course, some factors are financial. They relate to the question: Should language education be viewed primarily as a benefit to the individual and supported through private means, or should it be viewed as primarily a benefit to our society and supported through taxes and, if so, from what level of government? Or should it be viewed as some combination of both, and in what financial proportion?

Finally, some of the non-pedagogical factors are contextual. Language is embedded in culture, and language education must, therefore, bear a relationship to such characteristics as religion, social class, ethnicity, geography and demography.

Clearly language education is not a matter of pedagogy alone. Many of the other factors I've mentioned have strong ideological components and must, therefore, be sorted out at the level of theory and values before policies can be developed leading to concrete and effective action in the teaching setting. Given that this has not yet been done satisfactorily, it is remarkable that language education has progressed as far as it has in Canada.

What is the federal government's primary purpose in promoting official bilingualism? Is it to encourage the use of both official languages by as many Canadians as possible? Is it to ensure access to governmental and legal services for all Canadians in the official language of their choice? Or is the primary purpose to provide equitable representation in government jobs to both Anglophone and Francophone Canadians?

My impression is that representation has been given top priority and that the first purpose, an increasingly bilingual population, has been somewhat under-emphasized — especially, though certainly not exclusively, in Quebec. This may be understandable, if it's true, in that representation is more quickly and more directly attainable by government action. The three purposes I've mentioned are somewhat interdependent anyway. However, I wonder if the federal government has been truly open with the general public in terms of its long-range plans and objectives in this regard. In fact, I wonder if it has really decided which purpose is primary.

Is language education an end in itself, or is it an integral part of other, larger concerns? My answer is that it is the latter. Within the context of education, the learning of Canada's official languages may be viewed as an essential component of Canadian studies. Within the setting of Canada as a whole, it may be viewed as basic to the much broader development of the ephemeral Canadian identity. And in the world at large, Canada's official languages policy may be viewed as essential to our interface with the United States, our relationships with other nations and our immigration policies, for example.

Finally, what are the appropriate or intended roles, with respect to language education, of the federal government, the Commissioner of Official Languages, and the Council of Ministers of Education? Is it their role, or the role of some of them, to advocate and promote? To make available supporting services — financial, legal, moral or logistic, for example? To monitor and report? To serve as ombudsmen or as policemen? In other words, are these official agencies supposed to be initiatory or responsive, proactive or reactive, sources of expertise and assistance or bases of power and control? Personally, I'm not sure what to expect from whom. And unless I'm alone in this confusion, I fear that

the development of language education in Canada may be retarded unnecessarily and undesirably.

These questions at least show just how vexatiously complex the topic of language and education is. I wish I could answer them all, even to my own satisfaction. I doubt anyone can at present. Nevertheless, let me try to extract some order from the chaos by indicating a few of my own hopes. I must mention three important assumptions from which my suggestions are derived.

Key assumptions

First, I assume we mean it when we say that Canada is an officially bilingual country. This means not only that Canadians can be served by government agencies and the courts in either official language from coast to coast, but also that ultimately they should be able to meet the basic needs of daily life no matter which official language they use.

If this is to become the case, we should strive towards an ever-increasing proportion of our population being functionally bilingual in English and French. The provinces, at least in English-speaking Canada, seem to be acting in accordance with this objective — though some more enthusiastically and effectively than others.*

My second assumption is that, thanks to the devoted work of our linguists and language educators, we are learning how to teach languages increasingly well. French immersion programmes for Anglophone children are proving particularly effective. Not only are their French skills better than those of other Anglophone children (although not quite so good as those of Francophone children); after a bit of lag time, their English language skills, their academic achievement generally and various affective kinds of learning are at least as good as, in some cases better than, those of other Anglophone children. The rapidly growing number of Anglophone children in French immersion programmes coast to coast indicates that the general public not only recognizes this but favours its purposes as well.

My third and last assumption, a key one, is that learning benefits from positive motivation. People who are engaged in a particular kind of education because they want to be (or in the case of young children, because their parents want them to be) are more likely to achieve really successful, long-lasting learning than those whose engagement in education is coerced. You can lead a horse to water, and you can even get it wet, but you can't make it drink unless it wants to. With respect to official bilingualism, many civil servants will get wet if they have to, but the real thirst, I believe, resides with an impressively large proportion of the general public from coast to coast — especially, but not exclusively, with the children. I find it lamentable that we have not yet made a determined effort to quench this thirst, or at least we have not made many people properly aware of such an effort if there is one.

Future priorities

On these assumptions, then, I would propose certain priorities for the immediate future of language and education

in Canada. All relate to my belief that the federal government should adopt a much higher profile in this field.

My first proposal concerns goals. I would suggest that we are making considerable progress towards the first of the three goals I mentioned earlier, that of access to government and legal services in both languages. This progress should be allowed to proceed on its own momentum, with all the support now available in legislation and regulations. I do not know what kind of progress we have made towards equitable representation in government positions for both language groups. But I would suggest that this goal be delayed, because I would like us to avoid a potential explosion, especially among Anglophones in Western Canada.

With respect to the third goal, increasing functional bilingualism nationwide, I suggest that the federal government acknowledge this openly as a primary objective, explain its desirability from both rational and emotional perspectives, and outline a clear and careful plan for achieving it based not on the coercion of the unwilling but on the support of the self-motivated. I believe there is a largely untapped reservoir of will among Canadians to become functionally bilingual — a potential for national bilingualism that could be realized if the rational and emotional arguments in its favour were convincingly communicated, if evidence of the growing effectiveness of our approaches to bilingual education were broadly and effectively disseminated and if opportunities for language training were made much more widely and easily available.

My second proposal concerns strategies. Opportunities for language training that currently exist should be made much better known. There is an excellent federal government publication called "Where to Learn French and English," of which I was unaware until I began looking into this subject — and I'm running one of the institutions listed in it. What likelihood is there that members of the general public have ever heard of it, let alone used it? Beyond making known existing opportunities, I believe the federal government should do more to stimulate promising new approaches to language training and national bilingualism generally. Support — moral at least and financial if possible — should be given to such developments as:

- New arrangements for language training that is easily accessible to adults, including provisions for leave from work.
- Increased assistance to voluntary organizations which exist primarily to promote bilingualism.
- Establishment of second-language cultural centres and conversation areas in office buildings and other public facilities.
- Creation and distribution of language-learning materials and equipment.
- Promotion of exchanges among Anglophone and Francophone communities, with greater emphasis on adults.

Provision of community-based continuing education opportunities in language learning.

Development of language programmes offered via home computers.

Numerous other examples could be given, but let me conclude with a word about universities. Our institutions of higher education could contribute much more to national bilingualism if they were provided with stimulation and support for such things as language courses for credit (as they are now subsidized for non-credit offerings), second-language teacher training (especially in-service retraining of otherwise redundant teachers), non-language courses in social studies, science, math, English courses . . .) taught in the second language, policies to accept written assignments in either official language, establishment on campus of second-language cultural centres and conversation areas, functional bilingualism as a requirement for majors in Canadian studies, and a variety of other developments.

I have not mentioned a second-language requirement for admission to or graduation from university, except for those who choose to major in Canadian studies. This derives from my assumption that learning is most effective when it is self-motivated; second-language requirements are self-defeating if the ultimate objective is increased bilingualism.

Underlying all the strategies I have mentioned are three very simple principles: First, language-learning opportunities should be generally known and widely available. Secondly, they should be voluntary, thereby becoming more attractive to more people. And thirdly, they should be comprehensive: While we must continue to expand such opportunities for young people in our schools, we must also place greater emphasis on adult education and on a supportive general milieu for language learning.

In pursuing these three principles, I believe that much more initiative must be taken by the federal government, and perhaps by the Commissioner of Official Languages. It is enough for those in Ottawa to say "Tell us what you'd like us to do, and we'll see if we can support it." If Ottawa truly believes in the desirability of national bilingualism, it should take much more initiative in originating language-

learning strategies and encouraging institutions and groups across the country to try them out. To the extent it is constitutionally necessary for Ottawa to do this through the provinces, it should insist on accountability in the provincial allocation of federal funds provided for these purposes.

My third proposal, as you might anticipate from an academic, concerns research. The complex and intricately inter-related questions I raised at the outset need to be answered if we are to have full confidence in what we are doing with respect to language and education. Answering them will require a comprehensive, long-term programme of applied research and experimentation, buttressed by continued expansion of the more basic research in linguistics and language education that has been under way for some time in such places as OISE's Modern Language Centre.

Again, I believe that this calls for initiative from Ottawa. Merely responding to unconnected research proposals generated by individual scholars across the country will not do the job. A comprehensive programme of coherent studies, carefully planned, closely coordinated and adequately funded by the central government, is essential.

So the common plea in all my suggestions is for more leadership in language and education from the national level. Ottawa must become bolder in establishing and communicating its objectives, in originating and supporting programme strategies for pursuing them and in initiating experiments and research studies to answer the complex array of questions that arise.

I believe we have been making gradual progress in the field of language and education, and my personal feeling for the future of this country causes me to plead that we not apply the brakes now. Rather, what I propose is full speed ahead with some changes in course to approach more directly a brighter beacon — a beacon which doesn't give up to push strategy but which gives much more attention to pulling, through education.

*Let me emphasize that this view of official bilingualism does not rule out multiculturalism. There is evidence that those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French learn one of our official languages more effectively if they are educated at least during the early years of schooling in their mother tongue. Moreover, the skills they learn, and the skills their teachers develop, from that form of bilingual education may help in the teaching and learning of official languages.

David Johnston's remarks

I applaud and support the direction Robin Farquhar proposes, in particular an increasingly functional bilingualism premised on the stated assumption that it has a growing reservoir of support across the

country, fed by that most splendid of all fuels, self-motivation.

I think, however, there are some tough obstacles in the way of functional bilingualism and increasing multiculturalism.

Let me illustrate this point with two examples I know best — my family and my university.

It is three years ago this month that my family and I left London, Ontario,

for Montreal and McGill. My five daughters are in French school. The little ones (aged four, six and eight) had some hesitations at the outset, but they are now almost perfectly bilingual. The 10- and 12-years-olds now verge on bilingualism. And my wife, who has taken an imposing number of courses, can get along well in both languages now. For my part, I have been to McGill's summer French school and have taken the immersion courses offered staff. I am still taking private lessons and, I think, have made good progress. It has been for us a very rich experience, and we now have two great linguistic traditions in our family.

Let me turn now to the experience of my university.

Toward the end of his paper, Robin Farquhar sets out a framework of programmes and efforts in universities. I think McGill fits into that framework and has in place most of the programmes he suggests. However, our ability to carry them out is impaired by increasingly constrained resources. We are able to struggle on with some of these programmes not through the use of regular resources, or indeed even resources directed towards the promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism, but rather through entirely extraneous sources, some of which occur just by happenstance.

Let me give you the profile, first, of our university's 17,000 full-time students. Twenty-one per cent are Francophone, 20 per cent are students whose mother tongue is neither French nor English, and 59 per cent have English as their mother tongue — almost the image of Canada. Just under 80 per cent of our students come from Quebec, 10 or 11 per cent from other provinces in Canada and the balance from 120 countries around the world.

We teach primarily in English at McGill, save for those language and literature courses where the language of instruction is the language of the department, be it French, Spanish, Italian and so on. We teach 35 different foreign languages in the university, besides English and French. But there

is a small and increasing number of faculty members who offer lectures or section meetings in both French and English so Francophone students can ease into the new environment and Anglophones — an increasing number of them — have a chance to learn their course material in both languages. For many, many decades, our students have been allowed to present written assignments and write their examinations in either French or English.

Now our difficulties. The cultural and linguistic enrichment our university provides through these programmes is severely threatened by budget compressions. Over the past five years, these compressions have amounted to 13 per cent in real dollars at McGill. Over the same period, our enrolment has increased by 11 per cent. So a 13 per cent contraction in the services we offer, an 11 per cent bulge in the services that are needed. Indeed, for the next two years, cuts are expected to be 15 per cent in real dollars and enrolment shows every sign of continuing to rise.

It is increasingly difficult to maintain our rich resource of 35 languages and multiculturalism with these financial constraints. If, indeed, we are going to be able to do some of the applied work in multiculturalism, in teaching and in research in the many languages of Canada over the next 10 or 20 years, we must base our action on an understanding of the fundamental principles of those languages as they occur within a university environment. In short, if one is to have application and applied research, one must have theoretical and fundamental research.

To illustrate my point, I might mention one of McGill's great stars, Sir Ernest Rutherford, who was with us from 1895 to 1906, during which time he developed the theory of nuclear fission. It was simply a theory at that time, and it was 30 or 40 years later that the practical applications — some important and peaceful and some, of course, very war-like — were developed.

Another example is one of our young biologists, who began working 10

years ago on a particular enzyme that was found in certain legume plants. As his theoretical research continued he realized that this enzyme, which could be reproduced in certain hybrids of legume plants, such as soya beans, had the capacity of fixing nitrogen from the air. Eighty per cent of our atmosphere is nitrogen, a very important fertilizer. We manufacture it artificially with very large quantities of electrical energy, spread it on the ground as a solid material, and perhaps 15 or 20 per cent finds its way into the roots of plants. He is now testing a soybean plant that by itself can take nitrogen from the air and increase its productivity at very little expense.

That is a very short bridge — only 10 years — between fundamental research and applied research in the field of science. And if we are going to do applied work with language theory in years to come, we must continue to have a reservoir of basic research within our universities and others.

Our French summer school at McGill was established in 1904, long before most other immersion programmes were developed around the country. In 1979, it had over 200 full-time students for its six-week course. But it almost closed down the next year, owing to lack of resources. It has survived only because we have made arrangements with a recently-retired professor who hires part-time instructors for the summer, all of them on relatively modest stipends.

Secondly, our 12-year-old Second Language Training Centre for French and English has grown from 820 students five years ago to almost 1,500 students today. Since the teaching of English as a second language was added to the Centre's programme in 1979, the drop-out rate of our Francophone students has declined. But despite a disproportionate amount of special support from our Arts Faculty, a long series of budget cuts to the university has resulted in class sizes too large for optimum learning.

Thirdly, our French Canada Studies Centre has been in existence for more than 15 years. It offers some 25

urses, all taught in French. And yet staffed by one and a half full-time professors, with people drawn from everywhere in the university to permit function. That Centre was unable to replace its director, Jean-Louis Roy, when he left us two years ago to become publisher of *Le Devoir*, not because we did not wish to maintain staff complement but simply because budget cuts have forced us to seize opportunities for savings when they arise through natural attrition and retirement.

Two years ago we signed an exchange agreement with Peking University, and the University of Montreal has subsequently done the same. Peking's priority was to send us several of their professors of English to study methods of teaching English and such as second languages. We simply could not fund these exchanges. A group of Montreal businessmen decided to fund this first priority in exchange with Peking.

Another example. McGill's Northern Studies Centre recently received a Turner Foundation grant of \$500,000 to expand its work to teach and develop Inuit language instruction methods for Inuit teachers in the East-Arctic, so that native children can study in their own language and then in English or French. At the same time that this Centre received the grant, which covers only external costs, it was denied further research funding from the Province of Quebec's research council fund and given a three-year phase-out.

And there is our graduate programme in communications, which currently has 55 masters and doctoral students, supported by operating grants from two full-time faculty and is quite financially starved of resources, despite a half-million-dollar grant from the federal government on the north slope of Alaska, a country beyond our own, who have agreed to fund a chair in communications in recognition of the effort made by McGill to support their efforts for multiculturalism. The programme has also received some Quebec Research Council money, but

very narrowly focussed to study the communications in and around the Quebec Referendum. In short, money is available to study the referendum process but not to develop more effective communications teaching programmes.

Our law faculty has a national programme in which our students either study for the civil law degree for practice in Quebec or common law for practice in Canada's other nine provinces. By doing four years rather than three, the student can take both degrees, common and civil law. A recent review and external appraisal showed quite simply that the faculty has an operating budget insufficient to staff only one of the two law programmes, let alone both.

In the area of research, Dr. Wilder Penfield's work demonstrated some decades ago that second language training should begin almost as early as first language training, and that it increased learning capacity generally. It was funded largely not from Canadian grants but from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Finally, our Centre for the Teaching of Children with Learning Disabilities which, among other things, treats children from all over the Island of Montreal who are experiencing difficulties in learning a second language, is funded almost entirely from private monies. No government support is available for that service, and it is in danger of being phased out.

My point is not to say simply that the universities are hurting. What I am trying to illustrate is that internal resources do not exist to support these natural, legitimate and imaginative university activities. Secondly, there is a lack of resources focussed for these types of programmes, and we have had to look to rather unusual sources to find them.

There is a certain irony in this. Our university's external competitive research funding has grown remarkably, from \$43 million to \$56 million in the past year alone.

Our scholars have been successful in competing for scarce external dollars, but not for those programmes which support bilingualism and multiculturalism in a university setting.

Now let me return to Robin Farquhar's proposals for a more focussed strategy, perhaps one that borrows from the example made in Canadian universities for Canadian studies programmes over a decade ago, under Tom Symons' inspiring leadership. And let me add these modest suggestions to his.

First of all it seems to me that teaching and research in the area of bilingualism and multiculturalism should be the subject of a major Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council theme grant. The SSHRC has identified aging, working women, Canadian and native studies for such theme grants in the past. Surely it is appropriate that we focus on the subjects of bilingualism and multiculturalism.

Secondly, we must work earnestly to reduce the barriers for out-of-province study so that more English and French students may study elsewhere in Canada. Much more work could be done in one-year or one-term exchanges.

Thirdly, summer school experiences — especially for our more gifted high school students — could be greatly expanded to evolve naturally from the remarkable increase in French immersion courses and programmes across the country and to reinforce bilingualism among Francophone students in Quebec.

And finally, I think we must develop much more effective federal-provincial co-ordination and co-operation to promote this movement and not simply see it as a federal initiative. The provinces have a primary responsibility in education — one about which some of them are very sensitive — and at least a shared responsibility in research. This conference should be the catalyst for a more focussed strategy in federal-provincial co-operation.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION PERIOD

Fourth Session

This session began with a discussion of the progress made in language education in Alberta, particularly with regard to immersion programmes.

It was noted that Franco-Ontarians have not always had access to French-language education. A sound educational system is in the national interest, and federal-provincial co-operation and action are needed immediately to ensure that this objective is met.

A public servant addressed the question of the relationship between language competence and the merit principle, showing that the two need not be in conflict. Another participant then took a new look at demographic trends and made a number of remarks about the Francophone community of the '80s. Expressing pessimism about the future of Francophone minorities outside Quebec, he urged that the linguistic concepts of the '70s be avoided since they no longer reflect the current situation.

In this last opinion, he found common ground with a co-participant, who felt that present circumstances require that we bear in mind the linguistic, ethnic and cultural diversity of Canada. He suggested that, unless Canadians are sensitive to and respectful of their multicultural heritage, it

will be extremely difficult to maintain interest in the two official languages.

A language professor described what his university and department are doing to advance the cause of official languages. He, too, found it unconscionable that the provinces are not held accountable for funds allocated for language instruction.

The discussion then moved to training for language teachers and the value of educational exchanges to enhance bilingual educational opportunities. It was noted that Francophones outside Quebec do not have control of their educational institutions and one of the participants asked about the implementation of the Official Languages Act in the 1980s, the role of the Commissioner of Official Languages and the possible formation of a task force to study the future problems of Francophone minorities.

In response to these three questions, Max Yalden said that the language-of-work problem would be the biggest stumbling block to the Act's implementation, that his own role would probably not change and that he approved of the task force idea. He also spoke about "window-dressing bilingualism" in some areas of government and stressed the need for educational institutions to reconsider language course requirements.

Two participants described the difficult situation faced by university presidents. Universities cannot do things for which they have no money, and it is pointless to criticize them for not doing the impossible. Furthermore they cannot, at the post-secondary level, remedy problems created at the lower levels. Speaking from a western point of view, one also supported Mr. Yalden's call for universities to consider reinstating second language requirements.

The last speaker emphasized the value of language immersion while stressing that this solution is only one of many. She also pointed to the need for new data on immersion and other language education programmes, something which in turn underscores the need for ongoing research.

The fourth session was concluded on a note of guarded optimism. While Tom Symons, the Co-chairman of the colloquium describes the Canadian milieu of language education as tantamount to a backwater, he strongly believes that there is no reason why Canada cannot become a major world centre for language education and research.

The construction of this reality, however, will stand as an enormous challenge to all Canadians, a challenge he feels must be met — and overcome — within this decade.

our objective is clear: official bilingualism adopted through legislation, but implemented with care; promotion of multiculturalism and encouragement of ethnic languages; appeal to good will without the intervention of lawmakers."

Reflections of the Governor General

WARD SCHREYER

Let me begin by saying that even persons like Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Mackenzie King might feel just a bit apprehensive, faced with the challenge of being wind-up speaker before such a motivated and committed audience. The way you are giving your time and expertise to this colloquium is one of the many and convincing indications of your commitment to Canada. I could be remiss if I did not convey to every one of you my gratitude of Canadians for the active exercise of that same commitment.

Our commitment is founded on recognition of the fact that Canada has developed over the years on the basis of its major cultures and language communities. This historical fact did not receive all the attention it deserved prior to the creation, in 1964, of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and to the subsequent passage of the Official Languages Act in 1969. Some well-known efforts had of course been made long before that, but never such positive, broadly-based and systematic ones. During the '60s, Canada and Canadians finally recognized the danger of prolonging the state of inequality that existed between the two language communities.

We are all aware of the progress achieved since our awakening to the bilingual nature and reality of Canada. The Bilingual Commission's preliminary report stated that Canada, without being aware of it, "passing through the greatest crisis in its history." Of course, the measure of progress over the past decade will be gauged differently by different people, and their assessment will perhaps be guided by considerations such as their ethnic and cultural grouping, their past or ancestral, regional nuances, their occupations, and their past and present prejudices too.

Changes in legislation and practices vis-à-vis language rights and the use of both official languages in the Public Service and in services to the public may seem excessive to some but inadequate to others. Still others view the changes as judiciously calculated progress that prudence dictated should not move too far too fast.

Considering that Canada's linguistic challenge of the past decade and a half involved redressing more than 100 years of what has been called benign neglect, there is more than a little justification in feeling considerable satisfaction at the progress achieved. My years as a federal member of Parliament and in senior public office in my home province give me a special appreciation of the practice of the art of the possible. In this sense, we can understand Gordon Robertson's reference to the application of "unusual political determination and relentless administrative pressure" as the main reasons for progress toward a greater degree of language equality in the Public Service. I take this opportunity to commend all those, the two Commissioners of Official Languages and others, who have worked so hard and spoken so frankly to the Canadian people about the linguistic reality within the Public Service over the past 50 or 100 years.

I think it is clear from the historic pattern of virtual, perhaps even growing, unilingualism which was so pervasive not that many decades ago, that only steady and concerted effort would overcome and reverse the trend. Certainly, I think this is the case for many areas of the Public Service.

It is certainly very clear with respect to communities where Francophones are in the minority. Consequently, by recommending maintenance of the present policy while taking reality into consideration, Mr. Robertson adopts a viewpoint that has some validity. In accepting the language challenge, we must pursue our national objective without losing a sense of reality. This determination is founded on a justifiable prudence and shared by many of us here, perhaps by the majority of Canadians. And Robin Farquhar advocates that we continue to move full steam ahead with the bilingualism programme. Dr. Farquhar's remarks, which apply to the language situation in education, and Mr. Robertson's regarding bilingualism in the Public Service, are in fact very similar, given their respective institutions and subjects.

Indeed, although accompanied by words of caution about the pace to be adopted for the '80s and the approach to

be taken, the general tenor of this colloquium has been one of faith in the ability and willingness of Canada and Canadians to keep pursuing equality of opportunity without prejudice to any language community. Such an attitude is, in my view, one that we must have if Canada is to survive in its present form. As one of your speakers has intimated, we have largely overcome the initial crisis referred to by the B & B Commission. It is my belief that a majority of Canadians generally accept and support the laws and programmes that underpin the concept of bilingualism. In our federal country, there are still — and probably will remain for another generation — some significant differences of view as to the precise nature and extent of bilingual obligation and realistically attainable goals, even among those of relatively positive attitude and considerable goodwill. In our future course, the Canadian characteristic of compromise will make itself felt again and again, I have no doubt; but as is also characteristic of Canada and Canadians, compromise will allow us to bridge difficult situations and move toward our goal.

Canadians know from history that, although dissatisfaction may be the child of compromise, it is a much more welcome offspring than fragmentation, the parting of ways which comes from deep-seated resentments that derive from rigid, uncompromising, opposite positions based on absolute principle. At first, I thought there were contradictions in the conclusions arrived at by Messrs. Yalden, Robertson and Farquhar. But, on reflection, is there not in some salient points a converging of views as to alternatives? When, for example, Dr. Farquhar urges in his concluding paragraph that "My personal feeling for this country causes me to plead that we do not apply the brakes now but rather move full speed ahead," I assume he means principally with respect to language in education. If so, it is not necessarily in contradiction with those who have witnessed 12 years of application of the Official Languages Act and nine years of application of the Parliamentary Resolution of 1973 on language in the Public Service of Canada.

Those who have seen the progress regard it as a difficult process, but necessary and worthwhile, with tangible results. I am not surprised by differences of opinion as to whether we could have done more, gone more quickly, as to how much remains to be done. Many of those who have seen this progress now counsel moderation and careful analysis before we proceed much further, much faster. After all, if there is to be a change in direction, it is really quite reckless to make it while going at full speed. It remains, however, that the domain of education and second language competence and, most important of all, the right of mother-tongue language instruction for those in the minority, call for us to proceed at a fuller, faster speed.

There are as many reasons to encourage bilingualism in education, as in any other sector. Bilingualism programmes in schools are better accepted than elsewhere even though they began later, or more slowly, than bilingual services to the public or bilingualism in the Public Service. In many respects that is ironic. Bilingualism in schools is more widely accepted by the public and desired by hundreds of thou-

sands of Anglophone families. The percentage of Francophones in favour of bilingualism, whether in schools or in the population in general, is certainly as great. What, then, this all comes down to is that the general reaction is all the more impressive when we consider what it was a few decades ago.

Another irony is that the parents' desire is supported by educators. I think there is more agreement — perhaps almost unanimity — in this area, that the maximum effectiveness of language learning is in the kindergarten and elementary grade years. But with so many parents and educators of that view, with most, if not all, provinces willing for a decade or more now to foster minority language of instruction and immersion schools of various combinations, and with the federal government standing ready to augment provincial funds for that purpose, why has there been such slow progress to that end? Today, these offerings are still modest if encouraging, even when some of the more vocal opponents of the bilingual effort in Canada generally accept the approach through the schools, especially in the early years. So, why the apparent lethargy? This is where we encounter some of the realities of life, of human nature, of political democracy, including political democracy at the local and regional levels.

In the West, and in most of English Canada, part of the problem stems from the lack of teachers capable of giving instruction in the second language instead of being content simply to open a textbook as was the case in the past. A most thankless and unproductive task when we see how a second language was taught a dozen years ago in Holland or in Denmark, for example, but the lack of bilingual teachers is not the only reason a lot of local and regional school boards hesitated to take on more than 10 or 20 per cent of the cost of immersion classes.

Of course, some provinces have passed legislation that require and expect school divisions to meet the maternal language of instruction requirements made known by parents. In at least one province this intrusion on local autonomy was justified in order to right an historical wrong, to show language was to be encouraged and used in Canada wherever sufficient and reasonable numbers warranted the extra effort and expense. But in the first few years after the B & B Commission, the main effort and the legislation were aimed at the first language, the mother tongue of the minority. It was not initially focussed on those who wanted to encourage the spirit and effort further by asking for immersion instruction for pupils. The federal government and a number of provinces quickly offered financial support but some school boards could not or did not want to instigate the programme and implementation was delayed.

I have direct experience of some of the points discussed by quite a number of you earlier today. About, for example, legislating in one province to deal with a 90-year-old statutory prohibition on the use of the mother tongue of the minority as the language of instruction in the schools. The inequity is now a matter of record and some of the architects of the statute of repeal are present at this colloquium.

was an interesting episode, psychologically crucial at the time. But it was nothing more than an episode. In my view, the problem is diminishing with the passing of time. Despite the prophets of doom, the reforms of 1970 have not provoked a storm of hatred. Immersion classes for everyone living close to an area where the second language is in common use are much less contested than expected. The problem is one of implementation. I must admit that in the days immediately following passage of the Official Languages Act in 1969, no matter how much I supported the legislation, I was always nervous and unsure of its application in the various regions and administrative districts of the country. And I say that as one who supported the Official Languages Act and who declared in 1969 that he would not only withdraw his province from the Prairie province challenge to the Official Languages in the Supreme Court of Canada, but would positively support it as necessary to Canada's long-term national interests and as a means of redressing long-standing minority grievances. My view has not changed, but I worried then and worry still about regional applications and definitions. It is easy to declare official bilingualism and still remain realistic if the nation, province or region in question has a minority that approaches 50, 40, 30 or 25 per cent. It begins to become difficult at 20 per cent or 10 per cent, though that was the number used in the statute itself; it becomes very nearly impossible, at least in the short term, if in a given part of the country, the minority, as it is, is geographically scattered rather than concentrated in an easily definable area, such as a city, town or municipality.

A second complicating factor which is part of the Canadian scene is that there are other cultural minorities with populations larger in certain areas than the official language minority. The guiding principle of government policy is difficult to understand and even harder to explain with conviction. The major parties involved are rarely convinced. There is no problem at the national level, in New Brunswick, the other Maritime provinces, or in most of rural Ontario, where certainly is a problem in urban Ontario, especially Toronto, and in the western provinces. In the Arctic and Mid-North of Canada the problem is different since there are 10 or more Amerindian language families and,

of course, all the variations of Inuktitut spoken throughout the region. I stress this because a number of native groups have been making an effort in the last few years to preserve their ancestral language and culture, with some success among the young people. What should our attitude be regarding these groups and their efforts? One of interest but otherwise benign neutrality? Or one of encouragement of the language as a necessary cultural tool for the retention of their cultural heritage? Encouragement, I think, at very least, in the same way we encourage any ethnic group of our multicultural mosaic to preserve its ancestral language, not as an official language but as a language that is at the very foundation of their heritage.

No ethnic group, with the exception of the two official language communities, accounts for more than 20 per cent of the population in Canada or in any province; and even in the case of the two majority groups, this percentage is only exceeded in a few provinces. But there are certain regions, for example the Arctic and other districts, where certain ethnic groups far exceed 10 or 20 per cent of the population and are more numerous than the local English- or French-speaking population. This is yet another reason why we cannot expect to find facile solutions to the problems of defining rational and reasonable criteria suitable for every province and region.

Our national objective is clear. Official bilingualism adopted by decree but applied with certain refinements, the promotion of multiculturalism and encouragement of ethnic languages, and appeals to goodwill without specific legislative action. We should have no regrets about what we have done to make bilingualism and multiculturalism a reality in Canada. We should have absolutely no regrets about the changes that have come about in relations between the two official languages in Canada. In the past decade and a half, there has been a good deal of progress. Our goal is to provide those who are in the minority in different parts of the country with greater opportunities to live and learn and work in their mother tongue. This makes for a Canada that is better, more broad minded and tolerant. Having come this far, we must guard against slippage and we must guard against impatience. Dramatic short-term solutions may not be very tenable.

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législatives ont porté sur la première langue, sur la langue maternelle de la minorité. Au départ, on n'accorda que peu d'attention à ceux qui voulaient favoriser davantage l'esprit du bilinguisme en réclamant des cours d'immersion. Le gouvernement fédéral et un certain nombre de provinces se sont empressés d'offrir une aide financière, mais il y eut des conseils scolaires qui ne voulaient ou ne pouvaient pas adopter ce programme, dont l'application fut retardée.

J'ai eu à m'occuper directement de certaines questions que bon nombre d'entre vous avez abordées aujourd'hui. Je songe par exemple à l'intervention législative d'une province pour supprimer des dispositions remontant à 90 ans et interdisant l'usage de la langue maternelle du groupe minoritaire en enseignement. Cette injustice est maintenant chose du passé, et certains des artisans de cette mesure abrogative sont parmi nous aujourd'hui.

Ce fut là un épisode intéressant, crucial sur le plan psychologique de l'époque, mais ce ne fut justement qu'un épisode. À mon avis, le problème se résorbe progressivement avec le temps. Quoi qu'en aient dit les prophètes de malheur, les réformes de 1970 n'ont pas soulevé une vague de haine. Les classes d'immersion pour tous ceux qui vivent près d'une région où la seconde langue est d'usage courant sont beaucoup moins contestées que prévu. C'est plutôt l'application qui fait problème. Je dois dire que, dans les jours qui ont suivi l'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, en 1969, je m'inquiétais vivement (même si j'appuyais la loi avec enthousiasme) de son application dans les diverses régions et dans les districts administratifs. En disant cela, je rappelle que j'ai soutenu la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, que j'ai déclaré en 1969 que ma province ne participerait pas à la contestation commune de cette loi par les provinces des Prairies devant la Cour suprême, et que je soutiendrais activement cette mesure législative. En effet, elle me semblait indispensable, aussi bien dans l'intérêt à long terme du Canada que comme moyen de réparer des torts envers la minorité qui réclamait depuis longtemps une solution. Mon opinion n'a pas changé, mais je m'interrogeais alors, comme encore aujourd'hui, sur l'application régionale de la loi et sur les définitions. Il est facile d'officialiser le bilinguisme, et cette initiative demeure réaliste si le pays, la province ou la région a une minorité qui représente 50, 40, 30 ou même 25 pour cent de la population. La question devient de plus en plus délicate lorsque la proportion est de 20 ou 10 pour cent, bien que ce soit là le nombre qu'on retrouve dans la loi même. La tâche devient quasi impossible, au moins à court terme, lorsque, dans une région donnée, une minorité déjà faible est éparpillée sur un vaste territoire plutôt que regroupée dans une zone bien circonscrite comme une ville, un village, une municipalité.

Autre élément caractéristique de la réalité canadienne et qui complique davantage la situation : d'autres minorités culturelles sont, dans certaines régions, plus importantes que le groupe minoritaire de langue officielle. Le principe qui est à la base de la politique gouvernementale est alors

difficile à comprendre et encore plus difficile à expliquer avec conviction. D'ailleurs, il est rare que les principaux intéressés soient convaincus. Il ne se pose aucun problème à l'échelle nationale, au Nouveau-Brunswick, dans les autres provinces maritimes, ni dans la plupart des régions rurales de l'Ontario, mais la difficulté est très réelle dans les villes ontariennes, surtout à Toronto, et dans les provinces de l'Ouest.

Dans l'Arctique et le Moyen-Nord, le problème se présente différemment, puisqu'on y retrouve plus d'une dizaine de familles de langues amérindiennes, sans compter toutes les variantes de l'inuktitut. J'insiste sur ce fait, car un certain nombre de groupes autochtones se sont efforcés, ces dernières années, de conserver leur langue et leur culture ancestrales, et ont eu du succès auprès des jeunes. Quelle attitude faut-il adopter devant les efforts de ces groupes ? Faut-il les accueillir avec intérêt, avec une neutralité bienveillante ou encore encourager la promotion de ces langues communes ? On encourage la préservation de leurs cultures ? On nous en fait au moins donner les mêmes encouragements qu'aux divers groupes ethniques de notre mosaïque culturelle pour que les autochtones puissent conserver leur langue ancestrale, non comme langue officielle mais comme fondement même de leur patrimoine.

Aucun groupe ethnique, à l'exception des deux communautés de langue officielle, ne représente plus de 20 pour cent de la population du Canada ou de l'une des provinces, ce pourcentage n'est dépassé que dans quelques provinces. Il se trouve cependant des régions, dans l'Arctique par exemple, où des groupes ethniques dépassent largement 10 ou 20 pour cent de la population et où ils sont plus nombreux que les populations locales d'expression anglaise ou française. Voilà qui confirme à quel point il peut être difficile de définir des critères rationnels et raisonnables applicables à toutes les provinces et régions.

Notre objectif est clair : le bilinguisme officiel adopté par voie législative, mais appliqué de façon nuancée ; la promotion du multiculturalisme et l'encouragement des langues ethniques ; un appel à la bonne volonté sans intervention des législateurs. Il ne faut rien regretter de ce que nous avons fait pour instaurer le bilinguisme et le multiculturalisme au Canada. Il n'y a pas lieu de déplorer les changements qui ont transformé les relations entre les deux groupes de langues officielles. Ces quinze dernières années, les progrès ont été considérables, mais notre objectif demeure de donner aux groupes minoritaires dans les différentes régions de meilleurs moyens de vivre, d'étudier et de travailler dans leur langue maternelle. De la sorte, le Canada ne pourra que devenir plus grand, plus ouvert, plus tolérant. Après avoir tant accompli, il faut à la fois éviter de relâcher nos efforts et réprimer toute impatience. Les solutions radicales à court terme ne sont guère défendables.

Il n'en demeure pas moins qu'il faut faire davantage, et plus rapidement, dans les domaines de l'enseignement, de l'acquisition de la langue seconde et, par-dessus tout, pour défendre le droit des groupes minoritaires à étudier dans leur langue maternelle.

Dans l'enseignement, il y a autant de motifs que dans les autres domaines de promouvoir le bilinguisme. D'ailleurs, les programmes de bilinguisme à l'école sont mieux acceptés qu'ailleurs, même s'ils ont été mis en place plus lentement ou plus tard que les services publics bilingues ou le bilinguisme dans la fonction publique, ce qui, à bien des égards, est paradoxal. Le bilinguisme est largement accepté à l'école et des centaines de milliers de familles anglophones le réclament. La proportion des Francophones qui sont en faveur du bilinguisme, à l'école ou ailleurs, n'est sûrement pas plus faible. En somme, l'attitude générale actuelle est d'autant plus impressionnante si l'on se rappelle ce qu'elle était il y a quelques décennies.

Autre paradoxe, les vœux qu'expriment les parents trouvent un écho favorable chez les enseignants. On s'accorde de plus en plus à dire — c'est même une quasi-unanimité — que la maternelle et les années d'études primaires sont la période la plus propice à l'apprentissage des langues. Mais si les parents et les enseignants sont si nombreux à le prétendre, si la plupart des provinces, voire toutes, sont disposées, depuis plus de dix ans, à favoriser l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire et les diverses formules d'immersion, si le gouvernement fédéral ne demande pas mieux que de soutenir financièrement les provinces à cet égard, comment se fait-il que les progrès soient si lents? Ces services sont encore modestes, quoiqu'en encourageants, et même certains des adversaires les plus acharnés du bilinguisme en général l'acceptent à l'école, surtout au cours des premières années. Pourquoi donc cette apparence léthargique? Ce ne sont peut-être là que les dures réalités de la vie, de la nature humaine, de la démocratie, notamment aux échelons local et régional.

Dans l'Ouest et dans presque tout le reste du Canada anglais, le problème s'explique en partie par l'absence d'enseignants capables de donner de véritables cours dans la langue seconde au lieu de se contenter de suivre le manuel, comme on le faisait dans le passé. C'est là une méthode stérile et peu stimulante, si l'on songe à celles employées il y a une douzaine d'années déjà en Hollande et au Danemark, par exemple, pour l'enseignement de la langue seconde. Le manque d'enseignants bilingues n'est cependant pas la seule raison qui fasse hésiter nombre de conseils scolaires locaux et régionaux à absorber plus de 10 ou 20 pour cent des frais des programmes d'immersion.

Il est vrai que les provinces ont légiféré pour obliger les écoles à répondre aux exigences des parents en matière d'enseignement dans la langue maternelle. Dans au moins une province, on a justifié cette ingérence par la nécessité de réparer les torts du passé, de montrer qu'il fallait encourager l'usage de la langue minoritaire lorsque le nombre justifierait l'effort et la dépense supplémentaires. Cependant, au cours des premières années qui ont suivi les travaux de la Commission B. B., les principaux efforts et mesures

prises dans l'éducation, et celles de M. Robertson, qui exercent le bilinguisme dans la fonction publique, présentent une grande similitude, compte tenu des institutions

Même certaines mises en garde quant au rythme à adopter dans les années 80 et certaines nuances quant à la conduite de la loi des participants dans la capacité des Canadiens d'assurer l'égalité de chances sans nuire à l'un ou l'autre des groupes linguistiques. Voilà l'attitude qui s'impose, selon moi, si l'on veut que le Canada survive tel que nous le connaissons. Comme les intervenants l'a déclaré, nous avons bel et bien traversé la crise initiale dont parlait la Commission d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Je suis convaincu que la majorité des Canadiens acceptent et soutiennent ces et les programmes qui découlent des principes du bilinguisme.

Dans notre fédération, il subsiste, et ce sera probablement pendant une autre génération encore, des divergences de vues marquées sur la nature exacte et l'ampleur de nos engagements en matière linguistique, sur les objectifs qu'il faut réaliser pour poursuivre. Ces questions, même des Canadiens dont l'attitude est relativement positive et qui n'acquiescent pas de bonne volonté se les posent. Dans les années à venir, la recherche du compromis propre aux Canadien devra jouer à maintes reprises si l'on veut surmonter les difficultés et atteindre nos objectifs.

L'histoire enseigne aux Canadiens que, même si le compromis peut engendrer le mécontentement, c'est là un résultat à long terme préférable à la fragmentation, à la rupture, à l'abandon des positions contradictoires rigides et intraitables insupportables par des principes absolus. Au premier abord, j'ai cru déceler des contradictions entre les conclusions qu'ont tirées M. Valden, Robertson et Farquhar. À la réflexion, cependant, n'y a-t-il pas, en certaines matières importantes, concordance de vues sur les solutions? Ainsi, lorsque M. Farquhar conclut : « Je crois que... nous n'avons pas le droit, pour l'avenir de notre pays, de ralentir le mouvement de l'avenir au contraire la grande voie... », je pense que, dans ce cas, il n'y a pas nécessairement contradiction avec le fait que ceux qui ont suivi pendant douze ans l'application de la Loi sur les langues officielles et, pendant ces 12 ans, celle de la résolution adoptée par le Parlement en 1973 sur la langue de travail dans la fonction publique.

Les témoins de cette évolution estiment qu'en dépit des difficultés, l'instauration du bilinguisme est nécessaire et vaut la peine, que les résultats sont palpables. Je ne m'attarde pas des divergences de vue qui se sont manifestées au sujet de la rapidité et de l'ampleur des progrès ainsi que des tâches qui nous attendent. Nombre d'observateurs conseillent maintenant la prudence et insistent pour qu'on ne fasse des analyses minutieuses avant de hâter le mouvement d'adopter des mesures radicales. S'il faut braquer, il n'est évidemment pas indiqué d'appuyer sur l'accélérateur.

Réflexions du Gouverneur général

EDWARD SCHREYER

« Notre objectif est clair : le bilinguisme officiel adopté par voie législative, mais appliqué de façon nuancée ; la promotion du multiculturelisme et l'encouragement des langues ethniques ; un appel à la bonne volonté sans intervention des législateurs. »

Pour commencer, je dois dire que même les John A. Macdonald, Wilfrid Laurier et Mackenzie King

auraient sans doute éprouvé quelque appréhension s'ils avaient dû prononcer une allocution de clôture devant un auditoire aussi engagé et motivé que le vôtre. Parmi bien d'autres exemples qui traduisent votre engagement à l'égard du Canada, je ne veux souligner aujourd'hui que le temps que vous avez consacré à ce colloque et les compétences que vous avez mises à son service. Je m'en voudrais donc de ne pas vous remercier, au nom de tous les Canadiens, de ce vif dévouement que vous ne cessez de manifester.

Votre action repose sur la reconnaissance du fait que le Canada, au fil des ans, a vu se développer deux grands groupes culturels et linguistiques. Cette réalité de notre histoire n'a pas reçu toute l'attention qu'elle méritait avant la création, en 1964, de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme et l'adoption, en 1969, de la Loi sur les langues officielles. Il y avait eu des efforts honnêtes bien avant, c'est indéniable, mais rien d'aussi systématique, d'aussi positif ou d'une envergure comparable. Au cours des années 60, les Canadiens ont finalement pris conscience des dangers que présentait la perpétuation de l'inégalité entre les deux groupes linguistiques.

Nous connaissons tous les progrès réalisés depuis lors. Le rapport préliminaire de la Commission B. B. affirmait que « le Canada traverse actuellement, sans toujours en être conscient, la crise la plus importante de son histoire ». Bien sûr, les réalisations des dix dernières années ne sont pas perçues par tous de la même façon, car l'appartenance et l'ascendance ethniques et culturelles, les perceptions régionales, la profession ou encore les préjugés présents ou passés colorent vraisemblablement nos jugements.

Ainsi, les modifications législatives et administratives ayant pour but de garantir les droits linguistiques et l'usage des deux langues officielles dans la fonction publique et les services offerts au public paraîtront excessives à certains, et insuffisantes à d'autres, mais judicieusement mesurées aux yeux des tenants de la prudence.

Si l'on songe que le Canada a dû, au cours des quinze dernières années, réparer plus d'un siècle de ce qu'on a appelé une « négligence bienveillante », les progrès accomplis sont autant de motifs pour que l'on en tire une grande satisfaction. Les années que j'ai passées comme député au Parlement fédéral et les hautes charges que j'ai occupées dans ma propre province m'ont permis d'acquérir une compréhension toute particulière de ce qu'est l'art du possible. C'est dans cet esprit qu'on peut comprendre la déclaration de Gordon Robertson pour qui « une détermination politique peu banale et d'incessantes pressions administratives » sont les principales causes des progrès vers l'égalité linguistique observés dans la fonction publique. Je saisis cette occasion pour féliciter les deux commissaires aux langues officielles et tous ceux qui ont travaillé d'arrache-pied et participé avec la plus grande franchise aux Canadiens de ce qu'a été la fonction publique pendant 50 ou 100 ans, sur le plan linguistique.

À mes yeux, il est évident que seul un effort constant et concerté pouvait arrêter, voire inverser, les tendances à l'linguisme qu'on décelait dans notre histoire et qui, il n'y a pas si longtemps encore, s'intensifiaient dans tous les domaines. Assurément, c'était le cas dans bien des secteurs de la fonction publique. La situation ne laisse aucun doute en tout cas, dans les localités où les Francophones sont minoritaires.

Lorsqu'il recommandait de maintenir la politique actuelle tout en tenant compte de la réalité concrète, M. Robertson adopte donc un point de vue qui se défend. Si nous voulons relever le défi linguistique, il nous faut poursuivre notre objectif national, mais rester en prise sur la réalité. Cette attitude se fonde sur une prudence qui peut s'expliquer, et c'est un point de vue que nous sommes nombreux ici à partager. C'est peut-être même celui de la majorité des Canadiens.

Robin Farquhar, quant à lui, soutient qu'il nous faut continuer à appliquer le programme de bilinguisme avec la même diligence. Ses observations, qui portent sur la situation de

xièmement, nous devons tout faire en oeuvre pour encourager les francophones et anglophones à poursuivre leurs études hors Québec. Échanges annuels ou semestriels sont d'ailleurs très susceptibles à ce sujet, et elles doivent admettre une responsabilité certaine dans le domaine de la recherche. Cette conférence devrait inspirer une action concertée tant au fédéral qu'au provincial.

En dernier lieu, je crois que nous devons tendre vers une coopération fédérale-provinciale qui soit plus élargie de manière à profiter de l'immense popularité dont jouissent les programmes d'immersion à l'échelle nationale et à favoriser le bilinguisme chez les étudiants francophones.

La promotion du bilinguisme ne doit pas être envisagée comme une initiative strictement fédérale. L'éducation n'est pas une compétence exclusive du fédéral, elle est partagée avec les provinces. Nous devons donc nous assurer que les programmes d'immersion soient conçus de manière à favoriser la coopération entre le fédéral et les provinces.

Le fait que les francophones hors Québec ne soient pas considérés comme des francophones, c'est un problème qui doit être résolu. Les programmes d'immersion doivent être conçus de manière à favoriser la coopération entre le fédéral et les provinces.

La dernière intervention a mis l'accent sur la valeur des programmes d'immersion, tout en précisant que cette solution n'est pas une fin en soi, mais un moyen de favoriser la coopération entre le fédéral et les provinces.

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au cours des cinq dernières années. Depuis que le Centre a ajouté à son programme, en 1979, des cours d'anglais langue seconde le taux d'abandon chez les étudiants franco-phones a diminué. Bien que la Faculté des arts ait tenté l'impossible pour nous venir en aide, une succession ininterrompue de restrictions budgétaires nous a contraint à grossir les groupes d'étudiants dans les classes. Malheureusement, la qualité de l'enseignement s'en trouve compromise.

Troisièmement, notre Centre d'études canadiennes-françaises, créé il y a plus de 15 ans, offre quelque 25 cours, tous donnés en français. Pourtant le personnel à temps plein du Centre se résume à une personne et demie et est complètement par d'autres membres de l'université. Nous n'avons pas été en mesure de remplacer Jean-Louis Roy, le directeur, qui nous a quitté il y a deux ans pour devenir directeur du quotidien *Le Devoir*. En période d'austerité les départs naturels et les retraites nous permettent de réaliser des économies. . . .

Il y a deux ans nous mettions sur pied un programme d'échanges avec l'Université de Pékin. Depuis, l'Université de Montréal a suivi notre exemple. Le projet prioritaire de Pékin consistait à envoyer plusieurs professeurs d'anglais étudier nos méthodes d'enseignement des langues secondes officielles. Seule une subvention accordée par un groupe d'hommes d'affaires montréalais a permis la réalisation de ce projet.

Un organisme donateur accordait récemment une subvention de 500 000 \$ au Centre d'études et de recherches nordiques de l'université McGill. Cette somme sera consacrée à l'élaboration et à l'enseignement des méthodes pédagogiques à l'intention des professeurs de langue inuit de l'est de l'Arctique. Les jeunes autochtones pourront donc poursuivre leurs études dans leur langue maternelle et apprendre l'une ou l'autre des langues officielles. D'une part, le Centre recevait une subvention d'un demi-million de dollars, ne couvrant que les frais auxiliaires, d'autre part, le F.C.A.C. (Programme de formation de

chercheurs et d'action concertée) lui refusait une aide financière supplémentaire. Le Centre est appelé à disparaître d'ici un an.

Notre programme d'études supérieures en communication compte 55 étudiants de deuxième et de troisième cycle. Il est financé par des subventions d'exploitation prévoyant l'embauche de seulement deux professeurs. Ce programme fait véritablement figure de parent pauvre et ce malgré une subvention d'un demi-million de dollars consentie par les Inuit du nord de l'Alaska. En effet, ce peuple lointain a décidé de parrainer une chaire de communications en reconnaissance de l'intérêt que porte l'université McGill à leurs aspirations vers le multiculturalisme. Le programme a aussi reçu une aide financière du F.C.A.C. destinée à l'étude du rôle des médias dans le contexte référendaire québécois. Bref, il est possible d'obtenir des fonds pour analyser le processus référendaire mais non pour améliorer les méthodes d'enseignement en communications.

La Faculté de droit de l'université McGill a mis sur pied un programme national à l'intérieur duquel les étudiants peuvent soit se diriger vers le droit civil, pratique au Québec, soit vers le droit coutumier, pratique dans les autres provinces. Un deuxième programme échelonné sur une période de quatre ans plutôt que trois permet à l'étudiant d'obtenir les deux diplômes. Une étude indépendante récente montre que le budget d'exploitation de cette faculté ne saurait alimenter un programme de cette envergure, encore moins deux. . . .

Jetons un coup d'oeil sur le passé. Les travaux du docteur Wilder Penfield ont établi que l'enseignement d'une langue seconde devrait être presque parallèle à celui de la langue maternelle. L'aptitude à l'apprentissage en général ne s'en trouve qu'accrue. Les subventions accordées au docteur Penfield provenaient, dans une large mesure, du Rockefeller Foundation et non d'organismes canadiens.

Notre Centre d'apprentissage travaille aussi avec des enfants de tous les

quartiers de Montréal qui ont du mal à apprendre une langue seconde. Et donne que le gouvernement ne prévoit aucune aide pour ce service, le Centre doit s'en remettre aux subventions des organismes privés. L'insuffisance de fonds risque fort d'entraîner la disparition du Centre.

D'évidence les universités sont mal en point. Deux faits toutefois méritent notre attention. Premièrement, les budgets universitaires ne prévoient pas la mise en oeuvre d'activités naturelles, légitimes et novatrices qui nous sont propres. Deuxièmement, l'insuffisance des fonds destinés à ces programmes nous contraint à nous tourner vers des sources pour le moins inhabituelles.

Ironie du sort. . . peut-être ? Au cours de l'année dernière, les subventions qui nous ont été attribuées par voie de concours sont passées de 43 millions à 56 millions de dollars. Accroissement pour le moins remarquable !

Nos boursiers ont bien réussi à décrocher quelques subventions privées, malheureusement aucune n'est réservée aux programmes favorisant le bilinguisme et le multiculturalisme milieu universitaire.

Passons maintenant aux recommandations de Robin Farquhar en vue d'une action qui soit plus concertée. Je pense à celle qui s'inspire des programmes d'études canadiennes mis de l'avant il y a dix ans, dans le rapport éclairé de Tom Symons. Permettez-moi d'ajouter mes modestes suggestions aux siennes.

Premièrement, le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada devrait songer à accorder une subvention stratégique à l'enseignement et la recherche dans les domaines du bilinguisme et du multiculturalisme. Le C.R.S.H. a déjà retenu à cet effet les thèmes du vieillissement démographique, de la femme sur le marché du travail, de même que celui des études canadiennes et autochtones. À mon avis, les sujets du bilinguisme et du multiculturalisme méritent certainement que l'on s'y attarde.

période qu'il a élaboré la théorie de la fission nucléaire. Toutefois, ce n'est que 30 ou 40 ans plus tard que l'on procéda à l'application, dans certains cas pacifique dans d'autres très belligéreuse, de cette découverte scientifique.

Et que dire de ce jeune biologiste dont le sujet d'expérience, depuis dix ans, est une enzyme particulière qui se trouve dans certaines légumineuses. Ses recherches théoriques lui ont révélé que cette enzyme, que l'on peut reproduire dans quelques légumineuses hybrides, comme le soja, est capable de fixer l'azote. L'azote, un engrais très répandu, constitue quatre-vingts pour cent de l'air atmosphérique. Nous le fabriquons artificiellement, à un coût énergétique très élevé, nous l'étendons, à l'état solide, sur le sol et, si la chance nous sourit, entre 15 et 20 pour cent de l'azote pénétrera les racines des plantes. Notre jeune biologiste met au point un soja qui fixera l'azote et accroîtra sa productivité à très peu de frais.

Dix ans, à l'échelle scientifique, c'est bien peu de temps pour passer de la recherche fondamentale à la recherche appliquée. Si nous avons l'intention, dans les années à venir, de mettre la théorie linguistique en application nous devons nous assurer un réservoir de recherches fondamentales au sein de toutes les universités.

En 1904, l'école française d'été de McGill ouvrait ses portes, devant ainsi la mise en oeuvre de la plupart des programmes d'immersion canadiens. En 1979, plus de 200 étudiants l'ont fréquenté à temps plein pour une durée de six semaines. Toutefois, l'année suivante une insuffisance de fonds compromettait sérieusement l'existence de l'école. Heureusement, nous avons pu nous entendre avec un professeur retraité qui retient les services de moniteurs à temps partiel pour l'été. Je tiens à souligner que tous reçoivent une rémunération relative-ment modeste.

Deuxièmement, le nombre d'étudiants de français, mis sur pied il y a douze ans, est passé de 820 à environ 1 500

À McGill la langue d'enseignement est l'anglais. Toutefois, les cours de langues et de littérature sont donnés en français, en espagnol, en italien... À vous de choisir, McGill offre des cours de 35 langues étrangères. Nombreux sont ceux qui viennent s'ajouter au petit groupe dont les conférences et réunions sont bilingues. Cette initiative permet aux étudiants francophones de se familiariser avec leur nouveau milieu et à un nombre croissant d'Anglophones de suivre leurs cours dans les deux langues. Les étudiants de McGill ont depuis longtemps acquis le droit de rédiger leurs travaux et leurs examens dans la langue officielle de leur choix.

Mais tout n'est pas pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes. Les restrictions budgétaires mettent en péril non seulement l'existence de ces programmes, mais les richesses culturelles et linguistiques qu'on y puise. Au cours des cinq dernières années, l'université McGill a subi le contrecoup de compressions budgétaires se chiffrant à 13 pour cent en dollars courants. Toutefois, durant cette même période le taux des inscriptions a augmenté de 11 pour cent. De quelque façon que l'on s'y prenne, le résultat est le même : l'offre ne satisfait pas à la demande. En outre, tout porte à croire qu'au cours des deux prochaines années les coupures atteindront 15 pour cent et que le nombre des inscriptions sera croissant.

La crise économique que nous traversons risque fort de tarir notre source linguistique et multiculturelle. Si nous comptons effectuer, au cours des 10 ou 20 prochaines années, des travaux pratiques dans les domaines du multiculturelisme, de l'enseignement et de la recherche dans les diverses langues du Canada, nous devons nous reposer sur les principes fondamentaux de ces langues telles qu'elles évoluent dans le contexte universitaire. Bref, il ne peut y avoir de travaux pratiques et de recherches appliquées sans recherches théoriques et fondamentales.

Vous n'êtes pas sans savoir que l'illustre physicien Sir Ernest Rutherford a enseigné à l'université McGill de 1895 à 1906 et que c'est durant cette

a situation linguistique. Mes cinq s fréquentent l'école française. Les jeunes (âgées respectivement de tre, six et huit ans), réticentes au part, ont vite fait d'acquiescer une naissance fonctionnelle du français. Les deux aînées (âgées de 10 et 11 ans) pourront bientôt se féliciter de bilingues. Mon épouse, un nombre imposant de cours aidant, s'entretenir dans les langues officielles. Quant à moi, j'ai suivi les cours d'été de langue seconde offerts par McGill et j'ai participé aux programmes d'immersion à l'université. En outre, je suis des leçons particulières de français et je crois, sincèrement, avoir accompli des progrès. Cette expérience des plus enrichissantes nous a valu une deuxième grande tradition linguistique.

Il nous faut maintenant analyser le bilinguisme fonctionnel en milieu universitaire.

John Farquhar met de l'avant une série d'initiatives et de programmes acceptables d'être mis en oeuvre dans les universités. À mon avis, McGill écrit dans ce cadre, la plupart des programmes recommandés y étant en place. Malheureusement, la mise en place de nos activités est sérieusement compromise par les restrictions budgétaires. Si certains de ces programmes continuent à vivre, nous ne le devons pas aux subventions actuelles, ni à celles destinées à l'université. Nous avons dû nous tourner vers des sources indépendantes et, dans certains cas, continuer à vivre.

Il y a 17 000 étudiants qui fréquentent à temps plein l'université McGill ? Vingt et un pour cent sont Anglophones, vingt pour cent allophones et cinquante-neuf pour cent bilingues. Ce qui n'est pas sans parler le visage linguistique du Canada. D'où viennent-ils ? Un peu plus de 80 pour cent viennent du Québec, 10 ou 11 pour cent d'autres provinces et les autres des quatre coins du monde. En effet, des représentants de 120 pays fréquentent notre université.



applaudis de grand cœur aux suggestions de Robin Farquhar. L'une, en particulier, retient mon attention : l'accroissement du bilinguisme fonctionnel. Mouvement auquel se rallie un nombre croissant de Canadiens. Ralliement d'autant

Cependant, je crois qu'il y a de sérieux obstacles à l'expansion du bilinguisme fonctionnel et du multilinguisme. Quelle meilleure façon de l'illustrer

Il y a très exactement trois ans, ma famille et moi quittons London (Ontario) pour Montréal et McGill. Tout la famille a su se mettre au diapason

Commentaires de David Johnston

Toutes ces stratégies reposent sur trois principes bien simples : les possibilités d'apprentissage d'une autre langue doivent être évidentes et accessibles au plus grand nombre ; les possibilités d'apprentissage d'une autre langue doivent être globales ; il faut travailler à leur extension au profit des jeunes dans les écoles, mais nous devons aussi mettre l'accent sur l'enseignement de la langue seconde dans les programmes d'éducation permanente et sur la création, partout, d'un climat favorable.

Vous remarquerez que je n'ai pas fait de la connaissance de la langue seconde une condition d'admission à l'université ou d'obtention d'un diplôme universitaire. C'est que, à mes yeux, l'apprentissage est bien plus efficace quand il repose sur la motivation. Si notre objectif ultime est l'expansion du bilinguisme, les contraintes, je le crains, ne pourraient être qu'infructueuses.

Bien d'autres modes d'action peuvent être envisagés. J'aimerais cependant conclure par un mot sur les universités. Nos établissements d'enseignement supérieur pourraient contribuer bien plus efficacement au bilinguisme national s'ils recevaient l'encouragement et l'appui voulus pour offrir, par exemple, des cours de langues crédités (au même titre que sont actuellement financés des cours non crédités) ; assurer la formation de professeurs de langue seconde (en recyclant, notamment, les enseignants en surnombre) ; enseigner certaines matières dans la langue seconde (sciences humaines, mathématiques, etc.) ; modifier les règles du jeu pour permettre la rédaction de travaux dans l'une ou l'autre des langues officielles ; établir sur les campus des centres culturels en langue seconde et des salles de conversation ; exiger le bilinguisme fonctionnel pour l'obtention du baccalauréat spécialisé en Études canadiennes, et caetera.

- la mise au point de programmes d'enseignement des langues par le canal des ordinateurs familiaux.
- la mise en place des dispositifs communautaires de formation linguistique dans le cadre des programmes d'éducation permanente ;

"Je veux insister ici sur le fait que cette perception du bilinguisme officiel ne remet pas en cause le multilinguisme. On constate en effet que ceux dont la langue n'est ni le français ni l'anglais apprennent mieux l'une ou l'autre de nos langues officielles si leurs premières années de scolarité se déroulent dans leur langue maternelle. En outre, les connaissances acquises — et celles dont se dotent les enseignants — dans le cadre de cet enseignement bilingue aide à l'enseignement et à l'apprentissage des langues officielles.

Je crois que nous faisons peu à peu des progrès en matière d'enseignement des langues et que nous n'avons pas de recul pour l'avenir de notre pays, de ralentir le mouvement à l'égard. Hissons au contraire la grande voile . . . mais sachons aussi prendre le vent.

Alinsi que vous le voyez, toutes mes suggestions reposent sur ma conviction que le gouvernement fédéral doit prendre plus d'initiatives dans le domaine de l'enseignement des langues. Ottawa doit résolument mettre l'accent sur la diffusion de la promotion des objectifs nationaux, la formation et le soutien des stratégies permettant de les atteindre. Et, enfin, le lancement de recherches et d'études expérimentales permettant de répondre à la gamme de questions fondamentales et exigeantes qui se posent à tous.

Ma troisième proposition, comme il fallait bien vous y attendre de la part d'un universitaire, intéresse la recherche. Les questions aussi complexes qu'inextricablement liées que nous voulons pouvoir agir en toute confiance. Il nous faut un vaste programme de recherches appliquées et d'expériences pratiques s'appuyant sur la linguistique et des recherches plus fondamentales sur la linguistique et l'enseignement des langues, du type de celles que mène le Centre des langues modernes de l'IEPO. Là encore, je crois que l'initiative revient à Ottawa. Répondre simplement aux propositions isolées soumisees par les chercheurs de tous les coins du Canada ne résoudra rien. Nous avons justement besoin d'un programme global regroupant des études cohérentes soigneusement planifiées, étroitement coordonnées et convenablement financées par le gouvernement central.

preuve de plus des stratégies de l'enseignement des langues et encourager les institutions et les groupes de tout le pays à s'y consacrer. Si le fédéral s'estime constitutionnellement obligé de le faire par la voie des gouvernements provinciaux, à lui d'exiger que l'on rende des comptes et que les provinces justifient l'utilisation de fonds qu'il attribue à cette fin.

Ma première proposition a trait aux objectifs. Nous faisons à mon avis des progrès considérables vers l'accessibilité aux services gouvernementaux et judiciaires et il y a tout lieu de persévérer dans cette voie à la vitesse acquise, en utilisant les ressources législatives et réglementaires disponibles. Pour ce qui est de la représentation équitable au sein du gouvernement, j'ignore où nous en sommes, mais je suggère qu'on aille un peu moins vite dans ce domaine afin d'éviter les « retours de flamme » possibles, en particulier chez les Anglophones de l'Ouest.

Quant au troisième objectif (l'accroissement du bilinguisme fonctionnel à l'échelle nationale), j'invite fortement le gouvernement fédéral à le considérer comme prioritaire, à en expliciter le bien-fondé — autant du point de vue rationnel qu'émotionnel — et à formuler à ce sujet un plan clair et bien établi, fondé non sur la coercition de ses opposants mais sur l'appui de ses partisans.

Je suis persuadé qu'il existe partout au Canada un vif désir, insatisfait, de devenir fonctionnellement bilingue. Si nous savons « faire passer » d'une façon convaincante les arguments d'ordre rationnel et émotif qui jouent en sa faveur, si nous nous employons à diffuser largement les preuves déjà patentes de l'efficacité de nos méthodes d'enseignement et, enfin, si nous savons rendre la formation linguistique plus largement et aisément accessible, le bilinguisme pourrait devenir une réalité.

Par-delà les problèmes de diffusion de l'information, je crois que le gouvernement fédéral devrait multiplier ses initiatives afin d'ouvrir des voies nouvelles et prometteuses à l'enseignement des langues et au bilinguisme national. Il devrait ainsi soutenir au moins moralement, et financièrement si possible,

- les nouvelles dispositions favorisant l'enseignement des langues au profit des adultes ;
- l'accroissement de l'aide aux organismes bénévoles qui se sont donné pour mission de promouvoir le bilinguisme ;
- l'établissement de centres culturels en langue seconde et de salles de conversation dans les édifices à bureaux et autres bâtiments publics ;
- la création et la distribution de matériel et d'équipement didactiques ;
- la promotion des échanges entre collectivités francophones et anglophones, surtout pour les adultes ;

ma satisfaction personnelle, mais j'en suis incapable. Je ne puis que faire l'immédiate.

Je ne puis que nous sommes sincères quand nous disons du Canada qu'il est un pays officiellement bilingue. Cela ne signifie pas seulement que les Canadiens doivent pouvoir accéder à l'une ou l'autre de nos langues officielles, mais aussi qu'ils pourront vivre, à leur gré, en français ou en anglais.

Il nous faut lutter pour que cela devienne réalité, le plus grand nombre possible de la nécessité du bilinguisme. Les provinces anglophones semblent engagées — avec plus ou moins d'enthousiasme et de génie — dans cette voie.

Le second postulat est que grâce aux efforts acharnés des linguistes et de nos professeurs, nous apprenons les langues comme nous le faisons en français. Les programmes d'immersion en français se sont révélés particulièrement efficaces à cet égard. On a constaté que ces programmes ont permis d'acquiescer à une meilleure connaissance du français que les autres enfants anglophones (bien que certains des jeunes francophones), mais aussi qu'ils ont permis d'acquiescer à une dimension affective : bref qu'ils réussissent aussi bien, sinon mieux, dans leurs études que les autres anglophones. Le nombre sans cesse croissant d'immigrants anglophones inscrits à des programmes d'immersion en français dans l'ensemble du pays signifie que non seulement le public en a conscience mais qu'il en partage des objectifs.

Le troisième postulat veut que les motivations positives soient les apprentissages. Ceux et celles qui, de leur côté, entreprennent certaines études — ou, dans le cas des jeunes enfants, parce que leurs parents décident qu'ils ont infiniment plus de chances d'acquiescer à des compétences durables que ceux qui les subissent. On peut conduire le bilinguisme, on peut même faire en sorte qu'il devienne une habitude, mais il ne boira que s'il a soif. En outre de bilinguisme, bon nombre de fonctionnaires se feront si on les y oblige. Mais on négocie de voir qu'un bilinguisme imposant de Canadiens dans tous les coins du pays soit d'apprendre. Je trouve lamentable que nous n'ayons pas encore fait un effort concerté pour répondre à leurs attentes, ou du moins sensibiliser adéquatement les gens possible à la nécessité d'un tel effort.

Enfin, je vous proposerai quelques idées pour l'avenir; elles s'appuient sur ma conviction que le gouvernement fédéral doit manifester bien davantage d'engagement dans ce domaine.

ou facultatif? Faut-il l'offrir durant l'enfance, l'adolescence ou à l'âge adulte? Sera-t-il dispensé uniquement dans le cadre de l'enseignement ou dans la totalité du milieu culturel, y compris médias, édition, art, religion, groupes ethniques et organismes communautaires?

Il m'apparaît évident qu'il ne peut se limiter au cadre scolaire. Doivent s'y ajouter des occasions supplémentaires d'apprentissage et d'utilisation de la langue avec des gens d'autres milieux. Il est indispensable de coordonner et d'articuler ces occasions dans toute la mesure du possible.

L'enseignement d'une langue est-il essentiellement une affaire de pédagogie? La pédagogie recouvre à la fois la

technologie éducative (méthodes, matériel, équipement... sans oublier des professeurs bien formés) et les comportements d'apprentissage (capacités et attitudes des élèves et étudiants). L'enseignement efficace d'une langue n'existe pas si la pédagogie est inadéquate. Indispensable, celle-ci n'est cependant pas suffisante. S'y ajoutent d'autres facteurs quelquefois plus importants encore.

Des facteurs philosophiques — l'objectif fondamental est-il la survie (qu'il s'agisse d'une minorité culturelle ou des possibiltés d'emploi), ou l'entrichissement (que l'on parle en termes d'acquisition de compétences ou de développement intellectuel)?

Des facteurs politiques — quel est, en matière d'enseignement des langues, le rôle respectif du gouvernement fédéral, des provinces (individuellement ou collectivement) et des municipalités, ces dernières étant à mon avis trop souvent oubliées?

Quelle est la responsabilité des écoles, des conseils et commissions scolaires, des ministères de l'Éducation? Cela fait-il une différence que tel ou tel autre secteur de compétence soit officiellement bilingue ou non? L'enseignement de l'anglais doit-il administrativement être séparé de celui du français?

Doit-il y avoir coordination, voire fusionnement, entre l'enseignement d'une langue en tant que langue première et en tant que langue seconde (les élèves appartenant bien entendu à des groupes différents)? Faut-il, par exemple, mêler aux Francophones qui étudient dans leur langue les élèves anglophones qui suivent des programmes d'immersion? Et si oui, à quel stade et à quel moment?

D'autres facteurs sont d'ordre financier. L'enseignement d'une langue constitue-t-il avant tout un avantage individuel devant être à la charge des intéressés, ou un acquis collectif dont le financement incombe au trésor public (et à quel palier gouvernemental), ou une combinaison des deux? Il y a enfin des facteurs contextuels. La langue fait partie de la culture et son enseignement doit avoir certaines relations avec d'autres traits culturels comme la religion, la classe sociale, l'ethnie, la géographie et la démographie.

Manifestement, l'enseignement d'une langue n'est pas uniquement une question de pédagogie. Bon nombre d'autres

Quel est l'objectif fondamental du gouvernement fédéral lorsqu'il pousse au bilinguisme officiel? Encourager l'usage possible de nos deux langues officielles par le plus grand nombre de Canadiens? Donner à tous les citoyens accès aux services gouvernementaux et judiciaires dans la langue officielle de leur choix? Assurer aux Francophones comme aux Anglophones une représentation équitable dans l'appareil gouvernemental?

J'ai le sentiment que le troisième de ces objectifs (la représentation) a reçu la première des priorités, et que le premier (encourager le bilinguisme individuel) a fait l'objet d'un partout, mais en particulier au Québec ces derniers temps de moins d'attention. Cela tient sans doute au fait que l'attention de l'État peut s'exercer plus aisément et plus efficacement dans le domaine de la représentation. Je me demande si le gouvernement fédéral a jamais joué franc jeu avec le public quant à ses plans et objectifs à long terme. En vérité j'ai même l'impression qu'il n'a pas vraiment établi de priorités en la matière.

L'enseignement d'une langue est-il une fin en soi ou s'intègre-t-il dans un ensemble beaucoup plus vaste? Pourquoi?

Logiquement, on peut considérer l'enseignement des langues officielles comme l'une des composantes essentielles de cette discipline plus large que constituent les études canadiennes. Nationalement, il faut bien voir que notre attitude vis-à-vis des langues officielles déterminera l'avenir de notre fragile identité. Mondialement, on peut estimer notre position que des langues officielles comme l'élément clé de notre différenciation d'avec les États-Unis, de nos relations avec les autres pays et, notamment, de notre politique de l'immigration.

Quels sont les rôles — appropriés ou désirables — du gouvernement fédéral, du Commissaire aux langues officielles et du Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation, en matière d'enseignement des langues? S'agit-il de défendre et de promouvoir? De fournir des renseignements et des appuis (financiers, juridiques, moraux, logistiques, etc.)? De surveiller et de rendre compte? De tenir lieu d'ombudsman ou de policier? Autrement dit, ces institutions ou organismes officiels ont-ils pour vocation de proposer ou de répondre, d'agir ou de réagir, d'informer et d'aider ou de contrôler? Sincèrement je ne sais ce que nous devons attendre, et de qui. Mais si ma confusion constitue aussi le lot de beaucoup d'autres, il est à craindre que les progrès de l'enseignement des langues chez nous soient encore une fois indûment et bêtement freinés.

Les neuf questions que je viens de poser devraient suffire à montrer la complexité irritante de ces problèmes. J'aurais voulu pouvoir répondre à chacune d'elles, ne serait-ce qu'

angue et l'éducation. Chargées tout à la fois de transmettre l'acquis, de révéler l'essentiel et d'explorer l'avenir, nos institutions d'enseignement contribuent-elles à préparer nos jeunes à donner le meilleur d'eux-mêmes dans un pays irrémédiablement bilingue et dans un monde où le français et l'anglais n'ont pas toujours le dernier mot ?

John Farquhar, président de l'Université de Winnipeg et David Johnston, principal de l'université McGill tentent de voir si nos écoles donnent à nos minorités des langues officielles les moyens d'exceller sans avoir à renoncer à leur langue « viscérale ».

Nt arrière, vent debout ou vent de côté ?

JOHN H. FARQUHAR

Après avoir écouté ce qui s'est dit, je suis plus convaincu que jamais de l'importance du rôle que l'éducation est appelée à jouer dans la réforme linguistique. Ma tâche étant d'esquisser les grandes lignes de la question, j'ai choisi de me concentrer sur les points suivants : trois être particulièrement névralgiques. Je tenterai, dans un premier temps, de donner une idée de l'ampleur de la multiplicité des problèmes qui se posent. J'évoquerai ensuite divers postulats qui semblent se dégager des expériences récentes. Enfin, je risquerai trois ou quatre suggestions pour l'avenir.

Questions qui se posent

La langue et l'éducation sont des domaines d'une complexité extrême — tout autant que leurs rapports mutuels — en particulier si l'on se place dans le contexte de notre évolution démographique. Les facteurs qu'il mettent en jeu sont si nombreux qu'on ne peut les énumérer tous. C'est pourquoi je propose de faire un tour d'horizon simplement en énonçant un certain nombre de questions.

Quels sont nos groupes-cibles ? S'agit-il des francophones

ou québécois apprenant l'anglais ? Des francophones hors Québec apprenant l'anglais ? Des francophones du Québec apprenant leur langue ? Des anglophones du Québec apprenant le français ? Des francophones ou des anglophones apprenant une langue autre que le français ? Des autochtones ou des immigrants apprenant le français ou l'anglais ? Ou encore, des autochtones ou des immigrants voulant conserver leur langue maternelle ? De toute évidence, les problèmes qui se posent varient d'un pays à l'autre.

Quels est l'objet de l'apprentissage de la langue selon les groupes-cibles ? Est-ce la conservation de la langue première des groupes minoritaires ? L'apprentissage d'une langue ou d'une troisième langue pour les groupes majoritaires ? L'apprentissage d'une deuxième ou d'une troisième langue pour les groupes minoritaires ? Le statut d'une langue ou d'une langue seconde influe sur la manière de l'enseigner, et chaque cas

doit être étudié à sa juste valeur dans un pays qui aspire à un bilinguisme officiel dans un contexte multiculturel.

Quand et comment doit intervenir cet enseignement ? Dans des écoles bilingues, mixtes ou unilingues ? En ce qui concerne tout au moins les groupes minoritaires dont la langue est menacée, certaines études tendent à prouver qu'il leur faut fréquenter des écoles unilingues dont ils ont le véritable contrôle.

Faut-il traiter la langue seconde comme objet d'étude (méthode traditionnelle ou « conversationnelle ») ou comme langue d'instruction (méthode de l'immersion ou de la transition). On ne peut évidemment trancher pareille question, chacune de ces méthodes pouvant correspondre à des situations et des besoins différents des étudiants. On a dit au sujet de la langue d'instruction, que la méthode de l'immersion est « additive » pour les groupes majoritaires, en ce sens qu'ils y acquièrent une langue seconde, tandis que la méthode de transition est « soustractive » pour les groupes minoritaires, en ce sens qu'ils y perdent leur langue première. Dans le cas de l'immersion, il faut aussi déterminer si elle sera totale ou partielle, précoce ou tardive. Les recherches montrent que l'enseignement efficace d'une langue exige des méthodes différentes suivant les groupes et les contextes démographiques.

Avons-nous la technologie pédagogique permettant un enseignement efficace des langues ? Méthodologiquement parlant, savons-nous quand employer la voie communicative et quand utiliser la voie structurée ? L'une ou l'autre peut être appropriée selon les circonstances. Disposons-nous du matériel et de l'équipement didactiques voulus ? Formons-nous suffisamment d'enseignants qualifiés ? La réponse à tout ceci semble être actuellement « non », mais nous y travaillons.

À quel niveau, sous quelle forme et par quelles voies doit intervenir cet enseignement ? À la fois à l'élémentaire, au secondaire et au supérieur ? À l'école, après l'école, en fin de semaine ? Avec ou sans crédits ? Doit-il être obligatoire

(Résumé des discussions — suite)

comment que la Charte contène aux Franco-phones, elle ne devrait pas être jugée trop sévèrement. Il a contesté les statistiques provenant d'une étude sur l'affichage bilingue par M. Harrison, affirmant que selon d'autres données la majorité des Québécois d'expression française sont favorables aux dispositions de la Loi 101 visant l'affichage unilingue français. Au cours des dix dernières années, les aspirations professionnelles et économiques des jeunes Francophones n'ont cessé de croître et dépassent celles de leurs homologues des autres provinces, si les grandes entreprises ne modifient pas sensiblement leur politique linguistique, elles seront incapables de répondre à ces attentes et le mécontentement que provoquera la situation risque d'avoir de graves répercussions politiques.

Cela demande à cet intervenant s'il croyait que les Francophones avaient des aspirations plus élevées que les Anglophones dans le domaine professionnel pour y avoir démarré bien plus tard. En ce qui a trait aux dispositions de la Loi 101 visant la langue d'enseignement, les Québécois d'expression française ne sont-ils pas d'avis que leurs compagnies de langue anglaise devaient avoir la possibilité d'étudier dans la langue de leur choix pourvu qu'ils puissent communiquer en français? Il a convenu qu'en général les Franco-Québécois semblaient favorables à une assouplissement de la Charte à cet égard, et que la clause Canada était une solution de compromis. Par ailleurs, il est difficile d'expliquer les attentes des jeunes francophones.

Une personnalité universitaire avait l'impression que la sphère commerciale

envisageait la question de la langue de service avec trop d'optimisme. Il a cité l'exemple du secteur privé au Nouveau-Brunswick, où les entreprises paraissent attendre que le gouvernement légifère en matière linguistique.

Selon une fonctionnaire, le secteur privé devrait participer plus activement que le gouvernement à la sensibilisation du public aux avantages du bilinguisme. Elle a souligné que son ministère tentait de modifier le comportement des gens avec des programmes comme Hospitalité Canada qui contribuent à réduire les préjugés et à créer un climat plus positif, deux conditions essentielles à la promotion du bilinguisme dans les secteurs public et privé.

M. Lortie a été appelé à clarifier sa déclaration selon laquelle le gouvernement fédéral n'était pas intervenu pour que le français soit reconnu à juste titre comme langue de travail, et selon laquelle l'administration publique n'avait pas sensibilisé le monde des affaires à cette question. M. Lortie a répondu que le gouvernement fédéral n'avait pas imposé de modifications importantes des organisations par voie de réglementation, comme l'avait fait la Loi 101. Ce qui à son avis était la seule solution au problème linguistique.

Un représentant d'une association franco-phone a soulevé les questions suivantes : la langue des affaires devrait-elle être le français au Québec et l'anglais dans les autres provinces, les deux à l'échelle du pays, ou encore être fonction de la demande? Quel devrait être la politique canadienne des années 80?

Selon Pierre Lortie, toute solution préconisant l'unilinguisme dans certaines régions du pays est vouée à l'échec; les Canadiens représentent une main-d'oeuvre mobile et de nombreuses entreprises n'hésitent pas à franchir les frontières.

Interrogé sur la question des «peuples fondateurs» dans un pays où vivent des Indiens, des Inuits et de nombreuses autres nationalités, Pierre Lortie a fait valoir que la Constitution y fait allusion et que, bien que d'autres cultures soient venues enrichir le Canada, le choix s'était porté sur ces deux groupes précis. Cependant, rien n'empêche les organisations de fonctionner dans une langue autre que le français ou l'anglais.

Jean de Grandpré, coprésident du colloque que le gouvernement du Québec doit avoir ses politiques fiscales et linguistique.

peut que nuire à ceux et celles qui tentent de servir la cause du bilinguisme à l'échelle nationale.

Je pense surtout aux articles régissant la langue d'affichage, les tests linguistiques et la langue de travail.

À mon avis l'article 58, stipulant que l'affichage public et la publicité commerciale doivent se faire uniquement en français, est celui qui soulève la plus vive controverse. Existe-t-il un autre gouvernement dans l'hémisphère Ouest qui ait jugé opportun de supprimer une langue ?

Cela sous-entend que la seule vue de quelques mots anglais, même accompagnés de leur version française, est un affront à la majorité francophone du Québec. Je reprends les paroles de Claude-Armand Sheppard qui a récemment déclaré qu'à certains égards l'usage de l'anglais constituait un délit au Québec.

Il est évident qu'une révolution sociale ne peut s'accomplir sans injustices et sans abus. Dans le cadre d'une société démocratique on peut même exercer une certaine coercition pour le bien public. Mais peut-on, en toute franchise, justifier l'utilisation de l'appareil étatique pour abolir les droits des minorités sous prétexte d'assurer la sécurité de la majorité... Les efforts du gouvernement pour supprimer la présence anglaise peuvent, à l'occasion, créer des situations pour le moins cocasses.

Au début de l'année, un courtier francophone unilingue de la région de Hull a été contraint de rayer le mot « realtor » inscrit sur la porte de son entreprise familiale. Bien que l'expression soit une marque déposée de l'Association des agents immobiliers du Canada, elle constitue une infraction à la Loi 101.

Dernièrement une agence immobilière de Montréal a été condamnée à une amende de 100 \$ pour avoir enfreint la Loi 101. Effectivement, les pancartes qu'elle avait mises devant deux maisons de la banlieue majoritairement anglophone du West Island choquaient la vue. Elles portaient l'inscription « For Rent ».

M. Claude Larochelle, paysagiste du West Island en banlieue de Montréal, a dû rayer le mot « lawn » inscrit sur les panneaux de son camion pour n'y laisser que le mot « pelouse ». Toutefois, son concurrent américain « Chemlawn » affiche en toutes lettres sa raison sociale sur les panneaux de ses camions. Les propriétaires de l'entreprise ne sont coupables d'aucun délit étant donné que « Chemlawn » est une dénomination sociale déposée avant l'adoption de la Loi 101. M. Larochelle en est venu à se demander pour quoi un Francophone, exploitant un commerce dans une région majoritairement anglophone, ne peut faire de publicité en anglais alors que son concurrent, un Américain, peut le faire en toute quiétude. M. Larochelle est toujours sans réponse.

Au mois de mars 1982 la légitimité des dispositions de la Loi 101 régissant la langue d'affichage a été contestée devant la Cour supérieure du Québec. Le juge Jacques Dugas a déclaré que le Québec avait le droit de prohiber l'usage de l'anglais dans le domaine des affaires tout comme l'Ontario avait eu le droit d'interdire, jusqu'en 1924, l'usage du français dans l'enseignement.

Le juge Dugas affirme que « la liberté d'expression ne comprend pas la liberté de choisir la langue d'expression ». Remarque que certains qualifient de paradoxale. Car à quoi bon la liberté d'expression si nous ne disposons pas des moyens pour nous exprimer ? C'est un peu comme si la liberté des cultes se résumait à prier... uniquement dans une église anglicane. Il va sans dire que c'est le gouvernement du Québec, et non les Francophones, qui fait l'objet du ressentiment de la communauté anglophone. Celle-ci reconnaît que de nombreux Québécois d'expression française qualifient d'excessifs les articles régissant la langue d'affichage.

Un sondage mené l'année dernière par Sorecom, maison dont la réputation n'est plus à faire, révèle que 64 pour cent des Francophones de la région métropolitaine se disent favorables à une modification de la Loi 101 qui permette l'affichage bilingue.

La question des tests linguistiques précède énormément les communautés anglophone et allophone. En vertu de certains articles de la Loi 101 les Non-Francophones issus du système scolaire anglais du Québec ne peuvent exercer leur profession sans avoir réussi un examen attestant leur connaissance de la langue française. Il va sans dire que les Francophones ayant fait leurs études en français n'ont pas à se soumettre à ces tests : leur compétence linguistique étant tenue pour acquise.

Les tests linguistiques ont privé des Québécois compétents et, dans certains cas, bilingues du droit d'exercer leur profession. Prenons l'exemple de Joanne Curran, infirmière anglophone bilingue, qui a perdu son poste parce qu'elle a échoué à l'examen de Le Conseil de la langue française, organisme gouvernemental participant à l'élaboration de la politique linguistique, a non seulement critiqué les tests mais en a recommandé la suppression. Toutefois, les tests demeurent obligatoires et n'ont fait l'objet que de légères modifications.

À l'heure actuelle il est presque impossible pour un Anglophone unilingue de trouver un emploi à Montréal. Il doit s'adresser à des entreprises comme Northern Telecom qui oeuvrent dans le domaine de la technologie de pointe et qui ont des débouchés sur les marchés internationaux. Selon une étude effectuée pour le compte d'Alliance Québec, nouvel organisme voué à la défense des droits des Non-Francophones, la majorité des postes exigent maintenant une connaissance minimale du français oral et écrit. L'étude menée auprès de 32 grandes entreprises ayant leur siège social à Montréal et de 11 P.M.E. démontre que le français est devenu la langue de communication des employés, sauf chez les cadres supérieurs. L'Office de la langue française évaluait à plus de 100 millions de dollars les coûts de francisation encourus, depuis 1977, par les entreprises québécoises. Une étude préparée en 1980 par des professeurs au département de sci-

Je tiens à préciser, à l'instar de Pierre Lortie, que je ne suis pas un spécialiste en matière de bilinguisme. Toutefois, en ma qualité de directeur en chef de la *Gazette*, je suis évidemment témoin des vives questions que suscite la question constitutionnelle au sein des communautés francophone et francophones.

Je voudrais reprendre certains points soulevés par M. Lortie et vous faire de mes impressions en tant que « Québécois ». La question que je me souviens est la suivante. Dans la mesure où la législation linguistique est plus précisément la Loi 101, elle a la fois stimulé et freiné l'essor du bilinguisme dans le milieu des entreprises ?

Sortie à souligner qu'au cours des dernières années le français s'est imposé comme langue de travail au Québec. Conséquence d'une évolution telle ou d'une législation linguistique ? À mon avis il s'agit plutôt d'une conjonction des deux facteurs. J'ai l'impression que nous n'essaierons pas d'appliquer cette mesure opportuniste d'appliquer cette mesure des sociétés sans exception.

Il va sans dire que cette législation linguistique est sujet de mécontentement et d'insatisfaction. Néanmoins, l'Office de la langue française affirme que le 30 avril 1982 plus de 66 pour cent des 100 employés avaient obtenu un certificat de francisation permanente ou provisoire. Des certificats ont été délivrés à 49 pour cent des 2 269

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Je vous entretiendrai maintenant d'un sujet qui nous touche de plus près : le monde des affaires. La Loi 101 oblige les entreprises, sauf exceptions, à diriger leurs affaires en français seulement et ce de l'atelier au conseil d'administration.

Bien que les domaines de l'éducation et des services sociaux débordent le cadre de mon intervention, je tiens à souligner, à mon tour, un jugement qui fera époque. Il y a trois jours le juge en chef de la Cour supérieure du Québec, Jules Deschênes, déclarait inconstitutionnels certains articles de la Loi 101 qui limitent l'accès à l'école anglaise. Il affirmait, en outre, que l'argument du Québec faisait état d'une conception totalitaire de la société.

Je crois que le même jugement peut être porté sur plusieurs autres dispositions de la Loi 101 touchant le milieu des affaires.

L'application, quelquefois rigide, de certains règlements révèle l'arbitraire et l'intolérance de la législation linguistique. Cette façon de faire ne

La langue de travail : l'expérience des firmes multinationales

Passons maintenant à la portée de la langue de travail. Le provincialisme nord-américain n'est un secret pour personne. Toutefois, les véritables firmes multinationales comme Nestlé et Unilever, deux entreprises de biens de consommation, se distinguent par la pluralité des nationalités au sein de leur conseil d'administration. Elle a des activités dans de nombreux pays ; son conseil d'administration emprunte donc la nationalité des mandataires.

Généralement les assemblées sont tenues dans la langue maternelle du président, sauf en présence d'un Nord-Américain. Dans ce cas, on s'en tient à la langue de Shakespeare par égard pour le malheureux provincial américain ou canadien-anglais.

Plusieurs m'ont avoué trouver la situation extrêmement gênante. En effet, les rôles sont renversés : l'anglophone n'a pas l'impression qu'on lui fait concession d'un privilège mais plutôt qu'on se prête aux caprices d'un enfant qui n'a pas les compétences linguistiques des grands. Les Canadiens qui prétendent à une place sur les marchés internationaux ne sauraient se limiter aux deux langues officielles.

Il va sans dire que l'expansion industrielle de l'Allemagne a contribué à faire de l'allemand une langue internationale. Il ne faut toutefois pas oublier l'espagnol. Le marché sud-américain s'il est instable est aussi sans cesse croissant, et certaines entreprises voient en lui un débouché à long terme pour le Canada.

Je m'explique. L'unilinguisme traditionnel des entreprises nord-américaines et britanniques, y compris des firmes multinationales, les incite à nommer leurs compatriotes aux postes de direction. Elles hésitent à confier la barre à des étrangers. Des entreprises comme Nestlé et Unilever n'éprouvent pas cette méfiance. Il s'agit là d'un sentiment inhérent au caractère provincial et monolingue des anglophones.

Les Francophones à la barre
Pierre Lortie affirme que les cadres canadiens d'expression française sont dans une position désavantageuse. Je ne suis pas tout à fait de cet avis. Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, au Québec, les titulaires de diplômes d'études supérieures n'étaient pas formés en techniques de gestion internationale. Toutefois, la situation a changé et des Francophones extrêmement talentueux peuvent maintenant mesurer leurs connaissances à celles des Anglophones.

Nous ne devons pas hésiter à prendre des mesures plus énergiques, même à courte échéance, afin d'accroître la représentation francophone chez les cadres.

Et si nous passions de la théorie à la pratique ? Au cours de l'année dernière trois employés de la société Quaker ont été nommés à des postes-clés : gérant de district en Colombie-Britannique, gérant de district en Ontario et directeur de la commercialisation au siège social de Peterborough. Qu'est-ce que les titulaires de ces postes ont en commun ? Ce sont trois Francophones.

Il ne faut pas croire que ces Francophones viennent « équilibrer les plateaux de la balance ». Les candidats ont été choisis en fonction de leur escolarité, de leur formation, de leur expérience... bref, en fonction de leur mérite.

La mobilité des cadres
Les obstacles à la mobilité des cadres ne sont pas de nature linguistique mais familiale ; problème délicat s'il en est un.

Contrairement aux Francophones, les Anglophones appartiennent à des familles nucléaires. Il leur est donc plus facile de « boucler leur valise ». Dans bien des cas, les attaches familiales d'un Canadien français l'empêchent d'accepter un poste, sur la côte Ouest par exemple, ne serait-ce que pour un an.

Nous avons eu un cas semblable chez Quaker. Nous avions décidé d'établir

une filiale en France et nous avions absolument besoin d'une personne rompu à la vente et à la commercialisation. C'était un poste sur mesure pour un Francophone. Malheureusement, nous n'avons su convaincre aucun de nos employés d'exprimer sa franchise d'accepter ce qui promet être une expérience de deux ans de plus enrichissantes.

Pour conclure, ces quelques réflexions...

En premier lieu, je crois que le secteur privé devrait accorder au bilinguisme l'intérêt qu'il commande. Nous devons faire valoir aux cadres anglophones que le bilinguisme est un précieux atout. Il a été beaucoup trop facile de nommer un directeur de vente au Québec qui ne maîtrisait les deux langues officielles. Quel n'y a-t-il à dire aux cadres que le bilinguisme est un critère de promotion au même titre que les aptitudes professionnelles, la publicité et les relations humaines. C'est aux directeurs d'entreprise qu'incombe la responsabilité de promouvoir le bilinguisme dans l'industrie.

Le temps d'agir est venu, nous devons sortir les hommes d'affaires de leur inertie. Le Canada se doit d'être bilingue non seulement par égard pour ses deux peuples fondateurs, mais parce que le provincialisme n'a pas sa place sur la scène internationale.

francophones et par des frustrations d'autant plus importantes que les aspirations des jeunes Canadiens francophones à la mobilité qui sont ici en cause. Selon tous les sondages, la population francophone du Québec fait une distinction très nette entre le français langue de communication et le français langue de progrès économique. Si elle trouve la situation satisfaisante dans le premier cas, elle la juge beaucoup moins heureuse et même préoccupante dans le second.

Bien qu'elle n'ait jusqu'ici donné lieu à aucune explosion, la situation devient à cet égard tous les jours plus tendue, du seul fait que les aspirations professionnelles des jeunes francophones sont, selon toutes les enquêtes, nettement plus élevées que celles des autres jeunes Canadiens.

C'est pourquoi, à mon avis, le plus grand défi que devra relever la politique canadienne du bilinguisme au cours des années 80 sera de trouver une réponse juste et équilibrée à l'emploi des langues dans les diverses entreprises canadiennes.

1. R.N. Morrison, *Corporate Adaptability to Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. Étude effectuée pour la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, Ottawa, 1970
2. Secor Incorporated, *La Présence francophone dans la grande entreprise manufacturière du Québec, 1964-1979*, janvier 1980.

Commentaires de Jon Grant

constitue probablement une possibilité réelle. Toute prise ayant une couverture suffisante devrait pouvoir élargir notre dualité linguistique parmi son personnel, en tenant compte des secteurs travaillant dans l'une ou l'autre des deux langues. Elle devrait en même temps relever le niveau de bilinguisme de son siège social, où qu'il soit. Les entreprises qui entraînent ces adaptations à la réalité canadienne ne peuvent cependant pas trop élever pour espérer que cette solution soit la plus générale et spontanée. Il est en fait trop évident pour les grandes entreprises canadiennes de se soumettre à ces contraintes, bien que cette véritable « évasion fiscale » impose des coûts sociaux importants à la société canadienne.

des meilleurs moyens d'imposer une langue au sein d'un organisme est de l'utiliser dans les grands documents officiels. Toute traduction est alors à proscrire car, en l'absence d'une langue dominante et d'une langue seconde, elle ne fait que souligner le rôle accessoire de celle-ci. La situation devient à cet égard tous les jours plus tendue, du seul fait que les aspirations professionnelles des jeunes francophones sont, selon toutes les enquêtes, nettement plus élevées que celles des autres jeunes Canadiens.

est à mon avis imprudent de sous-estimer les coûts que la société canadienne des pratiques actuelles des grandes entreprises nationales, privées et publiques. Leurs effets négatifs sur la diminution de la mobilité des cadres

Pierre Lortie a fait du problème linguistique dans le monde des affaires le point de mire de son livre. Nous ne sommes pas sans savoir que chercher la solution de ce problème c'est un peu chercher la solution du cercle. Voyons si en fait nous ne parvenons pas à des solutions concrètes de promouvoir le bilinguisme dans l'industrie. La véritable langue de travail est celle qui permet des échanges fructueux. À l'égard nous disposons de nombreux outils de communication : outils scientifiques, informatiques, financiers — sans oublier le français anglais...

Pierre Lortie a aussi souligné l'importance de la langue des affaires. Il va sans dire que l'homme d'affaires averti optera pour la solution pratique : servir le client dans sa langue. Au Québec, le service bilingue est, depuis longtemps, monnaie courante. D'autres provinces ont adopté la même pratique. Dans certains magasins du nord de l'Alberta, par exemple, les commis s'adressent aux clients en anglais et en ukrainien.

Enfin, il nous vient à l'esprit que quiconque veut vendre un produit doit teinter sa publicité de couleur locale. Comment ? Tout simplement en retenant les services d'un publicitaire dont l'identité culturelle est celle du consommateur-cible. Malheureusement, les hommes d'affaires canadiens ont mis du temps à se rendre à l'évidence...

Tenant compte de ce fait, la Loi 101 donne la possibilité aux sièges sociaux d'entreprises nationales d'obtenir des dérogations leur permettant de fonctionner en anglais. Mais les difficultés liées à la langue d'enseignement et les exigences linguistiques attachées à l'exercice d'une profession limitent la portée véritable de ces exemptions.

Les inégalités dans la propriété des entreprises et l'emploi de l'anglais dans les sièges sociaux canadiens des multinationales font par ailleurs que les cadres francophones sont en concurrence avec leurs collègues dans une langue qui n'est pas la leur. Ils devront donc accepter d'utiliser largement l'anglais comme langue de travail s'ils espèrent accéder à des postes importants.

Les seules entreprises qui, dans le contexte actuel, ne sont pas désavantagées en demeurant au Québec sont celles qui ont accepté volontairement depuis longtemps la dualité linguistique canadienne, en instaurant le bilinguisme intégral à leur siège social.

Le bilinguisme institutionnel idéal peut être ainsi décrit : les cadres du siège social travaillent en français ou en anglais. Chacun d'eux est bilingue. Les documents de gestion sont rédigés et lus indifféremment dans l'une ou l'autre des deux langues officielles. Celui-ci traite en français avec les unités d'exploitation où le français est la langue de travail et en anglais avec les autres. Les premières sont en général installées au Québec et les secondes, à l'extérieur de cette province. Les cadres supérieurs des unités d'exploitation sont dans tous les cas bilingues. Un de leurs critères de promotion est le bilinguisme. La dimension de l'entreprise assure l'équilibre de la représentation parmi eux, ainsi que la légitimité des deux langues dans l'organisation.

Le nombre de sociétés canadiennes qui ont adopté ce modèle innovateur est malheureusement faible à Montréal et nul à Toronto. De même, les ministères fédéraux avaient envisagé à étudier et à imiter ces modèles privés où l'on a réussi à résoudre le problème de la diversité de l'utilisation des langues au sein d'un organe de direction !

Je n'ai pas parlé jusqu'ici des sociétés d'État. La « solution naturelle » leur est en effet difficilement applicable car, étant propriété publique, elles ressortissent aux deux groupes linguistiques et exigent donc des règles différentes.

Les grandes questions de politique

Nous débouçons maintenant sur les questions fondamentales auxquelles devrait répondre une politique de bilinguisme.

● Le gouvernement canadien peut-il continuer à permettre l'évasion hors du Québec, et sans contrepartie, des sièges sociaux d'entreprises nationales ? S'il semble théoriquement possible qu'une intervention fédérale fondée sur une Charte des droits de la personne garantisse l'égalité des chances de tous, quelle que soit la langue officielle, il faut reconnaître qu'il n'existe à l'heure actuelle au Canada aucun accord général rendant cette intervention applicable au secteur privé.

● La « solution naturelle » ne pouvant intervenir du fait de la faiblesse de la participation des Francophones à la propriété des entreprises de dimension nationale, est-il normal d'obliger les entreprises anglophones canadiennes à supporter plus de bilinguisme que ne le voudrait l'équilibre naturel ?

● Compte tenu de la non-intervention du fédéral vis-à-vis des déplacements des sièges sociaux et du respect de la libre circulation du capital, le gouvernement canadien devrait-il compenser les transferts de ces sièges hors du Québec par l'installation dans la province de ceux des sociétés d'État ?

● Pour celles-ci deux solutions se présentent. Premièrement le gouvernement pourrait imposer par voie de réglementation un haut niveau de bilinguisme à leurs sièges sociaux. Cette obligation entraînerait des modifications importantes de leur organisation afin de permettre aux cadres d'apprendre progressivement à utiliser les deux langues officielles en cours d'emploi avant que leur carrière n'aboutisse au siège social. Il suffirait pour cela d'imposer à ces sociétés les méthodes innovatrices employées par les entreprises privées qui ont décidé volontairement d'assumer la dualité linguistique canadienne.

La seconde solution serait de procéder à une spécialisation ou à une segmentation linguistique des sièges sociaux dans des sociétés d'État. Certains d'entre eux seraient implantés dans des régions francophones et fonctionneraient en français tandis que d'autres, installés ailleurs, continueraient à utiliser l'anglais. Dans les deux cas, les passerelles linguistiques assureraient les communications avec l'extérieur du siège social.

La nécessité de solutions novatrices

Privée ou publique, l'entreprise canadienne a l'obligation de tenir compte de la dualité linguistique de notre pays, et la question ne devrait même pas se poser pour les institutions fédérales. Le sens des responsabilités exigé à cet égard est une adaptation des pratiques actuelles.

L'un des acquis des années 70 est la légitimation du français comme langue de service, au même titre (ou presque) qu'anglais. Les politiques fédérales en matière d'étiq

de documents publics et d'affichage y ont contribué et on provoque dans l'ensemble du pays des changements d'attitudes fondamentaux. Il faut maintenant prendre des mesures analogues pour légitimer le français comme langue de travail au sein des grandes organisations nationales.

En aval des solutions naturelles du bilinguisme localisé ou des passerelles linguistiques, le bilinguisme institution

avec les clients nationaux importants ou avec les unités administratives dont la langue de fonctionnement n'est pas celle du siège social. Spontanée, cette « solution naturelle » est en usage depuis longtemps au Canada.

Les recherches font état de la large diffusion de ce modèle. Les phénomènes de francophonisation et de francisation demeurent essentiellement des phénomènes québécois. La présence francophone et l'utilisation du français demeurent marginales au sein des sièges sociaux situés à Toronto. Si l'on examine la répartition linguistique des cadres supérieurs des 105 plus grandes entreprises du Québec, on remarque que 20 pour cent des cadres de celles dont le siège social est installé dans la province sont francophones alors que ce rapport tombe à 4 pour cent pour les autres. On observe en outre que le taux de présence des Francophones au sein des sièges sociaux des grandes entreprises manufacturières établies au Québec, et qui sont de tradition anglophone, demeure inférieur à 50 pour cent. Ces sièges sociaux ne se « francophonisent » pas, contrairement aux unités opérationnelles québécoises. La présence francophone n'y est toutefois pas négligeable : elle se situe en moyenne à 40 pour cent chez les cadres et s'accompagne d'une augmentation de l'utilisation du français. La situation y demeure cependant fort différente de celle qu'on observe dans les unités d'exploitation.

La « solution naturelle » se révélerait juste et équitable si la propriété des entreprises canadiennes était mieux répartie entre Anglophones et Francophones et si les multinationales, généralement de propriété américaine et dotées de sièges sociaux importants, ne jouaient pas un rôle de premier plan au Canada. Les choses étant ce qu'elles sont, cela entraîne en fait nombre de frictions et de difficultés.

Ainsi, pour des raisons socio-politiques évidentes, les entreprises nationales dont le siège social est situé au Québec peuvent difficilement y laisser intervenir la « solution naturelle ». Il leur faut donc procéder à des adaptations spéciales, ce qui, concurrentiellement parlant, augmente leurs dépenses. Les sièges sociaux ainsi établis à Montréal comptent davantage de Francophones et utilisent des documents officiels et administratifs dans les deux langues. Le multilinguisme désavantage ces entreprises par rapport à leurs homologues hors Québec, dont les sièges sociaux n'ont pas à supporter cette charge.

L'existence d'une législation linguistique au Québec et l'absence de son équivalent au fédéral ouvrent la porte à des décisions lourdes de conséquences. La direction d'une entreprise canadienne peut en effet décider de démenager les coûts supplémentaires qu'implique le maintien d'un siège social à Montréal, tout en continuant de profiter des avantages de l'ensemble économique canadien. Ce phénomène a eu pour effet de réduire le nombre des sièges sociaux canadiens à Montréal et de priver le Québec d'un certain nombre de postes de direction entraînant à la longue des effets connus de tous et chacun. Ajoutons cependant que d'autres facteurs jouent un rôle puissant dans l'accélération de ce processus.

101 sur la langue de travail dans les entreprises et pertence vécue au Québec lors de l'application de cette pourraient constituer un guide précieux sur les façons corriger ces déficiences d'adaptation. Il faut également rationner que les unités d'exploitation installées dans régions anglophones du Québec éprouvent de leur côté aines difficultés qui ne sont pas sans analogies avec es que connaissent les Francophones des autres provin-canadiennes.

sièges sociaux des entreprises de dimension nationale

problématique est différente en ce qui concerne les sièges laux des entreprises nationales. Pour bien saisir les ons de cette différence, il faut d'abord comprendre que iversité linguistique constitue une barrière naturelle échanges. Il faut ensuite bien voir que la fonction mière d'un siège social est de coordonner, d'orienter ie diriger l'entreprise. Toutes ces activités reposent sur alité des communications au sein du personnel du siège, et cette équipe, la clientèle et l'environnement économi-er, et enfin, entre le siège et les cadres oeuvrant dans les ités d'exploitation. L'une des qualités essentielles que t possède le personnel-cadre d'un siège social, surtout ui des grandes organisations, c'est la facilité de communi-on verbale et écrite.

te fonction première d'un siège social d'être un creuset communications a plusieurs conséquences pour les mportements linguistiques. Dans la mesure où l'usage plusieurs langues diminue la qualité et la portée des mUNICATIONS, la tendance normale sera de ne en employer une seule. Cette langue dominante deviendra celle de rganisation. Elle sera généralement la langue des ropriétaires », mais cette règle comporte de nombreuses eptions.

te pression en faveur de l'unilinguisme du travail dans grands sièges sociaux a des conséquences assez fâcheuses us un pays comme le Canada. Les cadres hésiteront à rsuivre une carrière au sein d'une organisation dont angue dominante n'est pas la leur.

études menées par Allaire et Toulouse auprès des Francophones titulaires de diplômes d'études supérieures ntrent que ceux-ci hésitent à accepter un emploi dans ociété où la langue de travail est l'anglais. Cette attitude normale. Toutes choses égales d'ailleurs, un Francophone est défavorisé par rapport à un Anglophone dans milieu où l'anglais est la principale langue de travail, particulier dans un emploi de cadre. La possibilité de ssié, le cadre francophone sera désavantagé durant toute partie de sa carrière s'il doit fonctionner dans une langue re que la sienne. Le même phénomène se constate pour Anglophones : ils sont très peu nombreux dans les directions des ministères québécois ou dans les entreprises dont angue dominante est le français.

à ces contraintes fonctionnelles, la solution la plus naturelle consiste à n'utiliser qu'une langue au siège social et à établir des passerelles linguistiques pour communiquer

l'emploi des langues dans les directions des organisations nationales va revêtir, à mon avis, une acuité particulière au cours des années 80. Il constitue selon moi le talon d'Achille de la politique canadienne de bilinguisme.

L'organisation fonctionnelle des entreprises

Analyse et expérience montrent que la structure de toute entreprise s'organise en deux volés : les unités d'exploitation et le siège social. Les unités d'exploitation regroupent les activités techniques et commerciales qui peuvent se répartir en régions, divisions, usines, groupes et autres composantes. C'est là que se trouve la majorité du personnel et que se situe la porte d'entrée des jeunes cadres. Le siège social regroupe quant à lui les activités de direction générale et de supervision des unités d'exploitation. Les cadres y accèdent généralement après un séjour au niveau des opérations. Dans les petites et moyennes entreprises, le palier « siège social » est celui de la direction générale.

La langue de travail dans les unités d'exploitation

Le recrutement du personnel dans les unités d'exploitation se fait à l'échelon régional. Leur personnel reflète les caractéristiques du bassin de main-d'oeuvre accessible et leur langue de fonctionnement, volontairement ou non, est celle de la majorité de leurs travailleurs. Les entreprises multinationales ont ainsi pour principe de fonctionner en français au Québec et en anglais dans les autres provinces. Les entreprises canadiennes « anglophones » utiliseront le français au Québec et les entreprises « francophones » emploieront l'anglais dans leurs opérations hors de la province.

Les progrès accomplis en ce sens depuis vingt ans sont immenses, ainsi qu'en font foi toutes les études. Selon une enquête de 1978, la langue maternelle de 84 pour cent des travailleurs du Québec était alors le français. Depuis les études effectuées pour la Commission Gendron en 1971, on sait que ces Francophones utilisent le français pendant 87 pour cent de leur temps au travail. Effectuée en 1979, une reprise de l'étude de Roy Morrison¹ a montré que les activités « québécoises » de fabrication et de vente des grandes entreprises reflètent le caractère majoritairement francophone du Québec.

Déjà notable en 1964, le taux de participation francophone y est encore plus élevé en 1979. Au cours de ces 15 années, le français s'est largement imposé comme langue de travail et l'anglais, qui y avait une place égale au français en 1964, y est de plus en plus relégué au second plan. La majorité des entreprises établies au Québec, et dont les gestionnaires étaient de culture anglaise, ont modifié leurs pratiques linguistiques depuis 20 ans. Pour ce qui est de la langue de travail, la francisation des activités québécoises est déjà largement achevée. Le pourcentage des cadres francophones a augmenté dans ces entreprises ; et bien qu'il reste encore à faire à cet égard, leur sous-représentation devrait s'amoin-

drir au fil du temps.

Cas d'exception

Disons tout d'abord que les unités opérationnelles situées au Québec et dont la majorité des clients et des correspondants sont établis hors de la province continuent à utiliser

l'anglais. Il s'agit là d'unités de haute technicité qui oeuvrent aussi bien dans le secteur de la fabrication que dans celui des services hautement spécialisés. L'aire d'influence normale de ces entreprises dépasse les frontières. L'angly est donc largement utilisé, même au Québec. En second lieu, citons les firmes situées dans les régions francophones hors Québec et dont la direction n'a pas cru de s'adapter au milieu, comme tenu des contraintes administratives cela comporte. Je pense, par exemple, au nord de l'Ontario ou au Nouveau-Brunswick où les concentrations francophones et les pressions sociales ne sont pas assez importantes pour provoquer l'adaptation linguistique des entreprises. Que faut-il tirer de ces observations ? En premier lieu, d la majorité des unités d'exploitation situées au Québec, le processus de francisation s'est engagé naturellement n'avait peut-être pas besoin d'une impulsion législative ou réglementaire. Les processus officiels de francisation des entreprises amorcés dans le cadre des programmes de découplage de la Loi 22, et qui ont été repris et rendus obligatoires par la Loi 101, n'auront donc pas eu un effet très important sur le processus de francophonisation.

Pour ces unités d'exploitation, le seul effet notable qui peut être porté au crédit de la législation linguistique est la promotion accrue du français dans les documents destinés à la consommation interne, secteur qui, au Québec, accuse un certain retard par rapport aux autres dimensions de la francisation. Ces progrès réalisés dans les communications écrites expliquent peut-être pourquoi une majorité de Québécois sont d'avis que la législation linguistique a eu un effet positif et puissant sur la promotion de la langue française et l'avancement des Francophones.

En second lieu, il faut reconnaître que la législation linguistique appliquée aux unités opérant au Québec mais dont l'aire normale d'exploitation se situe hors de la province a eu des effets dommageables. Ces entreprises ont généralement des relations assez ténues avec le milieu où elles sont situées leurs opérations. Cela se comprend. Lorsque 90 pour cent des ventes s'effectuent sur les marchés étrangers et que la nature des activités exige un réseau de relations intenses et continues avec une clientèle extérieure, les pressions et les influences dominantes sur le fonctionnement de l'entreprise sont celles de la clientèle et non de l'environnement immédiat. Dans une large mesure, les difficultés résultant du fait que la philosophie sous-jacente veut imposer le modèle qui s'est développé naturellement dans la majorité des unités d'exploitation à celles de haute technicité, sont donc les conditions de fonctionnement, sont totalement différents.

En troisième lieu, les difficultés constatées dans les régions où les entreprises ne se sont pas adaptées aux conditions locales illustrent une carence du cadre juridique canadien vis-à-vis de la langue de travail dans les entreprises. On peut pourtant se demander si la solution de ces problèmes ne relève pas autant — sinon plus — des provinces que du gouvernement canadien. À cet égard, les dispositions d

talon d'Achille du bilinguisme au Canada

angue et les affaires. Deux représentants du monde des affaires, Pierre Lortie, président de la Bourse de Montréal, et Jon Grant, président de la compagnie Quaker Oats Canada, ainsi qu'un journaliste, Mark Harrison, rédacteur en chef de la Gazette, s'attachent sur l'épineuse question de la langue de travail des entreprises. Leur conception d'une politique linguistique est-elle conforme à la personnalité profonde du pays ?

importantes pour le justifier, l'entreprise tend à servir ses clients en français ou en anglais, quelle que soit sa langue de travail et de fonctionnement interne. Il n'en reste pas moins que nous avons encore beaucoup à faire en ce qui concerne la communication écrite et l'utilisation des documents légaux, les progrès en la matière étant intimement liés à la langue des organisations. J'y reviendrai. Quelles que soient les résistances exprimées de temps à autre, un fait demeure : l'expérience québécoise montre que le service bilingue aux clients est facilement réalisable et à peu de frais. Cette constatation vaut tout autant pour les produits de consommation de base, en alimentation par exemple, que pour des services complexes.

Que ce soit par un processus d'adaptation naturelle ou à la suite des législations fédérales ou provinciales, les entreprises nationales et les sociétés publiques communiquent donc en général avec leurs clients dans la langue de ces derniers. Il en existe, bien entendu, qui préfèrent perdre des clients plutôt que de s'adapter à ces exigences normales ou, d'un autre côté, des clients qui décident de ne pas trop revendiquer. Mais, dans l'ensemble, je crois que l'on peut qualifier la situation actuelle de relativement satisfaisante. Le bilan des années 70 me semble positif en ce qui a trait à la promotion du bilinguisme dans les affaires.

À partir de ce constat, certains milieux plaident pour un relâchement de la pression. On crie victoire et on propose la démobilité ! À mon avis, c'est là un raisonnement boiteux. Il néglige totalement le fait que la langue de travail constitue l'une des composantes fondamentales d'une politique d'amputation d'un membre essentiel paraît cependant constituer un état normal pour la politique canadienne du bilinguisme qui, jusqu'à présent, s'est soigneusement tenue à l'écart de la langue de travail dans les entreprises. Même dans les secteurs où le gouvernement fédéral a un pouvoir de réglementation (banques à charte, communications, etc.), il n'est jamais intervenu pour assurer une place équitable au français comme langue de travail. Le problème de

langue des affaires : des progrès notables

précisant sur des solutions privées et des interventions publiques, l'emploi des langues dans les communications des clients ne pose plus de difficultés majeures au Canada. Les études réalisées pour le compte de la Commission royale sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme ont fait des efforts et de la volonté des entreprises canadiennes de servir les clients dans la langue de leur choix. Il s'agit d'une adaptation rationnelle dans la recherche de l'efficacité des transactions économiques.

nt ou le citoyen est roi... et est servi dans sa langue. générale au Canada, là où les concentrations de population de langue anglaise ou française sont suffisamment

otre sujet n'est pas particulièrement facile à traiter. Il s'agit en effet d'une matière explosive qui suscite trop souvent de fortes réactions émotives, alors qu'on aborde avec un maximum de détachement un esprit d'analyse permettant de bien comprendre les subtilités et l'essentiel de la problématique. C'est dans ce sens que j'aborde mon sujet. D'entrée de jeu, je précise que je ne suis pas un spécialiste des questions linguistiques. Mes remarques sont simplement celles d'un observateur et d'un participant du monde des affaires.

questions linguistiques ont été et sont encore un écueil auquel se sont brisés bien des rêves de relations commerciales entre les peuples fondateurs de la Confédération canadienne. Des domaines scolaires ou publics, le monde s'est maintenant déplacé vers le monde des affaires. Je préciserais tout de suite que si l'on veut avoir une opinion convenable de ce qui s'y passe à cet égard, il est indispensable à mon avis d'avoir recours à la notion de langue des organisations plutôt qu'à celle de langue des affaires. Les organisations, j'entends là ou les langues dans la direction et la gestion d'une entreprise, ministère ou d'un organisme, tandis que la langue d'affaires fait référence aux communications avec les clients. Comme on le voit, ces deux expressions recouvrent des réalités totalement différentes.

le répète : il est encore plus urgent d'agir que ce ne l'était en 1965 que les commissaires ont voulu nous

Si la conscience populaire québécoise a repoussé temporairement la tentation du séparatisme, de l'affrontement, l'unité nationale reste en suspens. Je

à la table de conférence. C'est la seule façon d'avancer réellement. Bien sûr, cela exigera dans bien des cas des changements de mentalité et d'attitude. Mais la situation politique de 1982

RÉSUMÉ DES DISCUSSIONS
Deuxième séance

d'aboutissement avant les années 90. Il est un degré de bilinguisme correspondant aux aspirations des Canadiens.

Un autre participant a emboîté le pas, affirmant que les propositions revenaient à une formule de pas à pas plutôt tortueuse, qui ne produirait pas de transformation positive. Mr. Robertson a rétorqué que cette interprétation reposait sur un léger malentendu concernant son allocation d'ouverture. Il reconnaissait que les institutions actuelles en matière de langues officielles devraient être maintenues, qu'il faudrait en ajouter de nouvelles et qu'il faudrait exercer certaines pressions pour accélérer la réforme. Par contre, il ne faudrait pas trop abuser des pressions, car il y aurait un grand risque de réaction, surtout dans l'Ouest. Même en l'absence d'efforts sérieux, certaines réorientations pourraient se faire, notamment dans le domaine de la dotation impériale. Il va de soi que ces changements entraîneraient certaines conséquences sur le plan politique.

Après un échange d'idées sur le rôle de l'Ontario et la nécessité d'insister sur les langues officielles, Tom Symons, coprésident du colloque, a résumé les discussions et aourné la séance en faisant ressortir que l'iceberg se déplace lentement, mais qu'il se déplace dans la bonne direction.

permis de rapporter les effets de ces mesures sur la minorité francophone de l'Ontario.

D'autres participants ont alimenté le débat sur l'opposition entre l'urgence de la situation et l'étapisme. Si ce processus se déroule trop lentement, il déshumanise, affirme un intervenant, ajoutant qu'il aboutit en fin de compte à l'érosion irréversible de la communauté minoritaire. Une autre personne a rappelé à l'auditoire les problèmes parallèles que connaît la communauté anglophone du Québec, pendant qu'une troisième craignait le scepticisme que cette stratégie peut entraîner.

Max Yalden a souligné que l'étapisme doit absolument avoir un objet et qu'il doit être empreint d'un sentiment d'urgence. Il a aussi fait ressortir une contradiction manifeste puisque, si la minorité est directement touchée par le bilinguisme, c'est la majorité qui décide de la réussite ou de l'échec de la réforme linguistique. Comme bien souvent les minorités ne se battent pas pour leurs droits, peut-être faudrait-il que la majorité se donne des buts plus exigeants.

Un autre intervenant a demandé que l'on n'attache pas trop d'importance au terme « étapisme ». La cause récente portée devant les tribunaux à propos des dispositions linguistiques de la Charte des droits, intervenue peu après sa promulgation, semble indiquer que les progrès sont plus rapides que prévu.

Un homme d'affaires a contesté la conclusion de Gordon Robertson que le défi linguistique des années 80 est de consolider les gains obtenus et de ne pas attendre

L'ancien commissaire aux langues officielles, M. Keith Spicer, a ouvert le débat en constatant que les participants venaient juste d'entendre l'idée classique que se fait l'Ontario de la réforme linguistique. Étant donné que l'action de cette province en la matière a des effets déterminants sur la crédibilité de la réforme linguistique, la politique d'étapisme de l'Ontario pourrait ne pas suffire, a signalé M. Spicer. Commentant une présentation antérieure, il a déclaré que, même s'il était bon pour un participant de militer en faveur de la réforme, il faudrait peut-être faire des nuances et chercher à comprendre le point de vue de la majorité linguistique. Il a ajouté que les termes et expressions employés dans les dossiers affectés au Canada devaient être les plus concrets possible pour que les Canadiens saisissent clairement les buts visés c'est-à-dire le respect entre les deux communautés linguistiques.

Répondant à la question d'un participant, M. Gordon Robertson a alors expliqué sa déclaration antérieure voulant que le Commissaire aux langues officielles dispose d'une nouvelle arme avec la Charte des droits. Ceci voulait dire que les droits linguistiques pourraient désormais être défendus en court, et non que les tribunaux avaient été mis au service du Commissaire. M. Robertson ne savait pourtant pas où les minorités trouveraient les fonds nécessaires pour défendre leurs droits en justice.

Le participant suivant a fait une distinction entre la formule du pas à pas et celle de l'étapisme, la première étant plus délibérée, en ce qu'elle met à profit des retards constructifs. Son expérience personnelle lui a alors

Il me semble que c'est primordial pour établir la crédibilité des solutions auxquelles nous travaillons, et auxquelles vous avez vous-même, M. Robertson, contribué dans les années 60 et 70. Il le fait pour sortir indemnes des consultations électorales du Québec. Je vous le dis, parce que la question se pose quotidiennement pour moi. C'est grave, c'est urgent. Tous les jours, je dois retourner au Québec, non seulement pour expliquer ce que je fais à l'échelle nationale, mais aussi pour me justifier aux yeux d'une majorité de mes concitoyens québécois. Ouvrons les yeux des Anglophones qui ont des responsabilités immédiates dans ce débat. Il faut agir sur-le-champ, pas dans deux ou dans quatre ans, mais le plus tôt possible. Dans cette optique, la prochaine conférence constitutionnelle m'apparaît capitale.

Sensibilisation des Anglophones
Si, pour certains, j'ai joué les *jeanne d'Arc* dans l'administration fédérale, c'était pour montrer à mes compatriotes que, malgré tout, le flambeau n'allait pas s'éteindre. Mais des *jeanne d'Arc*, il en faut pour que la guerre sainte reste aux frontières, sans elles, j'ai l'impression que les relations risquent d'être plus difficiles. Il est d'ailleurs dans l'intérêt de nos adversaires qu'il n'y ait plus personne de cet acabit ou qu'elles n'aient plus d'armes. Ma grande préoccupation est d'arriver à déterminer comment les provinces canadiennes et leurs gouvernements peuvent eux aussi se mettre en branle ou, en d'autres termes, comment ils parviendront à faire prendre conscience à mes concitoyens anglophones qu'il y a bel et bien crise, qu'il est urgent de reprendre le flambeau — encore plus pour eux que pour les Francophones. Comme l'écrivait Jean-Pierre Proulx dans un éditorial du *Devoir* intitulé *Sous le coup de l'émotion* : « L'adhésion des premiers ministres provinciaux à la Charte constitutionnelle ne constituera jamais rien d'autre que de la poudre aux yeux tant qu'ils n'auront pas fait la démonstration concrète de leur volonté d'agir. Dans une bonne moitié des provinces canadiennes, celle-ci reste encore entièrement à faire. » Cela revient à dire que si tout le poids de la nouvelle constitution doit être porté par les Québécois francophones, nous avons failli à la tâche.

Il faut que les provinces anglophones posent des gestes à la fois concrets

Je reviens à la charge. Il est évident que le mandat du comité doit être large. On ne pourra l'institution servir si à pour seule mission d'établir un rapport du Commissaire aux langues officielles, puis que le rôle de l'État consiste à vérifier l'application d'une loi fédérale et à en assurer l'effect. Or, au Canada, l'équilibre linguistique dépasse largement le cadre du fédéral. Il est essentiel que le régime linguistique soit poursuivie, et soit adaptée à la réalité actuelle. Il faut sur les langues officielles, qui nous ont servi bien servis mérite un examen poussé et un profond remaniement. Il faut renforcer le rôle du Commissaire. Il faut consacrer la primauté des dispositions de la Loi afin de clarifier les droits du public et de l'anglais en tant que langues de travail. Il convient d'y ajouter l'obligation d'assurer l'équilibre entre nos deux principaux groupes linguistiques dans la fonction publique et de prévoir des mécanismes administratifs adéquats pour rendre obligatoire la dotation linguistique.

de Québécois, j'appartiens à la génération qui, me semble-t-il, va écrire une page d'histoire, puisqu'elle va devoir prochainement redéfinir son allégeance au Canada. Voilà pourquoi je lance un cri d'alarme pressant !

La Charte des droits

J'ai participé très directement à l'élaboration de la nouvelle Charte des droits et j'assiste régulièrement aux débats concernant nos deux principales communautés linguistiques. Alors croyez-moi, si les choses se poursuivaient comme on le dit populairement « petit train va loin », c'est-à-dire au rythme des années 70, je crains que le nombre de Québécois ayant voté en faveur d'une négociation ou d'une nouvelle association avec le Canada en 1980 — ils représentaient 40 pour cent des suffrages — n'augmentât vraiment et que la prochaine consultation électorale dans cette province, prévue d'ici deux ou trois ans, ne pèse lourd dans la balance canadienne. Bien sûr, comme le disais précédemment

M. Wells, la crise économique joue, si je peux dire, en notre faveur. En effet, aujourd'hui, dans les discussions sur l'unité nationale, le chômage, l'inflation, les fermietures d'usines, les faillites commerciales et toutes les calamités qui nous affligent militent largement pour le regroupement. Le climat ambiant amène plusieurs Québécois, dont les Francophones, à reléguer au second plan, ne serait-ce que momentanément, la question fondamentale qui nous occupe. Taxis-moi, si vous le voulez, de cynisme, le fait est que, en tant qu'homme politique, je dois être rélu si je veux continuer à agir sur la société dans laquelle je vis. N'empêche que si nous comptons trop sur la situation présente pour nous dispenser de faire le nécessaire, nous finirons par pratiquer la politique de l'autruche.

L'arrêt Deschênes

J'aimerais vous parler du jugement du juge Deschênes. Je connais bien ce magistrat, parce que j'ai fait partie en 1976 des Canadiens qui se sont rendus devant lui pour évaluer les répercussions de la Loi sur les langues officielles, à laquelle vous avez contribué. Je ne suis nullement là pour faire votre procès, mais j'essaie d'évaluer avec vous les effets réels de cet outil

sur notre avenir immédiat. Je visais alors un double but.

D'une part, m'assurer de la suprématie du principe de l'égalité linguistique et, d'autre part, voir son application à l'échelle nationale afin de cerner les obligations strictes imparties au gouvernement fédéral. Je me souviens fort bien qu'il nous a fallu six mois pour déterminer que le principe de l'égalité linguistique englobait également les droits à la langue de travail et à un certain équilibre dans la fonction publique. Comme vous le savez, c'était loin d'être clair dans l'énoncé de la Loi sur les langues officielles, notamment dans l'article 2, si bien que l'on se demandait même si celui-ci était impératif ou purement indicatif.

Vous avez raison de dire que l'on a beaucoup progressé depuis 1976. Mais les efforts n'ont été consentis, il faut le dire, qu'en raison du climat de conflit qui régnait alors. Ce qui est dangereux aujourd'hui, c'est qu'il y en a qui commencent à « se tanner » de faire toutes les concessions, et en particulier la minorité, parce que c'est toujours à elle qu'incombe la vigilance, comme vous l'avez souligné. En bien, cette minorité peut s'exprimer politiquement, contrairement à l'Ontario où elle ne constitue que 6 pour cent de la population.

Si ce groupe ne menace pas la stabilité du gouvernement canadien, quel qu'il soit, il peut, au Québec, non seulement y déséquilibrer le pouvoir, mais aussi mettre en échec l'unité du pays tout entier. Il me semble donc de la plus haute urgence que nous modifions sans délai le fond de la Loi sur les langues officielles et ses mécanismes, ainsi que l'application des dispositions de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés. Il est en effet un peu paradoxal que les premiers à faire les frais de cette Charte, que nous avons voulue la plus ouverte et la plus large possible, et cela de concert avec tous nos collègues de la Chambre des communes et du Sénat, soit encore la minorité francophone. Il convient de constater que le premier jugement d'importance nationale qui ait été rendu en vertu de la Charte émane de la Cour supérieure du Québec.

Or, même si la majorité des Québécois acceptent volontiers, me semble-t-il, le contenu du jugement — comme moi-même j'ai souhaité que ces d'inhérents soient appliqués le plus et, d'autre part, voir son application possible au Québec —, ce sont en fait les Francophones du Québec qui, symboliquement, sont les perdants du rapport aux droits de la majorité canadiens.

Le Comité mixte spécial du Sénat et de la Chambre des communes Vous avez été, M. Robertson, greffier du Conseil exécutif du Canada. Vous connaissez donc la somme des préoccupations qu'entretiennent quotidiennement les hommes politiques et sous-ministres, préoccupations qui évoluent au gré de l'actualité. Ainsi, bien souvent, la question de l'équité linguistique, du droit à la langue de travail, à l'égalité linguistique dans son sens le plus large est, si j'ose dire, ramenée au niveau d'un souci administratif parmi d'autres. Lorsqu'il a pas d'urgence, ces problèmes ne retiennent pas plus que de raison notre attention. C'est pour cette raison que j'ai proposé la création d'un comité mixte du Sénat et de la Chambre, que ce dossier reste d'actualité, qu'il soit une préoccupation constante de l'Administration. Il nous a fallu qu'années de revendications auprès du gouvernement canadien, aussi bien libéral que conservateur, pour obtenir de cause. J'étais convaincu que ma démarche ne nuitrait pas à l'unité nationale et qu'en mettant la question linguistique à l'ordre du jour, j'aurais à convaincre mes compatriotes francophones qu'il s'agissait, pour nous, d'un objectif fondamental.

Il est certain que ce nouvel organisme peut présenter des inconvénients officiels et ses mécanismes, ainsi que l'application des dispositions de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés. Il est en effet un peu paradoxal que les premiers à faire les frais de cette Charte, que nous avons voulue la plus ouverte et la plus large possible, et cela de concert avec tous nos collègues de la Chambre des communes et du Sénat, soit encore la minorité francophone. Il convient de constater que le premier jugement d'importance nationale qui ait été rendu en vertu de la Charte émane de la Cour supérieure du Québec.

manqué à l'engagement des premiers ministres Robarts et Davis. L'administration ontarienne reconnaît que les francophones de la province ont le droit de recevoir l'information et les services de leur gouvernement dans leur langue maternelle. Ils ont aussi le droit à une égalité statutaire dans les domaines linguistique, scolaire et autres. Je crois que nous devons parler des droits des Franco-Ontariens bien qu'ils ne soient garantis par aucune législation provinciale.

Je n'hésiterais pas à défendre énergiquement la politique ontarienne. Je vous fais grâce des détails, mais je tiens à souligner que le climat en Ontario ne ressemble en rien à celui de la scène fédérale ou même de certaines autres provinces. Nos progrès, nous les devons à l'étapisme. Tous ne seront pas d'accord avec moi, mais si notre politique avait été autre, nous ne serions pas en mesure d'offrir aux Franco-Ontariens des services dans leur langue maternelle. À mon avis, la stratégie étapiste est celle qui permettra à l'Ontario d'améliorer et d'élargir sa gamme de services en langue française.

tion linguistique du pays.

de bois verticaux, sur lesquels ils inscrivaient le signe de la tribu ou son emblème distinctif. » J'y pensais en arrivant de l'aéroport tandis que nous longions cette rivière. Je n'essayais évidemment pas de repérer les tombes que Samuel de Champlain avait vues, mais le souvenir de ce grand homme et son influence subsistent dans ces murs.

Ce n'est cependant pas en raison du passé, mais des réalités actuelles, que j'ai regretté que l'allocation de M. Robertson ne soit pas empreinte du sentiment d'urgence que, pour ma part, je ressens vivement. En qualité

défenseur de la Loi sur les langues officielles, ne le sera pas moins des droits linguistiques garantis par la Constitution.

Ce qui est congru sur la scène fédérale ne l'est pas nécessairement sur la scène provinciale. En Ontario, les Franco-phones représentent environ six pour cent de la population, il nous est donc impossible de traiter la question linguistique de la même façon que l'administration fédérale qui, dans l'intérêt de l'unité nationale, doit tenir compte des attentes d'une minorité beaucoup plus importante.

En 1971 William Davis s'est engagé, comme l'avait fait en 1967 le premier ministre Robarts, à offrir, dans la mesure du possible, à la population francophone de la province des services dans sa propre langue, et à protéger l'identité linguistique et culturelle des Franco-Ontariens en les dotant d'un système scolaire qui leur est propre. En outre, les cours criminelles et, dans de nombreuses régions, les cours civils offrent maintenant leurs services dans les deux langues officielles.

Dans l'ensemble, ces mesures ont été assez bien accueillies à l'exception des réformes scolaires qui ont provoqué une certaine controverse. Néanmoins, nous avons gagné du terrain et je crois pouvoir affirmer que nous n'avons pas

concrétiser le principe de l'égalité juridique; la deuxième, à supprimer mécanismes mis en place à cette fin se reposer sur les dispositions de la Constitution; et la troisième, à passer suite aux projets déjà mis en œuvre. Je crois que M. Robertson a dit « étapisme », expression employée par le gouvernement ontarien pour décrire sa politique.

Gordon Robertson, l'étapisme a une voie des années 80... l'unité nationale l'exige. Ce n'est pas sans doute que je me rallie à son avis car les que certains d'entre nous aiment voir pointer à l'horizon de nouveaux programmes linguistiques. Toutefois, mes dix années de participation à la réforme linguistique et les éléments que nous aurons à régler dans des années 80 m'incitent à penser que l'étapisme représente le meilleur moyen de consolider les succès et d'accomplir davantage.

gouvernement de l'Ontario, en tant que les mesures qu'il croyait essentielles et en tentant de combler les lacunes mises en lumière par le régime fédéral, s'est toujours efforcé de servir la cause linguistique. Jamais cessé de tendre à l'améliorer. Nous sommes d'avis que l'administration fédérale se doit d'offrir des services bilingues. Le gouvernement de l'Ontario, ardent

omme je désire que cette discussion soit aussi fructueuse que possible, ce n'est pas à titre d'embre du Conseil des ministres du gouvernement fédéral que je m'essayerai à vous, car je ne saurais m'entretenir de déclarations à caractère officiel. Non, l'égalité linguistique au Canada est un sujet qui me tient à coeur, et depuis trop longtemps, que je fasse une démarcation entre mes convictions personnelles et l'absence de mes responsabilités officielles politiques. Si vous le permettez, Monsieur le Président, je livrerai en toute simplicité les réflexions que m'ont suggérées les

commentaires de Serge Joyal

propos de votre éminent invité de cet après-midi.

Je me réjouis d'être chez vous, M. Symons, dans cette région historique où la présence française est réelle. Figurez-vous que la semaine dernière j'étais aux Musées nationaux pour obtenir un avis sur une épithaphe qu'un antiquaire m'offrait et que j'avais du mal à déchiffrer. Et l'on m'a dit : « Vous savez, quand Samuel de Champlain a remonté cette rivière, il a écrit dans ses *relations* qu'il avait vu des tombes et que les Amérindiens s'étaient honorés de leur mémoire de leurs défunts en y plantant des morceaux

qui l'a constitué et son action de creuset mènera presque à coup sûr à une plus grande uniformisation linguistique et culturelle axée sur l'anglais. Une telle bipolarisation linguistique ne se traduira cependant pas par deux unilinguismes territoriaux. Nous avons en effet réussi à donner à nos minorités de langues officielles des droits plus complets et mieux assurés que dans le passé, et supérieurs à ce qui existe dans la plupart des pays multilingues. On ne peut cependant pas dire qu'une proportion sensiblement plus importante de notre population soit devenue effectivement bilingue. Cela étant, l'unité du pays exige toujours impérieusement que la fonction publique fédérale dispense des services en français et en anglais, assure la participation équitable des deux principales collectivités et garantisse l'égalité réelle des deux langues. En d'autres mots, la carte linguistique du Canada justifiera de façon encore plus évidente dans quelque temps les exigences créées par la nouvelle Constitution. Il ne faudrait donc pas perdre une partie du terrain déjà gagné dans la fonction publique fédérale.

Il nous faut pousser à la roue

Pourquoi alors, me direz-vous, me suis-je prononcé contre de nouvelles initiatives prépondérantes visant à régler le problème de la « langue de travail » ? J'ai admis que l'égalité n'était pas atteinte dans la fonction publique et encore moins dans les sociétés de la Couronne.

Deux grandes raisons veulent que nous proclamions et établissons le principe de l'égalité linguistique dans le secteur public au Canada. L'une est la justice vis-à-vis la population francophone, l'autre est le soutien et le renforcement de l'unité nationale. L'injustice de l'histoire, dont l'injustice dans la fonction publique a été une composante jusqu'à très récemment, a porté atteinte à l'image du Canada et a mis en péril son unité. Nous vivons maintenant une situation beaucoup plus équitable qu'il y a vingt ans. Néanmoins, nous n'avons pas encore atteint l'entière justice ou la pleine égalité. La question qui se pose maintenant est de savoir si les mesures destinées à instaurer une justice parfaite ne risquent pas de créer un nouveau danger tout aussi grand. S'y ajoute une interrogation : peut-on atteindre l'idéal dans un domaine comme celui-là ? Peut-être que non. Il se pourrait aussi que les minorités soient, hélas, appelées à porter, dans des limites tolérables, un fardeau plus lourd que les majorités et à faire plus que leur part de compromis quand la perfection s'obstine à ne pas être de ce monde.

Commentaires de Tom Wells



Gordon Robertson, Canadien éminent, a brossé un tableau vivant de l'évolution linguistique de l'administration fédérale, depuis les années 40, où son caractère essentiellement anglais était tenu pour acquis, jusqu'à nos jours.

M. Robertson fait valoir que d'importants progrès ont marqué cette période. Non seulement la gamme des services offerts dans les deux langues officielles s'est-elle élargie, mais depuis l'adoption de la Loi sur les langues officielles nombreux sont les objectifs

Notre réalité géographique et linguistique et les trop gains du bilinguisme dans le Canada anglais me conduisent à penser que des efforts accrus en vue d'imposer à court terme l'égalité en matière de « langue de travail » se feraient plutôt par des injustices et des rancoeurs qui feraient plus de mal que de bien à l'unité nationale.

Personne ne peut être totalement sûr de l'inévitabilité de l'étapisme, mais j'ai l'impression qu'il serait plus sage de compter sur un tel phénomène que sur quelque nouveau programme visant à atteindre rapidement la perfection. J'ai fait allusion à l'émigration d'un grand intérêt, au Canada anglais, pour l'instruction des enfants en français, mais on a aussi observé un net recul de la résistance entêtée à apprendre une deuxième langue. Jusqu'à maintenant, le gouvernement provincial n'a mis de l'avant des politiques énergiques ou innovatrices pour donner plus d'efficacité à l'aide que fournit le gouvernement fédéral pour l'enseignement de la langue seconde. Peut-être le changement d'étude du public amènera-t-il les provinces et les écoles à introduire des programmes permettant d'atteindre un leur niveau de bilinguisme que les systèmes d'éducation du Canada anglais n'ont permis de le faire jusqu'à maintenant. Avec un plus grand nombre de programmes d'insertion française et une résistance moins entêtée, il se peut bien que nous soyons témoins vers la fin du siècle d'une égalité réelle dans le domaine de la « langue de travail » au sein de la fonction publique.

Si nous y parvenons, cette réalisation, doublée des changements profonds apportés au système d'éducation du Québec, laisserait subsister peu de doutes sur la possibilité d'atteindre progressivement une participation équilibrée des groupes linguistiques dans les secteurs de la fonction publique où elle fait actuellement défaut. Pour ce qui est de la langue des services au public, le Commissaire aux langues officielles dispose maintenant de la Charte des droits. Verra, ainsi que les tribunaux, à faire prévaloir les « droits des Canadiens.

La fonction publique fédérale ne sera plus, linguistiquement, ce qu'elle était avant 1969. Nous devons continuer à pousser à la roue sans jamais perdre de vue que certains délais peuvent valoir le coup, et que souvent le mieux est l'ennemi du bien. La solution pourrait être, du moins pour le secteur public, de garder ouvert le « dossier linguistique des années 80 » et de consolider ce qui a déjà été accompli en vue de réalisations finales au cours des années 90.

de la réforme linguistique qui ont atteints.

Quelle est la voie des années 80 ? Gordon Robertson envisage trois hypothèses. La première consiste à multiplier efforts et initiatives en

bilingue ». Le sentiment d'injustice y est déjà très vif vis-à-vis de ce que l'on estime être des limitations indues aux possibilités d'emploi et d'avancement. Pour le moment, une politique linguistique encore plus agressive aurait toutes les chances de réveiller les oppositions et de nous faire perdre plusieurs plumes en matière de compréhension et d'unité nationale.

Les arguments en faveur de la deuxième solution sont séduisants. Avec la Charte des droits, il existe maintenant des dispositions constitutionnelles assurant, pour les langues officielles du Canada, « un statut et des droits et privilèges égaux quant à leur usage » dans toutes les institutions du gouvernement fédéral. De plus, la Charte garantit clairement à tous les Canadiens le droit d'être servis dans la langue officielle de leur choix dans tous les bureaux ou sièges de l'administration fédérale et partout où existe une « demande importante » ou « raisonnable » compte tenu de la vocation de ces bureaux. Les Canadiens pourront avoir recours aux tribunaux s'ils considèrent avoir été lésés dans leurs droits constitutionnels. Les gouvernements, les ministres et les fonctionnaires sauront que la Constitution leur crée des obligations en matière linguistique, chose qui ne s'était jamais vue au Canada. S'y ajoutent la Loi sur les langues officielles et l'œil vigilant du Commissaire. Compte tenu de tout cela, est-il nécessaire de conserver le système complexe que nous avons élaboré, qu'il s'agisse de la planification linguistique ministérielle, de la surveillance exercée par le Conseil du Trésor ou des enquêtes du Comité parlementaire, qu'elles soient périodiques ou permanentes ?

Certains affirmeront sans ambages que le temps est venu de jeter aux orties le régime contraignant et coûteux que nous avons créé. Je doute fort que cela soit sage. Les progrès que nous avons accomplis au cours des dernières années vers l'égalité linguistique n'ont été obtenus que grâce à une détermination politique peu banale et à d'incessantes pressions administratives. Les forces adverses de la commodité, de l'efficacité opérationnelle et de la simple inertie ne vont ni diminuer ni disparaître. Tant qu'elles existeront, l'égalité linguistique, tout comme la liberté, ne survivra qu'au prix d'une vigilance soutenue. Mais comment pourrions-nous l'exercer si nous n'avons pas un système analogue à celui dont nous disposons, avec des normes et des exigences strictes, des vérifications et des rapports sur les réussites ou les échecs. Les dispositions de la Constitution nous seront d'un grand secours. Toutefois, la loi et les tribunaux, seuls, ne peuvent intervenir dans les cas où des politiques et des programmes particuliers sont essentiels à l'atteinte de résultats. Les Franco-Manitobains pourraient témoigner des lacunes possibles des dispositions constitutionnelles !

Nous sommes en train de traverser la crise qu'évoquait la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Il n'est pas moins évident que le Canada « profond » restera essentiellement ce qu'il est en matière linguistique. Nos deux langues officielles continueront à dominer dans leurs régions respectives, le français devenant plus certainement et plus totalement la langue du Québec. Avec le déclin de l'immigration, peu susceptible de prendre fin, le Canada anglophone devrait voir se diluer la mosaïque

un domaine relié à la nature profonde du pays et qui se, comme tous les autres, l'adoption de lignes directrices, L'aigreur et l'opposition du milieu des 70 ont diminué au sein de la fonction publique ; toutefois téméraire d'avancer qu'elles ont disparu, rien à l'intérieur de l'administration qu'à l'extérieur, nous prenne l'allure d'une réalité politique non déclinons-nous donc maintenant ? Quels devaient être les objectifs et nos orientations pour les années 80 ?

possibles pour les années 80

Avons là, à mon avis, trois hypothèses. La première traiterait d'un nouvel effort pour concrétiser dans l'avenir le principe de « l'égalité » des langues officielles, particulier en éliminant les graves déséquilibres qui existent dans le domaine de la « langue de travail ». Dans une hypothèse nous pourrions estimer que la Constitution de la législation et les usages offrent aujourd'hui suffisamment d'appuis pour que la réalisation de l'égalité puisse être des mécanismes qui ont été mis en place à cette fin. La deuxième possibilité : nous déciderions que certains de la structure actuelle, notamment en matière de contrôle, deviendraient une composante permanente de la fonction publique fédérale du Canada.

Enfin, la troisième hypothèse : nous pourrions estimer que la perfection voudrait que l'on intensifie sur le front de la « langue de travail ». Je doute soit sage. Je doute surtout que l'on puisse aboutir à des résultats compatibles avec les risques encourus, que l'on ne va sans doute continuer à le faire, le Québec même temps, la dominance anglophone se poursuit

traverse dans le reste du Canada. Les nouveaux droits nationaux en matière d'enseignement vont bien donner à nos minorités une protection qu'elles n'ont pas. Dans de nombreuses régions du Canada, on perçoit un intérêt des plus encourageants pour les programmes d'« immersion française » destinés aux enfants de parents anglophones. Si le phénomène persiste, nous apparaitrons au fil des ans un bon nombre de bilingues effectivement bilingues, et dont une partie sera à la fonction publique fédérale. Toutefois, pour les qui viennent, je crois qu'il ne faut pas s'attendre à ce que le Canada anglais se jette à corps perdu dans le message du français. Il semble avoir atteint en ce son rythme de croisière. Il serait donc utopique de dangereux de prendre des mesures destinées à lever sans plus de délai à une possibilité généralisée d'aller dans les deux langues officielles dans les ministères. Cela nécessiterait des mesures et des programmes très difficiles la nomination ou la promotion d'hommes par ailleurs qualifiés venant de l'ouest du pays, en fait, de partout ailleurs que de la « ceinture

angue et le secteur public. Autrefois bastion anglo-saxon, la Fonction publique érale s'est-elle radicalement transformée au cours de la dernière décennie point de dire que l'égalité entre nos deux groupes linguistiques y est chose acquise ? n, répondent unanimement les figures de proue de cette séance, Gordon Robertson, sident de l'Institut de recherches politiques, Tom Wells, ministre des Affaires rgouvernementales de l'Ontario, et Serge Joyal, secrétaire d'Etat dans gouvernement canadien. Que faire alors ? Forcer le jeu ou agir avec prudence ?

s principes et l'art du possible

DON ROBERTSON

Max Valden a fait état des progrès de la réforme linguistique dans l'ensemble du pays. La même constatation s'impose au sujet de la fonction publique. Afin de mieux déterminer où nous en sommes tenant, il y a sans doute lieu de retracer son passé.

années 40 et 50

nd je suis entré à la fonction publique canadienne, il arante et un ans, sa nature et sa mentalité gardaient rque de ses origines. En matière de langues, les années 50 étaient sans souci et rien dans la situation ne poussait examen. . . . Bref, la question ne se posait tout simple- pas. Comme il n'y avait pas de problèmes de langues, ractère essentiellement anglais de l'administration ale relevait tout autant de la nature des choses que de la gravité. Mettre en doute le bien-fondé de l'un, vérité de l'autre, était tout aussi impensable.

un article publié dans la revue *Options*, et inspiré par urage, *The Ottawa Man*, le professeur J. L. Granatstein, avoir noté l'absence totale des Canadiens français i les mandarins fédéraux de l'avant et de l'après-guerre, ait ce qui suit :

Non seulement les Québécois n'étaient pas représentés sommet de l'échelle, mais ils n'avaient aucun pouvoir x échelons inférieurs. Un rapport sur le personnel du ministère des Finances notait qu'au 8 janvier 1940 le cabinet du sous-ministre ne comptait pas un seul Canadien Direction de la comptabilité et 17 sur 147 à celle de administration. Plus de 12 ans plus tard, en 1953, l'étude John Porter sur l'élite bureaucratique fédérale révélait les Francophones n'occupaient que 13,4 pour cent s fonctions-clés, alors même que le pays était dirigé puis cinq ans par un premier ministre de langue française. »

Et si peu courant d'entendre quelqu'un parler français milieux au cours de ces années, que cela faisait

tout de suite dresser l'oreille. À l'extérieur du Québec, les administrations provinciales ne savaient rien du français, qu'il s'agisse de la langue ou des fonctionnaires. Les sociétés de la Couronne fonctionnaient comme si le français n'existait tout simplement pas. On croyait avoir fait ce qu'il fallait en libellant en français la monnaie et les timbres ! Ça suffisait comme ça. . . .

Il est presque incroyable qu'une telle situation ait pu exister dans un pays où près du tiers de la population était francophone et le plus souvent unilingue. Pourtant, cela devait durer encore vingt ans, jusqu'à ce qu'on admette que le bilinguisme constituait un fait national important auquel il fallait prêter une certaine attention après l'avoir si totalement négligé jusque-là. Le caractère de nos institutions publiques, dont les établissements d'enseignement hors du Québec, reflétait la conviction tacite de la majorité anglophone que les Canadiens français pouvaient être et seraient « français » au Québec, mais que le Canada était « anglais » en pensée, en paroles et en action. Cette conviction était si bien ancrée, et les protestations formulées au Manitoba et dans l'Ontario à propos des droits linguistiques et des écoles au début du siècle avaient été si peu productives, qu'il n'y eut plus de réaction soutenue et solide des Canadiens français jusqu'à la « Révolution tranquille » des années 60 au Québec.

Les tâtonnements de la réforme linguistique

En ce qui concerne la fonction publique fédérale, le résultat le plus important du rapport de la Commission B.B. fut l'adoption, en 1969, de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* qui reconnaissait une égalité statutaire au français et à l'anglais dans les institutions fédérales et le droit du public d'être servi dans la langue officielle de son choix. Pour l'époque, ces idées étaient proprement révolutionnaires. Leur matérialisation allait être longue et douloureuse.

De toute évidence, ni le service au public en français ni l'égalité statutaire ne pouvaient exister sans une participation équitable des Francophones dans la fonction publique. Tout aussi manifestement, « l'égalité » impliquait que les franc-

L'intervenant suivant a prôné la création de districts bilingues. La Commission B.B., a-t-il dit, avait très bien pressenti leur nécessité, mais il est difficile de déterminer le pourcentage d'Anglophones ou de Francophones justifiant la formation de tels districts. Il est pourtant impérieux d'en créer pour traiter équitablement les groupes minoritaires.

Pour bien faire, il faudrait pourtant que le Québec cesse d'être un district bilingue *de facto*, tandis que d'autres régions du Canada devraient devenir des districts bilingues. Cette démarche se heurtera probablement à de nombreux obstacles politiques, mais un recul ne donnerait pas non plus les résultats psychologiques souhaitables.

On a ensuite fait observer que dans beaucoup de collectivités canadiennes, le français n'a pas de place réelle en dehors des groupes francophones.

Un intervenant du monde universitaire s'est demandé si le principe des districts bilingues voulait encourager la population à devenir bilingue ou pousser les fonctionnaires à instaurer le bilinguisme dans l'appareil gouvernemental. Bien des gens commencent à comprendre, a-t-il ajouté, qu'ils doivent devenir bilingues pour travailler ou progresser dans leur carrière.

À cela, Max Valden a répondu que la notion de districts bilingues a déjà eu des répercussions considérables. Bien que le gouvernement n'ait pas choisi de les proclamer officiellement, il a émis des directives en vertu

desquelles certaines régions ont été déclarées bilingues, à savoir des régions où les hauts fonctionnaires doivent obligatoirement connaître les deux langues officielles. Les règlements arrêtés par le gouvernement se répètent non seulement sur la fonction publique, mais sur les universités et les autres établissements d'enseignement. À preuve, la grande popularité des programmes d'immersion, notamment en Alberta.

Un autre participant a alors fait valoir que les districts bilingues entraînent trois grands types de problèmes: le premier touche la délimitation de la région, le second, la réaction à ces districts dans des parties importantes du Canada anglophone et le troisième, Conclusion, s'il la réaction du Québec. Un conseil consultatif ferait une erreur politique terrible.

Une autre personnalité universitaire a constaté que dans de nombreuses agglomérations du nord de l'Ontario, la survie économique de la ville est prioritaire, tout le reste important peu. Alors que selon lui, le bilinguisme n'y serait pas très en demande, l'initiative devrait venir des gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux, qui assumeraient la responsabilité du bilinguisme dans ces secteurs.

Un autre participant a dit qu'il lui paraissait inutile de ressusciter la question déjà enterrée des districts bilingues qui n'ont joué d'aucune faveur au Canada, sauf au Manitoba et au Nouveau-Brunswick. Le suivant était tout à fait de cet avis, renchérissant qu'il

y a problème lorsque le gouvernement et la région ne s'entendent pas sur la délimitation du district. Une formule de rechange pourrait tenir dans la création de centres administratifs bilingues. Si le gouvernement fédéral décidait d'en instaurer un au Québec, celui-ci pourrait dispenser ses services dans deux langues aux diverses collectivités. Le coprésident du colloque, M. Jean de Grandpré, a conclu en constatant que la discussion reflétait assez bien l'attitude de Canadiens vis-à-vis des langues officielles. Personne ne s'est arrêté sur ce que le Canada pourrait faire pour devenir bilingue ou sur les sacrifices qu'exige le maintien de l'unité politique et psychologique. Les échanges ont porté sur la notion de districts bilingues en question pratique, mais fort complexe. Le bilinguisme exige une somme incalculable de compréhension et d'efforts à tous les échelons de la société canadienne.

On ne peut pas non plus prétendre que les personnes qui ont été affectées par la pandémie de COVID-19 ont subi une discrimination en raison de leur origine ethnique ou de leur statut social. Les personnes qui ont été affectées par la pandémie de COVID-19 ont subi une discrimination en raison de leur origine ethnique ou de leur statut social.

Le comité est parvenu à enjoindre les ministres et les sous-ministres à rendre compte de leurs actions au chapitre de la politique linguistique et il a efficacement incité les organismes et les ministères fédéraux à s'atteler à la tâche. Toutefois, je crois que, dans l'avenir immédiat, la meilleure façon pour lui de faire avancer les choses serait de fournir une tribune favorable à la résolution des conflits et à la réal-

« Nous laissons au Comité le soin d'en décider. Nous recommandons plus précisément que le gouvernement en conseil désigne ces commissions, sur avis conforme du commissaire aux langues officielles, suivant les critères de la demande ou du nombre, ou des deux.

Première séance

Même si les échanges de vues ont porté sur les distincts bilinguisme, le premier intervenant a tenu à souligner que les défis liés à l'égalité contextuelle affectif et psychologique dans lequel vivent les individus. Le bilinguisme ne peut être instauré que de façon progressive. Les contraintes en ce domaine (l'apprentissage d'une deuxième et parfois d'une troisième langue) ne donnent rien : il faut que les gens soient motivés. Il convient aussi d'insister davantage sur les stratégies régionalistes et les techniques de motivation que sur des mesures essentiellement légales. Une des gagesures de cette décennie, selon lui, sera de faire comprendre à tous les Canadiens qu'ils ne vivent pas dans un creuset où les différentes nationalités sont assimilées.

L'égalité linguistique étant un élément essentiel de la Confédération, la population commence, il me semble, à se rendre compte du fait qu'on ne peut lui assigner un ordre de priorité arbitraire pour ensuite la comparer à l'atténuation des disparités régionales ou au renforcement de notre défense nationale, par exemple. Vu leur importance indéniable, toutes ces questions exigent une attention soutenue.

L'évolution de l'opinion publique

Les programmes et les mesures qui, il y a quelques années à peine, paraissent si nouveaux et menaçants sont désormais tenus pour acquis. Il semble d'ailleurs que le public ait parfois à cet égard une opinion plus sensée que les politiciens. Songeons par exemple à la controverse suscitée par les revendications des Gens de l'air en 1976. Je pense que le gouvernement fédéral, et même les partis d'opposition, ont craint à tort l'opinion publique à ce sujet. Je me souviens d'avoir vu, peu après le conflit, les résultats d'une enquête selon laquelle la plupart des Canadiens de l'Ouest trouvaient tout à fait normale l'idée d'autoriser les pilotes francophones à communiquer en français, au Québec, avec les contrôleurs de la circulation aérienne de langue française. De plus, rappe-

lons que l'adoption, en 1979, par le gouvernement de l'époque, du rapport Chouinard n'a pas provoqué la moindre protestation au sein du public.

L'institut Gallup et les divers partis politiques qui commandent les sondages d'opinion conviendraient certes du fait que si, jadis, certains Canadiens avouaient spontanément leurs craintes et leurs préoccupations au sujet de la politique linguistique fédérale, personne de nos jours ne dit s'en inquiéter. Selon un sondage Gallup effectué en juin dernier, 26 pour cent des répondants se sont déclarés bilingues et 47 pour cent ont souhaité pouvoir apprendre les deux langues à l'école. Mais 25 ou 26 pour cent n'avaient aucune opinion à ce sujet ou s'en fichaient carrément.

Le revirement d'attitude et l'intérêt nouveau qu'ont manifestés certains parents, élèves et enseignants pour l'apprentissage de la langue seconde, dont a parlé Max Valden, prouvent

bien que le milieu est désormais beaucoup plus réceptif aux questions de langue qu'il y a quelques années.

Le bilinguisme et

Le nationalisme québécois

Mais ne nous бергons pas d'illusions. Il y a bel et bien des difficultés qui nous guettent et il est dans notre intérêt de les reconnaître et de les examiner. Beaucoup d'Anglophones avaient cru entendre M. Trudeau déclarer au début de ce grand branle-bas que s'ils acceptaient l'application au gouvernement fédéral et partout au pays de la nouvelle politique linguistique, le nationalisme québécois disparaîtrait.

Quels furent donc leur étonnement et leur chagrin de découvrir que, malgré l'expansion du bilinguisme dans les autres régions du Canada, le nationalisme dans cette province ne faisait que s'intensifier.

Je ne voudrais certes pas prendre une attitude cavalière à cet égard. Les mesures prises par l'administration fédérale en vue de réaliser l'égalité linguistique ont servi, selon moi, à gagner du temps en faveur de la Confédération et à empêcher une rupture terrible au sein du pays. Je suis également persuadé que tout affaiblissement de ce but jouerait fatalement, au Québec, à l'encontre de la Confédération. Un grand nombre d'Anglophones, à mon avis, le pressentent déjà.

L'opinion anglophone

Cependant, ai-je tort de prétendre que ni un régime fédéral bilingue ni la reconnaissance des droits linguistiques des minorités francophones hors Québec ne répondent aux aspirations des nationalistes québécois ? Je n'inclus pas dans ce groupe ceux dont l'objectif avoué est la séparation, mais uniquement ceux d'entre eux (majoritaires j'espère) qui sont fédéralistes. Les hommes politiques et les médias devront s'efforcer de distinguer les deux questions de l'égalité linguistique dans l'ensemble du pays et du nationalisme québécois, parce qu'elles continueront de nous préoccuper et qu'elles doivent être réglées.

Un autre nuage à l'horizon est le fait que les Anglophones constatent d'une part la bilinguisation croissante du

Modification à la Loi sur les langues officielles

Voici un fait éloquent : en 13 ans, le gouvernement fédéral n'a pas adopté une seule modification à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Bien sûr, il a pris en 1973 la Résolution parlementaire sur les questions linguistiques et celles-ci ont occupé une part importante du récent débat constitutionnel. Cependant, les modifications législatives que le Commissaire aux langues officielles préconise dans ses rapports annuels semblent tomber dans un sourd.

Nous avons donc beaucoup à faire pour maintenir le consensus qui, dix ans de lents et pénibles progrès à se réaliser. Nous devons persister les Canadiens de ne pas abandonner l'idéal du bilinguisme, mais plutôt le poursuivre avec dynamisme et avec énergie. Nous devons persister à se réaliser. Nous devons persister à se réaliser. Nous devons persister à se réaliser.

Il ne fait aucun doute que le programme législatif du Parlement très chargé, mais j'ai la forte impression que le gouvernement s'est simplement abstenu de proposer des amendements, même assez importants, parce qu'il ne voulait pas relancer le débat parlementaire et public sur la signalisation bilingue. Comme Max Valden l'a signalé, pas de proclamation jusqu'ici de la distribution bilingue ni même proposé de de rechange à ceux-ci. Il ne s'agit pas de plus montrer enclin à accepter d'autres mesures préconisées par le Comité mixte. Une des difficultés aux districts bilingues est le fait que le critère semble être de nature à éliminer toute mention de districts bilingues, de lier les parties à une demande importante » et « la

Commentaires de Lowell Murray

ermettez-moi tout d'abord de dire que rien, à mon avis, n'est plus important que la langue d'avenir de notre pays. Bien que nt de vue ne fasse pas l'unanimité en suis pas moins persuadé nombre toujours grandissant

stant un article de la Loi 101, seulement regretter qu'un suffisamment large n'ait pu abli avec le consentement des sés. Dans les autres provinces, ds avec quelque impatience de st qui sera fait aux requêtes in enseignement en français) s sur la Charte canadienne des libertés, par les autorités scolaires. S'établira-t-il une jurisprudence bord, et éventuellement par les aux. S'établira-t-il une jurisprudence raisonnablement uniforme et nte sur la notion de « nombre nt » ? On saura alors si la notion té entre les deux groupes au a est viable.

dire, le sort des minorités trait guère rassurant. Du côté phone, les dernières statistiques nent une érosion dans presque les provinces, et du côté anglo-elles révèlent un exode stupé-ers les provinces autres que le ». La situation serait-elle vraie-ont autre si les politiques ntiques avaient été autres ? Les andances s'atténueraient-elles up dans l'avenir par des politiques différentes ?

venons ainsi au premier volet question que j'ai soulevée au : « Faisons-nous assez pour ir les droits linguistiques ? » Une est certaine : on ne peut ni empê-s Francophones de s'angliciser Angliphones de se déplaçer. dan, une certaine conception ada exige des politiques ntiques qui permettent à chacun entir au moins relativement à comme il est, là où il est.

de personnes estiment que la justice linguistique conditionne l'existence même du Canada. Aussi préoccupante que soit pour nous la conjoncture économique, de plus en plus de Canadiens admettent que l'importance des sujets comme l'inflation, le chômage

les autres provinces.

blablement accentuée l'émigration vers travail, qui n'est pas susceptible, elle, d'une solution simple, aura vraisement, la question de la langue de que l'on peut faire disparaître aisément les aspects vexatoires de la Loi 101, le plan de la culture. Plus encore que coûté très cher à cette province sur causes de nombreux départs, a déjà situation, et qui semble être l'une des même au Québec, une place convenable. Ce qui a été fait pour corriger la que la langue française n'occupe pas, ne pas être d'accord pour constater Dans le monde des affaires, comment

La langue des affaires

expériences ?

ne pas tenter au moins quelques cile. Mais, était-ce une raison pour l'application de la formule était difficile. Mais, était-ce une raison pour plus grand nombre de régions. Certes, grande de services et dans un bien d'assurer une diversité beaucoup plus qu envisagés, avaient pour objet compte, car les districts bilingues, tels Mais nous sommes encore loin du régions administratives bilingues.

Bien sûr, le fédéral a fait un pas dans la bonne direction en établissant des Mais nous sommes encore loin du régions administratives bilingues.

explorée à fond.

Les districts bilingues

Pour y arriver, tout en respectant la prédominance de l'anglais dans presque toutes les provinces et celle du français au Québec, la Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme avait proposé une formule longuement étudiée et mûrie, celle des districts bilingues. Aujourd'hui, le Comité- saire aux langues officielles nous rappelle que la formule n'a jamais été

et les taux d'intérêt ne donne pas le droit de négliger les problèmes linguistiques. Si la réforme en ce domaine se fait plus ou moins rapidement, selon l'époque, il ne saurait être question de la mettre en veilleuse ou de la laisser tomber.

S'ils font malheureusement partie de notre folklore national, ces clichés ont au moins l'avantage de nous rappeler certaines réalités sans pour autant nous détourner de notre objectif. Pour devenir le pays que nous souhaitons, le Canada doit à tout prix se donner des orientations linguistiques générales et déterminées. Aux plus pessimistes, je rappelle la devise de ce prince d'autrefois : « Point n'est besoin d'espérer pour entreprendre, ni de réussir pour persévérer. »

tout, ce n'est pas si important...

guisme est une sorte d'infiltrité culturelle ou même que la langue, après relle ou même que la langue, après

Les clichés ont la vie dure et celui-là, comme d'autres : que beaucoup de minorités françaises n'y tiennent pas vraiment, ou que les anglophones bilingues n'ont pas l'occasion d'utiliser et donc d'entretenir leur connaissance du français, ou encore que le bilinguisme est une sorte d'infiltrité culturelle ou même que la langue, après tout, ce n'est pas si important...

C'est que la réforme se heurte ici à des intérêts bien établis et à des préjugés très enracinés. Encore rationaliser et justifier la résistance au changement. Le Commissaire a fait justice de l'un d'eux : « L'anglais est la langue des affaires. » En fait, le réalisme élémentaire impose d'admettre que l'anglais est la première langue internationale des affaires et qu'il occupe presque toute la place en Amérique du Nord. Il y a des conséquences à cela. Mais il ne s'ensuit aucunement, comme on s'acharne à le répéter, que dans l'ensemble du monde des affaires, l'anglais doit dominer toujours et partout ou même être utilisé presque exclusivement.

effet de l'évolution linguistique des dernières années, c'est au Québec qu'on le trouve surtout, dans l'accroissement très considérable du nombre des jeunes Anglophones qui deviennent bilingues. Il n'est pas difficile d'en déceler la cause : c'est le comportement du groupe majoritaire, du groupe francophone, qui a cessé d'accepter que le français soit traité au Québec comme si c'était la langue d'une minorité. En somme, les attitudes des d'une majorité, jointes à la loi du nombre, ont exercé une pression à peu près irrésistible. Sans doute s'est-il ajouté à cela une législation dont certains éléments vont ou allaient trop loin mais, le progrès du français et le recul, très relatif, de l'anglais ne lui sont qu'incidemment imputables.

Dans son exposé, M. Valden a souligné avec beaucoup d'a-propos un certain dosage de coercition et d'incitation des pouvoirs publics et un certain degré d'acceptation et de consentement de la part des individus et des groupes. Poussons un peu plus loin. Qu'est-ce qui amène les pouvoirs publics à exercer des pressions et les individus à entrer dans le mouvement ?

Ici encore on retrouve la notion de pression. En général, les gouvernements n'aiment pas déranger les citoyens plus qu'il ne faut. Au Canada, c'est surtout la crise politique du début des années 60 qui a entraîné la création de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, la déclaration Pearson et les mesures qui ont suivi. Les individus réagissent de la même façon ! Ils acceptent d'autant plus d'être dérangés que la pression sera plus forte et que jouera la crainte d'un mal plus grand. Une aggravation de la crise politique favorisera certaines concessions linguistiques. Réciproquement, l'atténuation de la crise risque fort de provoquer un relâchement.

Quel pays voulons-nous ?

Concrètement, chez nous, les gouvernements et les particuliers ont-ils le sentiment que l'avenir même du Canada est lié à la réforme linguistique ? Je parle bien entendu d'une réforme efficace, avec tout ce que cela comporte d'ennuyeux pour des tas de gens. Pour ma part, j'en doute. Je me

demande même si l'avenir du Canada est vraiment lié à une telle réforme.

Je m'explique. Si l'on pense à l'existence du Canada en tant qu'entité politique, il me paraît douteux que les questions linguistiques y jouent un rôle décisif. Quand le Commissaire aux langues officielles dit qu'il faut poursuivre l'effort de bilinguisation parce que le Canada ne peut se permettre de faire autrement, je crois optimiste d'exprimer une réserve, s'il s'agit seulement du maintien de la Confédération.

Cependant, si l'on veut dépasser la question de la simple survie du Canada comme entité politique, la réponse est différente. Nous nous demandons alors : *Quel Canada voulons-nous ? Quel pays voulons-nous ?* La réforme linguistique prend alors une tout autre importance et en accord avec le Commissaire, je dirai : « Les Canadiens ne peuvent se permettre de ne pas poursuivre énergiquement la réforme linguistique. »

Si nous voulons un pays qui fasse place à la justice et à l'équité, un pays fondé sur le respect mutuel des groupes et sur la compréhension, un pays qui veuille mettre pleinement à contribution ce que chacun peut y apporter, alors la réforme demeure aussi indispensable que jamais. Selon ce critère, la réponse à la question : « Faisons-nous assez, devons-nous faire plus ? » devient évidente. Nous n'avons sûrement pas fait assez pour que les Francophones se sentent suffisamment à l'aise hors du Québec et dans les milieux d'affaires du Québec. Il faut donc accentuer l'incitation et même, dans certains cas, la coercition. C'est ma conviction très profonde. Parallèlement, il y a déjà quelques rectifications à faire au Québec pour que l'indispensable mouvement de francisation n'apparaisse pas comme une menace pour la minorité.

La langue de travail

Faisons-nous assez ? Pour ceux qui continuent de croire à la réforme linguistique, il est désolant d'apprendre par le dernier rapport du Comité mixte spécial que nombre de ministères fédéraux ne sont même pas en mesure de dire jusqu'à quel point on applique les directives en matière

linguistique, et que beaucoup d'exercices n'ont aucune méthode unifiée ou non, prises. La Commission Bilinguisme avait vu juste en insistant sur la nécessité d'un contrôle général et systématique.

Les minorités

Le Commissaire aux langues officielles nous a eu des propos fort pertinents sur certains aspects des problèmes posés par les minorités. Il remarque qu'il faudra une symétrie plus grande de la façon de les traiter. À l'époque de la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton l'absence de symétrie était choquante. Il y avait plus d'une façon de corriger la situation : ce pouvait être en amenant les minorités françaises à un statut comparable à celui de la minorité anglaise du Québec, ou en rap-

portant la situation de cette dernière à celle des minorités françaises, ou encore en cherchant un commun minimum entre les deux. La Commission préférerait nettement la première hypothèse. Il faut bien constater, cependant que, de part et d'autre, tendances négatives ou du moins restrictives l'emportent. Mais, il est encore temps de réagir.

La charte fédérale des droits, maintenant incorporée à la Constitution, prévoit pour tout le pays un critère unique pour l'accès à l'enseignement dans l'une ou l'autre de nos langues officielles. Un jugement qui fera époque vient de confirmer que cette disposition s'applique au Québec

conditions devant, a priori, favoriser des choix libres
clairés. Et somme toute les résultats, quoique de portée
tée, se sont avérés positifs.

is tenons bien sûr pour inopertes les affirmations voulant
l'anglais soit la seule langue qui puisse vraiment prendre
compte la complexité du monde des affaires et des profes-
s. La plupart des Canadiens non québécois n'ont pas
ore pris conscience du fait que l'on commerce et que
travaille en français dans le monde entier. L'équilibre
n'atiable ne s'est pas non plus pleinement réalisé au
ébec. La francisation a apporté des changements considé-
rés que la langue française soit solidement implantée au
du monde des affaires de la province. En même temps,
conséquences que nous connaissons tous pour la
munauté anglophone.

développements sont relativement récents et je doute
quiconque puisse dire, au stade actuel, lesquelles de
formules produiront les effets les plus durables et les
heureux. Nous avons par ailleurs constaté que la place
rôle du français et de l'anglais dans le monde du travail
vent faire l'objet d'arrangements, et que les relations
e nos langues nationales sont maintenant beaucoup
saines à cet égard.

clusion

n des années 60 et les années 70 passeront sûrement
sistère comme une période au cours de laquelle nous
sommes lancés dans une expérience linguistique et
rale de grande envergure. Que nous réussissions totale-
t ou non dans notre entreprise, nous pouvons quand
ne dire en toute objectivité qu'une chose qui aurait paru
u près impossible il y a une génération est en train de
complir. Certains de nos espoirs ont pu par moments
oler utopiques, mais ce que nous avons fait en si peu
emps plaide favorablement pour notre maturité et notre
ité d'adaptation.

commentaires de Paul Lacoste

vrions en agissant dans un sens ou
dans l'autre.

L'un de ces critères serait, par exem-
ple, les résultats atteints en matière
de langue de service et de langue de
travail. En d'autres termes, les gens
reçoivent-ils ou non plus de services
en langue française qu'auparavant ?
Le français est-il plus employé au sein
de l'appareil fédéral ?

Pour obtenir des réponses à ces ques-
tions, on doit se référer aux rapports
du Commissaire aux langues officiel-
les, ou encore à celui du Comité mixte
spécial du Sénat et de la Chambre des
communes. Et là, d'une façon géné-
rale, il faut bien constater que les résul-
tats sont souvent très décevants.

Les tensions socio-politiques

À vrai dire, il semble que le principal

Il est exact que d'importantes décisions ont été prises et
qu'il y a énormément de choses que les bureaucrates
peuvent faire sans une surveillance constante de leurs
maîtres politiques. Il n'y a aucun doute, par ailleurs, que
le bilinguisme n'est pas le seul problème urgent auquel
l'État doit faire face. Mais la réforme linguistique ne se
poursuivra que si nous persévérons dans nos efforts et en
acceptons toutes les conséquences administratives, même
quand elles nous paraîtront rebutantes.

Jusqu'ou sommes-nous prêts à aller, je n'en sais rien. Mais
il est sans doute futile de vouloir tout prédire et tout définir
lorsqu'il s'agit d'affaires aussi profondément humaines et,
partant, aussi imprévisibles. Chose certaine, il nous reste
beaucoup à faire. Et sans vouloir nous jeter de fleurs, je
crois sincèrement que nous sommes fort capables de mener
à bon port ce que nous avons si bien commencé.

Trois grandes considérations s'imposent en ce moment à
mon esprit. En premier lieu, la réforme linguistique s'est
étendue bien au delà des dispositions principales de la Loi
sur les langues officielles et a pris aux yeux de tous, organismes
et particuliers, une importance inattendue. En second lieu,
nous devons une bonne partie de nos succès à l'impulsion
et au soutien que le Parlement et tous les partis politiques
fédéraux ont donnés à cette réforme. Troisièmement,
malgré des hésitations, des réticences, voire des craintes
nombreuses, des changements d'attitudes encourageants
se sont fait jour en ce domaine dans certains secteurs du
Canada anglais.

Pour que nous puissions vaincre les difficultés qui nous
attendent au détour des années 80, il faudra que nos diri-
geants politiques restent persuadés de la nécessité de pour-
suivre l'action actuelle, aussi exigeante ou ingrate qu'elle
puisse paraître. La tentation n'est que trop réelle de croire
que les principaux obstacles ont été surmontés et que les
bureaucrates pourront bien s'occuper des détails ; ou, au
contraire, qu'il y aura d'autres questions plus urgentes que
la réforme linguistique.

capables d'assurer un certain degré de justice linguistique sans poursuivre l'objectif irréaliste d'un libre choix universel.

La scène provinciale

Quituant les problèmes institutionnels fédéraux pour ceux des provinces, nous apercevons immédiatement que les réalités linguistiques et la manière de les aborder varient de l'une à l'autre. S'il est impensable, à l'échelon fédéral, de vouloir traiter de la même manière toutes les situations linguistiques minoritaires, il est par contre ahrissant de constater que pas deux provinces ne les abordent semblablement.

J'ai le sentiment que nous ne pourrions tenir la gageure des années 80 tant que nous ne serons pas arrivés à une symétrie plus grande sur la manière de traiter les minorités linguistiques. Le Canada est un pays immense et nous devons nous attendre à des différences parfois marquées entre les provinces, voire entre les régions. Il est cependant impératif que s'instaurent un peu partout et pour tous des conditions à peu près identiques.

L'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire

L'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire est un autre exemple pertinent. De toute évidence, conditions, nombres et ressources — financières et humaines — sont très différents selon les régions. Certaines normes générales à cet égard sont cependant fondamentales. Si nous croyons si peu que ce soit au droit à la survie linguistique de la minorité, nous ne pouvons rien faire de moins que d'assurer aux enfants un environnement linguistique suffisamment cohérent au cours de leurs années de formation. En ce qui concerne les écoles, cela peut comporter, lorsque possible, une certaine séparation physique et une distinction culturelle. L'argument voulant que ce genre d'arrangement empêche la minorité de participer pleinement à la vie sociale du pays reste à démontrer.

Plus justifié sans doute est l'argument selon lequel nous ne pouvons pas toujours nous permettre d'éduquer les enfants de nos minorités linguistiques dans des établissements séparés, dotés de toutes les ressources nécessaires. L'évolution des attentes en matière d'enseignement et celle des effectifs scolaires délimitent sans aucun doute de manière stricte ce qui serait à la fois faisable et acceptable.

Gains et pertes ont marqué les années 70 en matière d'enseignement minoritaire. Il a fallu longtemps pour reconnaître que les besoins des minorités, surtout de langue française, étaient plus grands que ceux de la majorité. Leur épanouissement et leur vulnérabilité devaient tout naturellement leur valoir l'appui des technologies éducatives les plus avancées. Le contraire a malheureusement été beaucoup trop souvent la règle.

L'enseignement de la langue seconde

L'enseignement de la langue seconde est lui aussi fort mal ordonné. On pourrait se sentir découragé en relisant le rapport de la Commission B.B. à ce propos, car on a l'impression que peu de choses ont changé depuis. Mais il y a une

Le monde du travail

Je vous avoue ne pas déborder de confiance quant à nos possibilités d'en arriver dans l'immédiat à un accord global sur l'enseignement de la langue seconde, mais je serais heureux de pouvoir changer d'avis. Face à l'opinion contraire laquelle de vous deux nous pencher sur d'autres problèmes avant de nous diriger vers une orientation plus nette et des structures pédagogiques meilleures pour l'enseignement de la langue seconde, ma réponse est que le Canada peut plus se permettre de s'en passer.

Je ne m'illusionne pas au point de croire que le simple d'inculquer aux Canadiens une large connaissance formelle de leur deuxième langue officielle, par exemple, faire tomber toutes nos préventions chauvaines. Je pense par contre que nous pouvons, grâce à des efforts soutenus faire la preuve de la valeur que nous attachons à nos recherches linguistiques et alléger le fardeau du bilinguisme qui pèse aujourd'hui si injustement sur les minorités.

Les relations interlinguistiques sont vraisemblablement aussi riches au Canada que n'importe où ailleurs. Les conditions d'apprendre une langue seconde et les ressources humaines qui le permettraient existent partout chez nous. L'on ne peut que se réjouir des succès de l'immersion étrangère, aujourd'hui si en vogue, et des promesses qu'elle recèle pour l'acquisition d'une compétence réelle en la seconde ; mais cela reste l'exception qui confirme la règle.

L'on entend dire de temps à autre que le bilinguisme n'est pas une situation d'exception. On se dit que, dans les situations de bilinguisme, on ne s'exprime qu'en deux langues, ce qui est tout à fait normal. Mais, en fait, le bilinguisme est une situation d'exception. Dans les situations de bilinguisme, on ne s'exprime qu'en deux langues, ce qui est tout à fait normal. Mais, en fait, le bilinguisme est une situation d'exception. Dans les situations de bilinguisme, on ne s'exprime qu'en deux langues, ce qui est tout à fait normal. Mais, en fait, le bilinguisme est une situation d'exception.

différence réelle entre les deux époques. Pas tellement les salles de classe, mais dans les comportements et les valeurs de bon nombre de parents, d'élèves et de professeurs. C'est là, manifestement, que se trouvent les ferments d'une transformation qui pourrait bien porter ses fruits au cours des années 80.

bilinguisme institutionnel destiné à favoriser au maximum les choix individuels dans des régions géographiques étendues. L'expérience fédérale en matière d'application de la Loi sur les langues officielles me semble révéler plus particulièrement trois choses :

- que l'usage de deux langues dans de nombreux domaines et sur de grandes distances demande une organisation beaucoup plus développée et une discipline administrative bien plus grande qu'on ne l'imaginait au départ ;

- même lorsqu'un organisme en vient à se doter de ce qui lui est nécessaire pour fonctionner ainsi, il lui manque une dimension-clé quand son personnel se contente de subir ce régime sans y participer activement ;

- pour ces deux raisons, il est indispensable, bien que ce soit très difficile, de maintenir politiquement la pression sans laquelle il n'y aura ni cohérence ni conviction.

Ce n'est ici ni le lieu ni le moment d'entreprendre une critique détaillée des réalisations fédérales. Je pense que tout ce qui a été fait, en particulier dans le domaine des services au public, prouve d'évidence que beaucoup est possible. Mais, comme dans toute entreprise, l'examen de ses points faibles est peut-être ce qui est le plus important pour son avenir.

Deux de ces points méritent qu'on s'y arrête, car ils se manifestent chaque fois qu'entrent en jeu les questions de langues dans notre pays. Ce sont la « demande importante » ou le « nombre suffisant », et les conditions nécessaires à une utilisation équitable des deux langues partout où les deux groupes linguistiques sont présents.

L'administration fédérale a été longue à s'attaquer à la question du nombre et de la demande, et les positions à cet égard ne sont pas encore très claires pour tous. C'est là un phénomène très intéressant qui nous rappelle que l'un des problèmes que nous aurons à résoudre au cours des années 80 existe depuis le début : comment donner les choix voulus aux particuliers sans alourdir indûment le système. Les auteurs de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* pensaient que l'on pourrait y arriver en partie par la création de « districts bilingues ». L'intérêt de cette idée, qui n'a jamais été explorée à fond, est que ces districts pourraient aider à déterminer les attentes légitimes de la minorité ainsi que les obligations de la majorité dans une région donnée.

D'autres solutions sont possibles, mais à la lumière de l'expérience fédérale, n'avons-nous pas la certitude qu'elles ne feraient que compliquer les choses ? En vérité, ce ne sont pas les districts bilingues qui sont un problème à cet égard, mais les autres régions où la demande est difficile à prévoir. Tout cela pour dire — et j'espère que nous en ferons l'un des thèmes de nos discussions — que tous les beaux principes n'aboutiront jamais à un régime bilingue équitable si nous n'arrivons pas à clarifier nos idées et nos intentions à ce sujet ou, plus exactement, si nous ne sommes pas

ensemble et une certaine coercition. Cela exige donc dans leur vrai contexte si l'on veut qu'une majorité se concitoyens y voient clair.

enant assez de recul, on se rend d'ailleurs compte qu'il pas à rougir de ce qui a été fait, que le positif l'emporte ment et que nous disposons maintenant des moyens ite mieux encore. Jetons ensemble un coup d'oeil out cela et essayons d'en tirer des leçons pour les es 80.

Titre linguistique : principes et structures

me le voulait son mandat, la Commission B.B. évoquait iemment le « principe d'égalité » entre les Francopho- les Anglophones du Canada. À ce terme sont associées ésonances de confiance mutuelle, de collaboration et ritage équitable des avantages nationaux. Il suppose ment, dans le concret, des dispositions pratiques claires- définies pour tous, un certain parallélisme, ou des tres de réciprocité.

gime que le Canada a adopté il y a une quinzaine iées met tout particulièrement l'accent sur les droits istiques individuels dans le cadre d'une territoriale ée. Contrairement à la Belgique qui est composée de zones essentiellement unilingues (avec Bruxelles ne région bilingue), nous avons voulu mettre en place tructure qui non seulement donne à chacun une grande de de choix dans ce que nous pouvons appeler notre ud bassin » bilingue, mais offre partout ailleurs un en raisonnable aux minorités linguistiques officielles.

géographie, notre découpage linguistique et même système politique s'opposaient à une mise en place de cette structure, et l'importance de notre réussite cet égard la preuve de notre détermination. N'oublions idant pas qu'il existe encore parmi les Canadiens pression française un scepticisme persistant quant à eur et à la permanence de ces mesures en tant que ns de protection et de promotion de la langue et de ture française. Les accords constitutionnels du prin- s dernier revêtent évidemment une très grande impor- , mais nous ne savons pas quel sort définitif l'avenir éservira. La décision récente du juge en chef Jules iènes fera manifestement date, mais elle n'est sans que le commencement d'un long processus de clarifi- n de la signification des droits linguistiques établis i Charte.

autres termes, disons que dans la plupart des provinces minorités de langue officielle sont encore loin de se sentir ri. Et même si le sort des Anglo-Québécois est pour ment préférable à celui des Francophones hors Québec, manifeste dans cette province des tendances préoccupa- ns qui se sont déjà traduites par un exode important- gophones.

ne fédérale
gouvernement fédéral, outre son rôle de guide et
utien, est devenu une sorte de banc d'essai d'un

MAXWELL YALDEN

Un survol de la réforme linguistique

font le point de la situation.

Suscitée par la crise politique du début des années 60, la réforme linguistique a-t-elle atteint sa cible : améliorer les rapports entre Francophones et Anglophones du pays par l'instauration d'une plus grande justice linguistique. Le commissaire aux langues officielles, Maxwell Yalden, le recteur de l'Université de Montréal, Paul Lacoste ainsi que le sénateur Lowell Murray, qui a activement participé aux travaux du Comité mixte spécial du Sénat et de la Chambre des communes sur les langues officielles, ont le point de la situation.

Il serait peut-être bon que, compte tenu de notre situation linguistique très particulière et souvent incertaine, nous

lui accordons individuellement ou collectivement toute l'attention qu'elle mérite. Certains pensent sans doute que les affaires de langues absorbent déjà beaucoup trop de temps ou d'argent et qu'elles devraient céder le pas à d'autres priorités sociales. Bien que, probablement par déformation professionnelle, ce ne soit pas mon avis, il est peut-être opportun que nous nous demandions quelle dose d'attention et d'intervention la société canadienne des années 80 est disposée à admettre dans ce domaine.

Pour répondre à cela, il nous faut commencer par revoir ce qu'étaient les visées du Canada au moment où il a entrepris sa réforme linguistique, nous demander ensuite si nos attentes étaient réalistes et déterminer, à la lumière de l'expérience, s'il y a lieu ou non de rectifier notre tir.

Tout le monde, cela va sans dire, n'était pas d'accord avec les diverses propositions émanant des travaux de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Il y a eu accord cependant dans une certaine mesure sur quelques principes, à commencer par la reconnaissance des deux langues officielles dans la loi et la pratique, et sur la nécessité d'une vaste gamme de réformes à l'échelle fédérale et provinciale.

Quant aux réalisations, qu'il me suffise de signaler la Loi sur les langues officielles de 1969, la résolution parlementaire de 1973 sur la langue de travail dans la fonction publique canadienne, la Charte des droits de 1982, la Loi sur les langues officielles du Nouveau-Brunswick, les progrès ontariens vers une administration bilingue, la récente décision du gouvernement du Manitoba de franciser presque toutes les provinces et enfin, les gestes qu'ont posés toutes les provinces en faveur de l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire. Cela ne signifie pas que nos gouvernements aient fait tout ce que nous attendions d'eux ni que nos principaux problèmes aient été résolus. Mais est-il raisonnable de croire que

cela était possible en un temps si court — quelque douze années ? Poser la question, c'est y répondre. Les progrès accomplis jusqu'ici n'ont peut-être pas été sants pour convaincre nos compatriotes francophones du Québec en particulier mais d'ailleurs également, qu'ils peuvent avoir réellement leur voix au chapitre sans pour autant sacrifier leur identité linguistique et culturelle. Mais si se rappelle d'où nous sommes partis, le chemin parcouru est remarquable. Si, par contre, nous nous référons aux attentes initiales de plusieurs et au sentiment d'injustice aussi profond que légitime qui habitait alors de nombreux Canadiens d'expression française, nous sommes encore loin du compte.

Cela ne devrait ni nous surprendre ni nous consterner, tant de côté ceux qui, dès le départ, étaient convaincus que le bilinguisme serait une malédiction ou une impossibilité pour le Canada, j'aurais tendance à penser que notre idéalisme originel, assorti qu'il était du sens de l'urgence, nous a parfois induit en erreur — par exemple, en nous faisant croire que du fait même de leur évidence criante, les incertains seraient rapidement et aisément corrigés, ou que le bilinguisme « officiel » passerait comme une lettre à la puce, qu'il bénéficierait d'un accord de principe.

Les années qui se sont écoulées depuis la fin des travaux de la commission Laurendeau-Dunton et l'adoption de la Loi sur les langues officielles ont été une dure école pour qui entretenaient ces croyances plutôt naïves. Nous avons appris à mesurer plus exactement la complexité des réalités linguistiques et les possibilités d'action dans ce domaine. Plus important peut-être, nous avons commencé à nous rendre compte des limites de ce que l'État peut faire à l'égard. Nous ne pouvons ni espérer ni imposer une forte de bilinguisme qui exige trop de chacun de nous, pauvres humains, ou qui fausse la notion fondamentale de la répartition du Canada un pays effectivement bilingue, à court poudu et correspond encore un chemin difficile.

inquantaine d'éminents Canadiens et Canadiennes se réunissaient à l'université Trent
me dernier, afin de réfléchir sur l'avenir du bilinguisme au Canada. Messieurs
de Grandpré, président du Conseil des Entreprises Bell Canada, et Thomas H.B. Symons,
re de la chaire Vanier à l'université Trent, ont animé les discussions. Ce numéro
al de Langue et société rend compte des principales interventions et des courants
nsée qui se dégagent de ce colloque.

importante pour les Canadiens en matière de formation
connaître les possibilités en matière de formation
linguistique.

Si le colloque ne devait pas arriver à des conclusions
officielles ou adopter des résolutions, les participants
ont néanmoins approfondi un certain nombre de
questions et de propositions très précises. Tous ont
convenu que la réforme linguistique n'était pas
terminée; par contre, il n'y a pas eu unanimité sur la
réaction prévisible des Canadiens anglophones
devant une accélération de la réforme linguistique
dans les années 80 et de celle de leurs concitoyens
francophones, si les choses en restent là. Les
personnes présentes ont de plus en plus pris
conscience de l'étroitesse de la marge séparant la
consolidation et la complaisance. L'initiative et le
brant-bas de combat. Bref, un leitmotiv ne cessait de
revenir: le rythme de la réforme.

Les personnalités réunies n'ont pas réussi à
s'entendre, c'est compréhensible, sur l'application
détaillée des innombrables programmes de réforme
linguistique que l'on trouve aujourd'hui au Canada.
Pour autant, le colloque de Trent a été indéniablement
utile puisqu'il a aidé tous les participants à prendre du
recul par rapport à leurs activités respectives et à
acquiescer une vue globale de la situation. Les années 80
verront un grand défi à relever: veiller à ce que les
progrès de la dernière décennie se transforment en un
climat permanent, bien concret, où tout naturelle-
ment le français et l'anglais jouiront d'une égalité de
statut dans la fonction publique, le secteur privé et
dans le monde de l'enseignement, trois secteurs de la
société qui touchent directement presque tous les
Canadiens.

Les coprésidents,

Thomas H.B. Symons

Jean de Grandpré

Tom Symons

Thomas H.B. Symons

les fédérale, ils n'ont jamais été officiellement
nés. A-t-on manqué le coche pour toujours?
difficultés politiques suscitées par une telle
un seraient-elles insurmontables? Y aurait-il un
moyen d'arriver aux mêmes résultats sans se
r à ces obstacles? Ces questions, et bien
es, ont été examinées dans un esprit mitigé.

participants à la seconde séance, consacrée à la
dans le secteur public, ont cherché à voir
ation que devraient prendre pour l'avenir les
es accompagnant la réforme linguistique.
il insister particulièrement sur de nouvelles
s, notamment en matière de langue de travail?
tème en vigueur devrait-il être démantelé?
tit qui avait été fixé devrait-il rester le même et
isation continuer à progresser régulièrement
es principes directeurs que les gouvernements
et provinciaux ont suivi à ce jour? Il y avait
ence d'opinion entre les partisans de l'étapisme
pour qui la poursuite de la réforme reste
e, réclamant dès lors une action concrète et des
originaux de générosité à l'égard des minorités
unes officielles.

du programme de francisation du Québec.

à la place des langues dans l'enseignement,
de la dernière séance, les échanges ont porté
s sujets très divers: les répercussions, sur les
es scolaires et universitaires, de la nouvelle
des droits et libertés; la nécessité de
une stratégie nationale concernant les
uns linguistiques dans l'enseignement; un appel
universités pour qu'elles fixent des critères de
seconde à l'admission et pour l'obtention d'un
e; ajoutons aussi la nécessité non moins

revue d'information et d'opinion, est une publication trilingue du Commissaire aux langues officielles, Max Yalden. Elle a pour objet d'alimenter la réflexion et de servir de tribune pour l'examen des grandes questions linguistiques qui se posent au Canada et à l'étranger. Les opinions exprimées ne reflètent pas nécessairement celles du Commissaire et n'engagent que leurs auteurs.

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COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES
OFFICIELLES
COMMISSIONER
OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES



Le dossier du bilinguisme : regard sur les années 80

Ce numéro spécial de *Langue et société* rend compte du colloque qui s'est tenu les 10 et 11 septembre 1982 à l'université Trent de Peterborough (Ontario) à l'invitation du Commissaire aux langues officielles, M. Maxwell Yalden, et qui pour titre *Le dossier du bilinguisme : les années 80* en perspective.

Représentant toutes les régions du Canada et les communautés de langues officielles, une cinquantaine de participants ont répondu à l'appel et comptait parmi ces éminents Canadiens et Canadiennes des gens d'affaires, des universitaires, des journalistes ainsi que des hommes politiques et fonctionnaires des gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux.

Dans sa lettre d'invitation, le Commissaire fait constatation suivante :

Depuis la parution du rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme biculturalisme, bien des événements se sont produits dans le domaine des langues officielles par l'adoption des lois sur les langues officielles des gouvernements du Canada et du Nouveau-Brunswick jusqu'à... l'enchâssement des droits linguistiques dans la Constitution. Toutefois, très rares ont été les occasions de réfléchir à ce qui a été réalisé jusqu'à présent ce que devrait être la direction à suivre dans les années à venir. Je crois qu'il est grand temps de s'y mettre.

Après l'allocution d'ouverture du Commissaire participants ont consacré une demi-journée à cinq des trois domaines clés : le secteur public, le secteur privé et l'enseignement. Les réunions se déroulent toujours suivant le même schéma : présentation de la communication principale, puis commentaires des intervenants désignés débouchant sur un général. Le colloque s'est terminé par un discours de Son Excellence le Gouverneur général du Canada Edward Schreyer.

À la séance inaugurale, la question des dispositions bilingues a volé la vedette. Proposés par la Commission BB et prévus dans la Loi sur les langues

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du Commissaire aux langues officielles,
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Editor's Note

The creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 marked the beginning of Canada's language reform movement. In order to prepare our lead article, Charles Strong interviewed nine of the commissioners to elicit their views on the progress and pitfalls of the past two decades.

From another historical viewpoint, Robert Bourbeau examines recent trends in language transfers between Canada's Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones. Using the preliminary data of the 1981 census, he goes beyond purely statistical analysis to reveal the causes and implications of changes in Canada's language map.

Giving us pause from politics, sociology and statistics, Philip Stratford provides a light-hearted sketch of the history of translation in Canada followed by a critical examination of literary translation as a key bridge between our two major cultural communities. That bridge, he suggests, has been built, but now needs "some heavy two-way traffic".

As our last article shows, Canada's language problems are minor indeed when compared to those of certain other countries. Professor C.M.B. Brann describes the awesome linguistic complexity of Nigeria, whose 80 million inhabitants speak some 400 languages.

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is a magazine of information and opinion published by the Commissioner of Official Languages, Max Yalden. The quarterly magazine encourages a reflective approach to language matters, both Canadian and international, while providing a forum for informed debate on the issues.

The opinions expressed by contributors are their own, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Commissioner.

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enty years ago, the B and B Commission began inquiry that was to produce a detailed blueprint for language reform in Canada. To evaluate how effectively that sign has been carried through, Language and Society interviewed nine of the commissioners.

Language in Canada: crisis resolved, tensions in transition?

CHARLES STRONG



A former university teacher and public servant, **Charles Strong** now works as a free-lance writer, translator and consultant on language policy. He has been associated with the federal official languages programme for over 10 years and has begun research on a book on language reform in Canada.

This year marks the twentieth anniversary of perhaps the most important milestone in the history of the language issue in Canada – the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism.

During their work at a time when the Province of Quebec in particular was experiencing profound social and political change, the Commissioners “fully endeavored to find themselves confronted by tensions and conflicts.” They soon concluded, however, that the situation was more serious than most people realized, and that “Canada, without being fully aware of the fact, [was] passing through the worst crisis in its history.”

Their conclusion, spelled out in the preamble to the Preliminary Report published in 1965, served to clarify that the Commission would not deal with the issue of language and culture in a narrow or limited way. In keeping with the objectives implicit in its carefully worded terms of reference, the Commission proceeded to cut through the artificially constructed but nonetheless rigid jurisdictional boundaries under which Canada’s political system operated. “Bilingualism and biculturalism” “equal partnership”, “founding races”, “other ethnic groups” were key terms of the Commission’s mandate that dealt with matters that could be dealt with from a

purely federal or provincial perspective, or from standpoints that ignored the social, psychological and economic dimensions of the problem. In the Commission’s words: “It is not only one aspect of Canadian life that is at issue; the vital centre is in danger: we mean the will to live together...”

From this starting point, the Commission heard briefs, launched extensive research projects and held numerous public and private discussions with groups and individuals representing every walk of Canadian life affected by language and culture. The resulting volumes of its Report contain a forthright discussion of its findings, and recommendations on changes the appropriate authorities should implement in order to achieve the necessary reforms.

In the fall of 1983, nine of the B and B Commissioners agreed to discuss their views on the progress made to date in implementing their design for language reform in Canada. Given the impossibility of covering the contents of the Commission’s entire Report, our discussions dealt with six key issues: the crisis, the federal language regime, bilingual districts, the official language minorities, the ethnic minorities and public understanding of the issue. Following is a synthesis of the major points made by the Commissioners during the interviews.

The crisis

Has Canada weathered the crisis so perceptively identified in the Commission’s Preliminary Report and, if so, to what degree?

Each of the Commissioners responded to this question with a guarded and qualified yes, many of them emphasizing that the crisis of the sixties differed in severity and nature from the problems of national

THE COMMISSIONERS

A. Davidson Dunton,
Co-Chairman

André Laurendeau,
Co-Chairman, 1963-68

Jean-Louis Gagnon,
Co-Chairman, 1968-71

Clément Cormier, C.S.C.

Royce Frith

Gertrude M. Laing

Paul Lacoste*

Jean Marchand**

André Raynauld***

J.B. Rudnycky

F.R. Scott

Paul Wyczynski

* from 1968

** appointed in 1965 to replace Jean-Marc Land

*** assigned to deal with constitutional issues

Raynauld took over as Co-Chairman after André Laurendeau's death

unity faced by Canada today. Stressing that the Commission had said the crisis was taking place "without [Canada] being fully conscious of the fact", Davidson Dunton recalled Canadians' subsequent unpreparedness for the 1970 October Crisis, the 1976 bilingual air traffic control dispute and more recent events such as the issue of official bilingualism in Manitoba. However, he added, these events, serious in themselves, were and are of a different order from the smoldering – and occasionally erupting – violence of the early sixties.

Insofar as legitimate democratic nationalism has replaced acts of anarchy, Jean-Louis Gagnon and Royce Frith shared the view that the crisis had been weathered. Royce Frith also referred to the outbreaks of violence at that time, noting that Canada had had little experience finding political solutions to such problems.

Gertrude Laing preferred to say that Canada has "survived" the crisis. Subsequent reforms instituted by government have overcome some of the more blatant problems of the sixties; what we have today is not so much crisis as an "underlying discomfort", where the "gap between cultures is greater than that between languages." She, Paul Wyczynski and Paul Lacoste all mentioned that the Commission had indicated in the general introduction to the Report that recommendations concerning

political and constitutional questions – underlying causes of the crisis – would be included in the Commission's final statement. This was not to be the case, primarily as a consequence of André Laurendeau's sudden death in 1968. The enormous task of researching language and culture exhausted the Commissioners' time and energy, and it was left to a subsequent commission – the Task Force on Canadian Unity – to take up the constitutional issue.

The Official Languages Act has stood the test of time and has proven to be a sufficiently flexible instrument of reform.

Jean Marchand recalled the "feeling of alienation" that he and other Francophones had so often experienced in official Ottawa of the fifties and sixties. He and André Raynauld both expressed the view that the crisis today is "different, not over", that backlash is still a problem and that continued efforts will be required to reinforce the progress made to date. Jaroslav Rudnycky qualified the crisis as "semi-solved", noting that in Manitoba other ethnic groups were now throwing their support behind Francophones in the current dispute over language rights in that province.

The consensus among the Commissioners was that the A and B Commission "took some heat out of the debate" (to quote Davidson Dunton) and in some respects raised Canadians' consciousness of issues that many ignored, misunderstood or chose to resolve through politically unacceptable means. The crisis of the sixties has been weathered (or survived) to a substantial degree, but the lack of awareness two decades ago should not be replaced today by an equally dangerous attitude of complacency. "The patient," as one Commissioner put it, "is better but not cured."

The federal language regime

Turning to matters less political and more properly linguistic, we asked the Commissioners for their assessments of the Official Languages Act, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the federal official languages programme.

All rated the Act, the Charter and the programme somewhere between "fair" and "good". The Official Languages Act had stood the test of time and had proven to be a sufficiently flexible instrument of reform. Most stated that adoption of the Charter, a more recent event, will secure the rights of official language minorities, even if, in Mrs. Laing's view, it is regrettable that Quebec finds it unable to subscribe fully to its provisions.

Several, however, were less complimentary about certain measures taken to implement them in the federal public service. Mrs. Laing regretted "the way in which it was done", pointing out that the wholesale creation of bilingual positions and the mass second-language training programme were bureaucratic in nature and sometimes "failed to respect individuals' feelings and needs, fears and aspirations."

On this same point, Mr. Davidson Dunton added that while much of the criticism of the language

ng programme was founded, publicity given to this and measures may have hindered the overall reform effort. What we have seen is institutional reform taking steps forward and then stepping back."

Calling the situation that had developed twenty years ago, Macdonald suggested that the most notable change is that, today, French is the principal language of work in Quebec. He regretted that the B and B Commission's recommendations on the creation of French-language work units had not been fully implemented; he praised the effort to make French the language of work in the federal public service as "a failure outside Quebec and the National Capital Region."

Frith held a more positive view, ascribing the progress made to date as being largely due to the success of the Official Languages Act and to the subsequent efforts of the "excellent Commissioners of the Official Languages". In a similar vein, Mr. Gagnon noted that the federal public service has undergone a "revolution in the social sense of the term" not in twenty years, but in ten. Even if

the programme is not perfect, there is now wide acceptance within and without the Public Service that members of the public should be served in their language.

Mr. Marchand echoed others' criticism of the language training programme with the dry comment that it was "a spectacular, but not necessarily always practical gesture." He saw the greatest progress as having been made in the area of Francophone representation at the senior echelons of the public service where, two decades ago, Anglophones were "massively in the majority."

Mr. Rudnyckyj qualified the programme as moderately successful, but regretted that the Official Languages Act and the Charter contained such weak provisions with respect to Canada's ethnic minorities.

In sum, the general view was that the efforts to introduce language reform in federal institutions should receive "a better than passing grade." However, the opinion of one Commissioner that "bilingualism is irreversible in the Public Service" was received with little enthusiasm, several others

insisting that a continued effort was essential, particularly in the area of language of work.

Bilingual districts

The creation of bilingual districts was a concept central to the B and B Commission's vision of a country in which both official language communities would live as equal partners. The Commission's recommendations in this regard find expression in sections 12-18 of the Official Languages Act. Since, to date, no such districts have been proclaimed and the concept appears to have an uncertain fate, we asked the Commissioners for their views.

With the exception of Mr. Frith, who stressed the apparently insurmountable political problem of creating such districts and expressed some personal reservations about their psychological effect on the provision of bilingual services elsewhere ("people in unilingual districts may think they are off the hook"), the Commissioners regretted that such districts had never been proclaimed. Several noted that bilingual districts were a key feature of the blueprint for equal partnership, a blueprint that some had hoped would be included in a new constitutional approach to the concept of Canada as a federal state.

Expanding on this theme, Mrs. Laing said that such districts, as conceived by the Commission, would ensure the delivery not only of federal services, but of provincial, municipal and even school board services in both official languages. They would thus cut across jurisdictional lines, an idea that one Commissioner characterized as "idealistic, necessary, yet perhaps fatal" in terms of their actual implementation.

Endorsing this view, Mr. Raynauld noted that while progress has been made in providing federal services to minority communities, other levels of government have not kept pace. Even if certain provincial services are available in French in, for example, parts of Ontario, they are not formally

THE COMMISSION'S MANDATE

The key terms of the mandate of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism were as follows:

"to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; . . ."

The Commission took eight years to complete its massive undertaking. Its seven-volume Report covered subjects as diverse and fundamental as Canada's official languages, education, the work world, the cultural contribution of other ethnic groups, the federal capital and voluntary associations. It delved into Canada's history; commissioned original research in dozens of fields; examined the jurisdictional powers of federal, provincial, municipal and school-board authorities; analysed demographic and economic statistics; and, in the end, delivered a detailed, reasoned and readable account of Canada's linguistic and cultural richness and diversity. Even today, its findings serve as a benchmark and guide for policy-makers grappling with these quintessentially Canadian issues.

enshrined in a permanent legislative framework. This point was taken up by Mr. Gagnon, a strong defender of the districts concept, who questioned the rationale by which some provincial governments *de facto* provide bilingual services yet resist any suggestion that rights to such services be proclaimed in law.

Political problems aside, Mr. Marchand felt that such districts would only prove useful if the grassroots minorities clearly indicated their wish to have services available in their language. He mentioned Essex County and Penetanguishene as locations where minority Francophone communities had fought for and won their rights. Politicians, he noted, respond to the will of the public and, in the case of minority rights, that will has to be expressed loud and clear.

An essential point made by most of the Commissioners was that bilingual districts, by embracing several levels of government, would guarantee the delivery of essential services. Many minority groups, they noted, were far more concerned with receiving "city hall" services and education for their children in their language than with the opportunity to buy a postage stamp or reserve an airline ticket in French or English.

The official language minorities

Going beyond the bilingual districts concept as an instrument of language reform, we asked the Commissioners for their opinions on the action taken in the past twenty years by provincial governments vis-à-vis their official language minorities.

The Commissioners praised New Brunswick for having expeditiously passed its Official Languages Act and for subsequently enshrining the principles of that Act in the new Constitution. The speed with which certain education provisions in the Act had been proclaimed was the subject of some critical comment, but in

general the actions of this province were lauded.

Several points were made with respect to the current language issue in Manitoba. Mr. Dunton, for example, stated that the Commission had never anticipated this particular constitutional debate which has arisen from a Supreme Court decision of 1979 and is also related to the pending Bilodeau case. While the Commission had, of course, studied the history of the French and English in Manitoba, it had not scrutinized in detail the legal and constitutional ramifications of Manitoba's entry into Confederation and the province's 1890 Official Language Act.

The massive second-language training programme was a bureaucratic instrument that sometimes "failed to respect individuals' feelings and needs, fears and aspirations."

Ontario's failure to provide a constitutional or legislative basis for French-language services came under attack from several Commissioners. Mr. Gagnon called Ontario's efforts "inadequate", Mr. Dunton qualified them as "slow and ponderous" and Mrs. Laing wondered aloud why the province would not go the last step, and confirm in law what it did in fact. Others were more sanguine, noting that while the term "gradualism" hardly conveys a sense of urgency, the province is moving on several fronts and now offers a fairly broad range of social services in both official languages.

With respect to Quebec's language legislation, most of the Commissioners expressed mixed feelings. While on the whole lauding

Quebec's moves over the years to make French – "the language of the majority of the province" – the principal language of the workplace, several were severe in their criticism of certain "excesses" of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101).

Mr. Raynauld made nuanced comments on Quebec's demographic and economic evolution. Over the past twenty years, he said, Quebec has experienced a lower birthrate, high emigration, a greater degree of francization, no significant decline in income disparities between Francophones and Anglophones. Business ownership by Francophones has grown and Francophones now represent 80.5 per cent of the workforce, as compared to 75.4 per cent in 1961.

Mr. Raynauld views these changes with a mixture of optimism and pessimism. On the one hand, Francophones now largely control their own destiny; on the other they have lost some investment and considerable Anglophone business expertise as a result of out-migration.

In his view, the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) – and before it the Official Language Act (Bill 22) and the Act to Promote the French Language (Bill 63) – is at least partly responsible for these benefits and disadvantages. In strictly linguistic terms, however, he noted that Bill 101 is the only language law in Canada that actually restricts the rights of a minority to work, study and function freely in its own language.

While he, too, is critical of Ontario's failure to enact legislation to give French official status, he noted that there is nothing in law to prevent any Francophone from working in French in that province. Lastly, he recalled the Recommendation 42 of Volume I of the Commission's Report had contemplated French becoming the primary language of the workplace in Quebec, but that there had been

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al districts in which official
ould be accorded certain
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. He recommends introduc-
the Swiss model, according
ch there are two official lan-
and, in certain areas,
al languages with official
He regrets that Section 28
Official Languages Act and
is 22 and 27 of the Charter
nts and Freedoms are no
than "anti-linguicidal"
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*should be official policy
provide services in other
languages in areas serving
stantial concentrations
ethnic minorities.*

the B & B Commission. In
Mr. Wyczynski's words,
Canada's multiculturalism policy
is one of integration, not assimila-
tion, and is radically different from
the American "melting pot"
philosophy.

Mr. Gagnon and Mr. Frith agreed
that the federal government
should stop short of granting offi-
cial status to languages other than
English and French. However,
they each felt that it should be
official policy to provide services in
other languages in areas serving
substantial concentrations of ethnic
minorities.

Lastly, Mr. Lacoste suggested that
governments had done far too lit-
tle to recognize the existence of
Indian and Inuit languages. These
peoples, he remarked, were the
original inhabitants of Canada,
and have had to accept the imposi-
tion of English and French on a
country that was historically
theirs.

Public understanding

*As a final question, we asked the
Commissioners for their assessment of
the Canadian public's understanding
of "bilingualism" today, as compared
to twenty years ago.*

The consensus was that educated
Canadians are now better
informed about language issues
than they were at the time of the
Commission's inquiry. While
ignorance and bigotry occasionally
show their colours, their incidence
is less frequent.

Several Commissioners mentioned
the French immersion schooling
phenomenon as indicative of a
new, widespread acceptance of
Canada as an officially bilingual
country. Mr. Wyczynski, in par-
ticular, stressed the need for all
provinces to offer second-language
instruction at all levels of the
education system, "but to that
end, the provinces must de-
monstrate a spirit of brotherhood
and open-mindedness towards the
dignity of individuals."

*Public debate has had the
effect of converting more
reasonable people to the
essential fairness of the
cause of linguistic equality.*

The last word on this point should
perhaps again go to André
Raynauld, who believes that greater
sensitivity to language issues
among the public has, paradox-
ically, been brought about as a
result of the tensions and crises
of the past twenty years. Public
debate on these events has had
the effect of converting more rea-
sonable people to the essential
fairness of the cause of linguistic
equality.

In conclusion, we should not fail
to mention the Commissioners'
repeated and obviously sincere
tributes to the memory of André
Laurendeau. He, in Mr. Gagnon's
words, was the driving force of
the Commission: "he wanted this
Commission and he got it." It was
his tolerance of others' views, his
ability to forge agreement and his
determination to create a better
Canada that inspired members of
the Commission to pursue their
work so diligently after his
sudden, unexpected death in 1968.

Belated recognition of the literary translator's craft opens up a truly national audience for Canadian authors. Nearly 500 literary titles have been published in both languages in the past ten years. Will these promising beginnings grow and help strengthen our appreciation of the "other culture"?

A bridge between two solitudes

PHILIP STRATFORD



Philip Stratford is a founding member of the Literary Translators' Association. He has translated books by Jean Le Moyne, Claire Martin, André Laurendeau, Félix Leclerc and Antonine Maillet and compiled two anthologies of translations, *Stories from Quebec* and *Voices from Quebec*, as well as a bibliography of Canadian books in translation. He teaches English at l'Université de Montréal.

Translation is a little observed, seldom discussed but omnipresent, subjacent fact of Canadian life, like the underwater part of an iceberg. While our neighbours to the south have chosen the melting-pot way of life, we have chosen collective differentiation and difference, the "Great Canadian Ice-Cube Tray", you might say. Whenever we communicate from one group or cube to another, an act of translation becomes implicit; someone is always translating when Canadians of different ethnic allegiance meet. Our perennial Canadian search for identity is nourished by the fact that we are forever translating ourselves to ourselves. Nor is the act of translation itself above suspicion; as any translator is aware, translation is no innocent transfer from one language through an odourless, tasteless, inert medium to another, but a transformation inevitably charged politically and coloured culturally.

Translation and treachery: uneasy bedfellows

These phenomena, which crop up as continuing Canadian problems, can be illustrated by recalling some events in our history¹ where translation played a prime role. Jacques Cartier's experience, for instance, tends to prove the Italian adage, "*Traduttore, traditore*," the translator is a traitor. The first betrayal occurred in July 1534, off the Gaspé coast, when Cartier kidnapped the two sons of Donnacona,

self-styled "King of Canada", and took them back to Brittany to train them as interpreters. When they returned the following spring, the Iroquois prince took a small revenge, remaining faithful to their language and translating only in their favour, thereby earning a reputation as intriguers. The Europeans, however, had the last word, for Cartier rekidnapped the Iroquois and took them back to France where they died in exile, thus earning the French the undying enmity of the Iroquois, a change in the course of history resulting from the inescapable play of self-interest in the translation process.

Champlain took a more enlightened approach, sending Etienne Brulé to live with the Indians and learn their language in the winter of 1610-11. This strategy was so successful that Brulé spent the next twenty years with the Hurons and shed most of his European ways. So difficult it is to "tread the giddy line midway" in the practice of translation that one constantly risks assimilating one's subject or being assimilated. Brulé's lugubrious end illustrates this in an ironic way, for after so many years assimilating Huron customs he was assassinated and eaten by his hosts.

After 1760, when English-French communication took precedence over French-Indian relations, the same problems recurred in a different register. At first one in the conquered colony was able or willing to act as interpreter, so the British supplied their own, French Huguenots who had fled religious persecution in Catholic France a century earlier. With the arrival of Governor Carleton in 1767, a native-born interpreter was found, one François-Joseph Cugnet who served as "French Translator and Secretary to the Governor and Council" for the next twenty years. The post was important, yet suspicion of translators ran so deep that Cugnet was accused (though it was never

d) of telling Wolfe about
ath up the cliff
'Anse-au-Foulon to the
of Abraham. The Nipissing
as had called interpreter-
er Jean Nicolet "he who is
a man" or "double man";
d the compliment lurks the
resent suspicion of double-
g.

mus of translation fell mainly
e French. In 1804, for
ole, the North West Com-
employed 56 Francophone
reters but only 12 Anglo-
s. During the 19th century
of Quebec's best known
s served some time as
ment translators:
oe Aubert de Gaspé, author
anciens canadiens; the famed
an, François-Xavier Garneau;
st Antoine Gérin-Lajoie (*Jean*
); and poets Louis Fréchette
amphile Le May, the latter

the translator of William Kirby's
The Golden Dog and Longfellow's
Evangéline. Political and material
necessity combined to make
French-speaking Québécois "a
people of translators." To this day,
too, far more than other pop-
ulations, Québécois are a people
translated-to: the quantity of
information beamed to them from
English sources (40 to 1 in the
North American context) makes
them "targeted"² in more than just
the scientific sense of the term.
This has led certain linguists to
write of the deleterious effect of
translation on French in Quebec in
terms of "acculturation."³

Bridging the solitudes

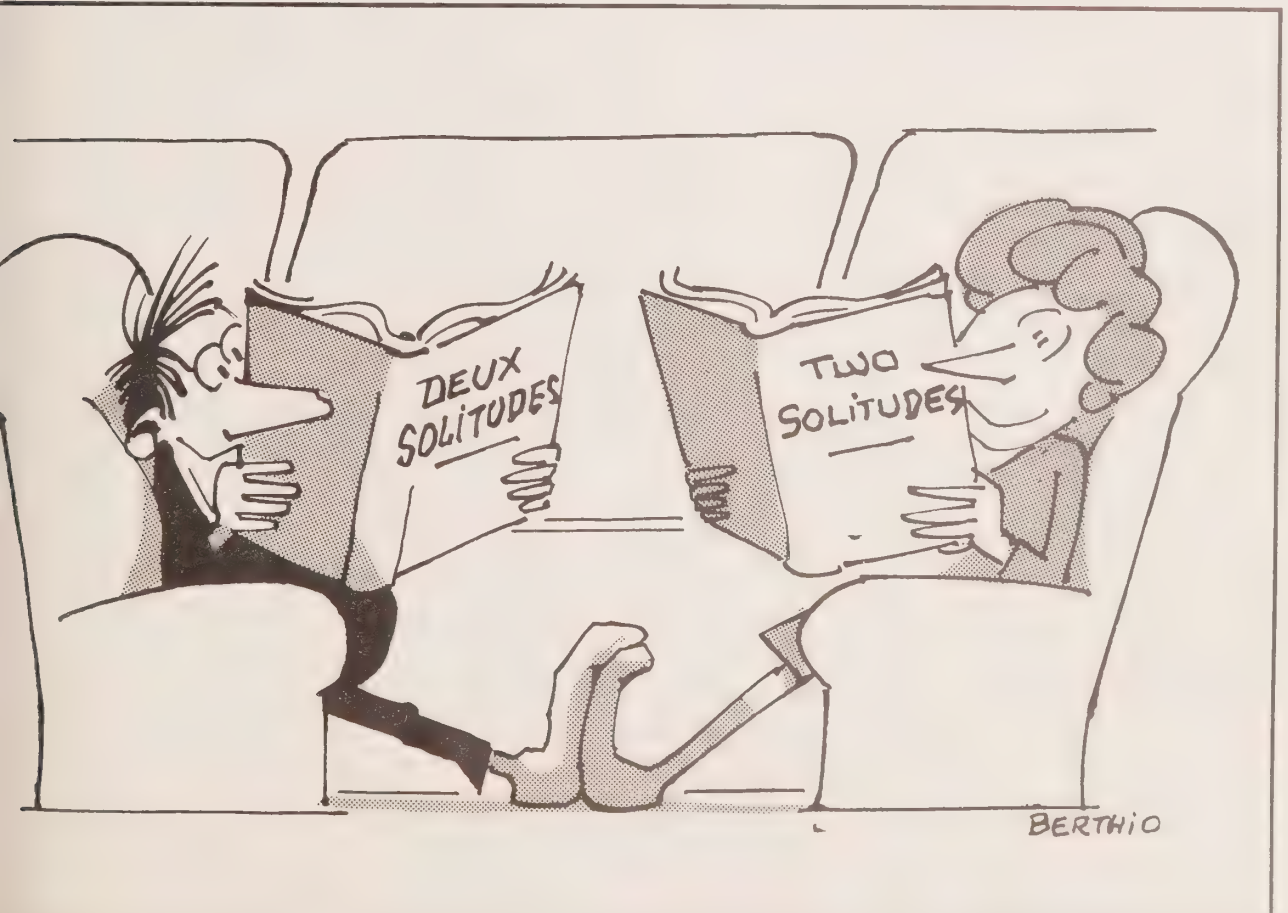
In matters of translation, however,
one must always expect paradoxical
reciprocities. In the field of
literary translation, the major topic
of the rest of this article, the flow

has been in the opposite direction.
Although few celebrated English-
Canadian men of letters tried
translation in the early years
(Charles G.D. Roberts' translations
of Fréchette and de Gaspé are the
exception), traditionally there has
been twice as much translation
from French to English as the
reverse. This expresses a curiosity
about Quebec which is only feebly
returned. Many reasons could be
suggested, not least of which is
the vigour and originality of
Quebec literature. Even so, histor-
ically speaking, interest in the



Berthio's highly-regarded
editorial cartoons have been
appearing in *Le Devoir* for the
past 10 years. His work has
also been published in
La Presse, *Dimanche Matin* and
L'Actualité. A native Montrealer.

Berthio is as loyal to his city as he is to
his friends and neighbours, who know him
as **Roland Berthiaume**.



BERTHIO

other culture was slow to develop. Taking the novel, the most translated genre, as index, the record of translation into English runs as follows: prior to 1900 seven Quebec novels were translated; in the next sixty years 36 titles were added, a little more than one every two years; in the next decade, 1960-70, twenty new novels were translated, an average of two a year; from 1973 to 1982, 89 translations

of Quebec novels were undertaken, almost nine per year.

Before examining the causes of this rapid upswing, one must confess that Canada's performance in literary translation has been pitiful. Many of the novels just referred to were translated in the U.S. or Britain, and translations of poetry and drama lagged far behind fiction. For the same period, 75 per cent of

translations of English-Canadian works into French were done in Paris; the choice of authors was idiosyncratic and narrow, and the volume was even less than the English translations. For the decade 1963-72, according to UNESCO's statistical yearbook, Canada averaged 117 non-scientific translations per year, ranking between Iceland and Albania in annual production. In the same

LE TOMBEAU DES ROIS

par ANNE HÉBERT

J'ai mon cœur au poing
Comme un faucon aveugle.

Le taciturne oiseau pris à mes doigts
Lampe gonflée de vin et de sang,
5 Je descends
Vers les tombeaux des rois
Étonnée
A peine née.

Quel fil d'Ariane me mène
10 Au long des dédales sourds ?
L'écho des pas s'y mange à mesure.

(En quel songe
Cette enfant fut-elle liée par la cheville
Pareille à une esclave fascinée ?)

15 L'auteur du songe
Presse le fil,
Et viennent les pas nus
Un à un
Comme les premières gouttes de pluie
20 Au fond du puits.⁴

THE TOMB OF THE KINGS

par ANNE HÉBERT

*Traduction (troisième version)
par Frank Scott*

I carry my heart on my fist
Like a blind falcon.

The taciturn bird gripping my fingers
A swollen lamp of wine and blood
I go down
Toward the tombs of the kings
Astonished
Scarcely born.

What Ariadne-thread leads me
Along the muted labyrinths ?
The echo of my steps fades away as they fall.

(In what dream
Was this child tied by her ankle
Like a fascinated slave ?)

The maker of the dream
Presses on the cord
And my naked footsteps come
One by one
Like the first drops of rain
At the bottom of the well.⁴

In his foreword to Dialogue sur la traduction, on Anne Hébert's poem Le Tombeau des rois and Frank Scott's translation thereof, Northrop Frye says:

"Mr. Scott consolidates the result into English, and it is clear without the stimulus of the other language, Mlle Hébert would never have discovered so much about her own meaning. Translation here becomes a creative achievement in communication, not merely a necessary evil or a removal of barriers. One can hardly learn more in less compass about the kind of craftsmanship that goes into the making of poetry than is given in these few pages."⁵

the Swiss translated seven as much, the Belgians eight, the Dutch sixteen times as many literary works.

In the early seventies, however, things began to change. Informally in the mid-sixties the Canada Council had been encouraging translators by furnishing grants to publishers to defray the cost of translation. In 1972 an official translation grant programme was established guaranteeing Canadian translators of Canadian books a minimum fee that was quite generous by world standards. The immediate effect was to initiate many new writers to the experience of translation and to greatly increase the number of works translated. Since grant applications are adjudicated, quality was assured and in 1974, as an added stimulus, the Council inaugurated annual translation grants to parallel the Governor General's Literary Awards. Later it added travel funds so that the translator could meet the author and discuss the work in hand.

Side effects of this initiative have been several. In 1975 l'Association des traducteurs littéraires/The Literary Translators' Association was founded. Its aim was to publicize the work of translators, ensure high standards and to protect the members' professional status. The Association now has seventy active translators across the country, half coming from French to English, the other way, a dozen of whom are also translating from other languages. Besides its annual meeting which is a forum for exchanging ideas and information on translation, the Association publishes a newsletter, *Transmissions*, and sponsors the John G. D. Prize, awarded yearly to a Canadian translation from any language into French or English.

Spin-offs include the publication of a bibliography of Canadian books in translation, now going into its third edition; and growing recognition of translation

as an art form (for example, through the inclusion of a section on "Translation," since 1977, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly's* annual review of "Letters in Canada"), and a growing number of conferences on translation theory and practice. Several magazines, particularly *Ellipse* since 1969, but also special numbers of *Contemporary Literature in Translation*, *Canadian Literature*, *Canadian Fiction Magazine*, *Journal of Canadian Fiction*, and *Liberté* have sustained this interest. From the publishers' side, two notable series of works in translation have been launched, Cercle du Livre de France's "Collection des Deux Solitudes," and Harvest House's "French Writers of Canada" series. Other publishers — McClelland and Stewart, Oberon, Coach House and Talonbooks in English, and Éditions Héritage, Hurtubise HMH and Québec-Amérique in French — have been particularly open to publishing translations.

The profession and its future

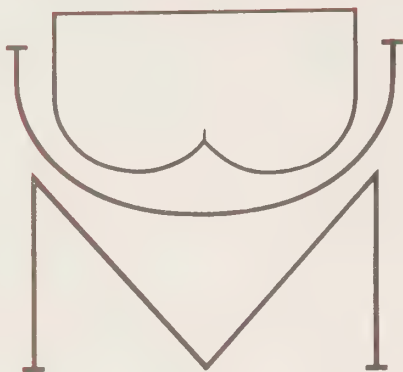
While these trends are promising, one must not succumb to the optimist's squint, for a cool look shows that the period of increased activity is short, that growth is entirely dependent on federal support, and that the trans-cultural impact is very hard to assess. In an attempt to calculate the latter, a survey of the first twenty years of the critical quarterly *Canadian Literature* gives the following results. In the period 1959-79, 102 translations were reviewed, an average of one per issue until 1975 when the number doubled. Of these, one-third were brief notices, one-third one-page reviews, one-third longer articles. This seems to be a creditable record and one that reflects the stimulus provided by the Canada Council, but closer examination reveals much room for improvement. For example, reviews lagged far behind the publication of the translations and, *il va sans dire*, farther still behind the appearance of the original works — four years on average.

Of the serious reviews (longer than one page), one-third neglected to mention that a translation was being reviewed, and another third failed to say anything about the quality of the translation.

Naturally, translations were not identified as such, nor were translators' names mentioned in the index. If such treatment seems cavalier, it is far better than that accorded translations in Quebec where reviewers have until recently practised a virtual boycott of translations of English-Canadian books.

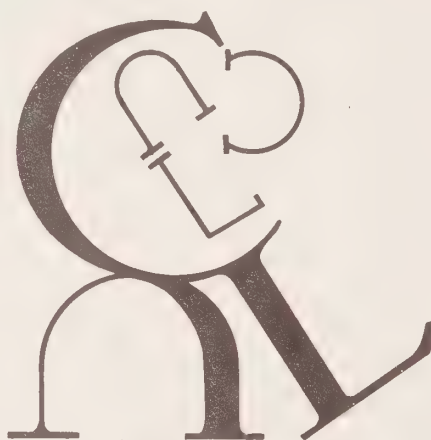
It will obviously take longer to capitalize on the initiatives taken. The Literary Translators' Association will have to work harder to publicize the work of its members and explain the intricacies of the craft. More Canadian publishers will have to develop well-informed, long-range policies for publishing translations, adding their bit to government incentives. Critics and reviewers will have to give special attention and special treatment to translators for, as James Page wrote in an earlier issue of this magazine, to know only one Canadian literature is like seeing with only one eye. Then, perhaps, the general reading public will feel as free reading both Canadian literatures as they now do reading one, and so double their cultural heritage.

All that will take time, yet looking back at the past decade one can see real progress. Since the Canada Council's programme began in 1972, almost five hundred new literary titles have been translated, more than all the years before. Forty-five French publishers have been involved, fifty English ones. The work was done by 110 Francophone translators and 100 Anglophones, a third of whom now have two or more translations to their credit. A significant change, whose results may be far-reaching, is that the old 2-to-1 ratio — two French books translated for every English title —



A chair outers the human posterior.

The squat posture is "translated" into a new matter, namely wood or stone or steel. The temporary tension of squatting is translated and fixed in a new matter. The fixing of the human posture in solid matter is a great saver of toil and tension. This is true of all media and tools and technologies. But chair at once causes something else to happen that would never occur without chair.



La chaise prolonge le postérieur.

La position assise est «traduite» en un matériau: bois, pierre ou acier. La tension momentanée de l'accroupissement est transposée et figée dans la matière. La fixation en dur d'une posture humaine constitue une grande économie de tension et de sueur. Cela est vrai de tous les média, de tous les outils et de toutes les technologies. Mais une chaise, sitôt créée, provoque l'apparition de quelque chose qui n'aurait jamais existé sans elle.

no longer applies: in five of the past ten years more books were translated into French than into English, and the overall totals are equal. Several major projects are underway: translations of the selected poems of Earle Birney and E.J. Pratt, of Donald Creighton's biography of Sir John A. MacDonal; and of such classics as Stephen Leacock's *Sunshine Sketches* and Sinclair Ross' *As I Me and My House*. The Canadian Council, as well as the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Department of the Secretary of State, now gives a few grants for translations into languages other than English and French.

In the margin of this practical activity some interesting work on the art of translation have appeared: an exchange of correspondence between poets Anne Hébert and Frank Scott, *Dialogue sur la traduction* (HMH, Montréal, 1970), prompted by the latter's translation of the former's *Le Tombeau des rois*; a scholarly history of translation theory and practice by L.G. Kelly of the University of Ottawa, *The True Interpreter* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1979); an analysis of translation in the Canadian context, *Bilinguisme et traduction au Canada: Rôle socio-linguistique du traducteur* (CIRB, Québec, 1982), by Denis Juhel of the Centre International de Recherche sur le Bilinguisme at Laval.

Other long-term projects include a history of translation in Canada being written by Jean Delisle of the University of Ottawa and a world dictionary of twentieth-century English translators in preparation by Milly Armour of Carleton. All these are signs that perhaps Canada is finally coming into its own as a translator's country.

It has often been said that translation is a bridge between cultures: as far as literary translation in Canada is concerned, the plan and engineering have been done, the construction is complete, and all we now need is some heavy two-way traffic.

Translation usually means rendering in another language more than just words. A perfect example is this excerpt from Marshall McLuhan's *Counterblast*⁷ and the translation by Jean Paré. The adaptation of Harley Parker's original illustration is by Gilles Robert.

AND REFERENCES

is indebted to a special issue of the translators' journal *Meta* (Vol. 22, No. 1, mars 1977) on "Histoire de la traduction au Canada," and particularly to Jean Delisle for facts that follow.

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Canada Council Translation Grants

The Canada Council's Translation Grants programme, founded in 1972, is intended primarily to encourage greater exchange between Canada's English- and French-language communities by providing assistance for the translation of books by Canadian authors from one official language into the other. In addition, the Council occasionally supports the translation of books by Canadian authors from a language other than English or French into one of these languages and, since 1981, has provided assistance to foreign publishers for the translation of Canadian authors' works into languages other than English or French for publication abroad.

Translation grants are awarded to professional, Canadian-owned publishing houses with a proven track record in the publication of Canadian titles of cultural significance. Translators have to meet the Council's citizenship criteria (Canadian citizen or landed immigrant of five-years' standing) and prove their competence in the field of literary translation by submitting, through the publisher, a 25-30 page manuscript of the proposed translation for assessment by the Council. Once the proposal has been accepted, the translator receives a fee of seven cents per word for his translation. Thus, he or she typically receives between \$5,000 and \$6,000 for an average length novel.

The Council's 1982-83 budget for this programme was approximately \$380,000. It supports translations of works of fiction, poetry, drama, children's literature and serious non-fiction. In the first year of the programme, 27 titles received such assistance, 14 from French into English and 13 from English to French. In recent year, the Council has awarded approximately sixty grants annually, these being divided almost equally between French and English.

This figure does not, of course, represent the total number of books translated in Canada, and does not include self-help or how-to books (which do not qualify for Council grants) or books by foreign authors. However, in an ongoing effort to facilitate and improve exchanges between Canada's linguistic and cultural communities, the Council does subsidize the translation of almost

all literary works or works of serious non-fiction by Canadian authors published in Canada. In recent year, these have included the English translations of such award-winning novels as Marie-Claire Blais' *Le Sourd dans la ville* and Anne Hébert's *Les Fous de Bassan*, and the translations into French of Donald Creighton's two-volume biography of Sir John A. Macdonald and Pierre Berton's *The Invasion of Canada*.

Although roughly equal numbers of books are translated into each official language, the content varies greatly. English-Canadian readers have consistently shown themselves to be most interested in fiction by Quebec authors (such as Michel Tremblay, Roch Carrier, Anne Hébert and Gabrielle Roy) while French-language readers have demonstrated a marked preference for English-Canadian non-fiction works of biography, history, sociology and economics. In 1982, 10 novels were translated into English as opposed to three into French, whereas 12 works of non-fiction were translated into English as opposed to 24 into French.

To further encourage the translation of works by Canadian authors, the Council awards an annual prize of \$5,000 for the best published translation into each official language. The 1982 prizes were awarded to Ray Chamberlain for his English translation of Victor-Lévy Beaulieu's novel *Joe Connaissant*, and to Claude Aubry for his rendering of Brian Doyle's novel for adolescents, *Meet Me at Peggy's Cove*. Earlier winners included English translators Alan Brown, Sheila Fischman, John Glassco and Frank Scott and, on the French side, Jean Paré, Jean Simard, Gilles Hénault and Yvan Steenhout, to name only a few.

In its recently established international translation programme, the Council has, since 1981, funded the translation of approximately 20 works, including *Selected Poems* by Irving Layton into Italian, Marian Engel's *Bear* into Swedish, and Yves Beauchemin's *Le Malou* into Norwegian. The programme promises to be extremely helpful in promoting the work of Canadian authors abroad, and publishers in a growing number of countries have expressed interest in our best writers.

Do the 1981 census statistics offer reassurance to Francophones alarmed by the dangers of assimilation? Do they feed the fears of Anglophone Quebecers? In the following article, a demographer analyses this issue and offers some preliminary conclusions.

Canada's language transfer phenomenon

ROBERT BOURBEAU



An actuary and demographer, **Dr. Robert Bourbeau** has been Research Associate in the Department of Demography, Université de Montréal, and a member of the Research Group on Quebec Demography since 1981. An area of research of particular interest to the St. Jérôme, Quebec, native is the evolution of ethnic and linguistic groups in Quebec and the rest of Canada.

In an earlier issue (Autumn 1982, #8), two authors presented their views on the future of the Francophone minorities outside Quebec¹ and the Anglophone minority in Quebec². In their discussion of the future of each group, the authors emphasized the importance of linguistic mobility, which is clearly advantageous for Anglophones in Quebec but much less so for Francophones outside Quebec. These findings were based on the results of the 1971 census which, for the first time, enabled a comparison to be made between the mother tongue of respondents and the language spoken in the home. It was thus possible to measure language transfers.

Now that the initial data of the 1981 census are available, our purpose here is to update the 1971 results and try to discern some recent trends in linguistic mobility, first in Quebec and subsequently in the rest of Canada. This examination becomes all the more interesting by reason of the fact that during the 1960s there was a great deal of debate about the future of the two principal language groups in Canada. That decade also witnessed the passage of various language laws, particularly in Quebec. These factors should be borne in mind in any interpretation of the changes revealed by the 1981 census data.

The Canadian census is the principal source of information on the linguistic characteristics of

individuals. These characteristics are revealed by responses to three types of questions: the first refers to present practice (language spoken in the home); the second concerns past practice, in other words the first language learned and still understood (mother tongue); and the third deals not with practice but rather with knowledge of the two official languages of Canada, English and French.

We shall deal here with the first two concepts, mother tongue and language spoken in the home. By comparing the two, we shall be able to assess the language transfer phenomenon (abandonment of the mother tongue in favour of another language).³ The question dealing with the language spoken in the home was asked for the first time during the 1971 census (one out of every three households), and again during the 1981 census (one out of every five households).

Measuring linguistic mobility

Using the 1971 and 1981 census data, we shall first determine the comparative degree of language transfers for each of the three major language groups: Francophones, Anglophones and Allophones.⁴

We shall then try to establish an index for the overall linguistic mobility rate⁵, which is the proportion of people with a given mother tongue who state that they use a language other than their mother tongue in the home. This rate is affected by two variables: the intensity of the transfer risk, and the period of exposure to such a risk.

In order to isolate the intensity of this phenomenon the age and birthplace of individuals have to be known. Since we do not currently have a detailed breakdown of the 1981 data, we shall present an overall index that reflects the behaviour of several

tations in terms of linguistic
ty. Despite its limitations,
dex reveals the major
of linguistic mobility. We
se it to provide an overview
h movements in a given
pan, as well as regional
ons in linguistic mobility
ada.

Quebec: Changes in Linguistic Composition since 1971

1971, the linguistic
sition of Quebec has
d quite significantly. The
nsus had already provided
ata on the new trends

of this composition, and these
have been confirmed by the 1981
census (Table 1).

In Quebec, the proportion of
persons whose mother tongue is
French has increased since 1971
and was 82.4 per cent in 1981.
This is about the same proportion
as in 1951. Since 1971, the English
mother tongue group has contin-
ued to decline in size: in 1981, it
represented 11 per cent of the total
population of Quebec, a drop of
2.1 per cent from 1971. This reduc-
tion in relative terms was accom-
panied by a reduction in absolute
numbers: from 789,200 to 706,100.
There are reasons to believe that
the slight increase in the number
of Anglophones reported in the
1976 census⁶ is invalid and linked
to changes in the mother tongue
reported during that census main-
ly by the third language group⁷.
The relative size of this group
grew from 6.2 per cent to 6.6 per
cent between 1971 and 1981.

Analysis of the population
composition by language spoken
in the home reveals roughly the
same trends: an increase in the
proportion of Francophones
(from 80.8 per cent to 82.5
per cent), a decline in the propor-
tion of Anglophones (from 14.7
per cent to 12.7 per cent) and a
slight increase in the proportion of
Allophones (from 4.5 per cent to
4.8). Since the non-Francophones
are concentrated largely in the
Montreal area, it is possible to exa-
mine the recent evolution of the
linguistic composition in this area
(Table 2). Variations in the linguis-
tic composition between 1971 and
1981 are even more pronounced in
this area, even if the same trends
are evident. The relative size of
the Anglophone population drop-
ped by 3.3 per cent, while the pro-
portion of Allophones increased by
1.1 per cent. The population
composition by language spoken
in the home evolved in a similar
manner.

1 Population distribution (in %) by mother tongue and language spoken in the home
QUEBEC 1971-81

MOTHER TONGUE			
ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
13.1	80.7	6.2	100.0
12.8	81.1	6.1	100.0
11.0	82.4	6.6	100.0

LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME			
ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
14.7	80.8	4.5	100.0
12.7	82.5	4.8	100.0

TABLE 2

Population distribution (in %) by mother tongue and by language spoken in the home
MONTREAL CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA 1971-81

MOTHER TONGUE			
ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
21.7	66.3	12.0	100.0
22.2	67.0	10.8	100.0
18.4	68.5	13.1	100.0

LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME			
ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
24.9	66.3	8.8	100.0
22.0	68.6	9.4	100.0

⁶ 6 data have been adjusted to make them comparable with those (based on Linda Demers and John Kralt, upcoming publication).

a. Non-adjusted data, not comparable with those of 1981.

English and French in Canada



Proportion* of people in Canada whose mother tongue is French and who live in areas where most people speak English:

- 10% and over
- 5% to 10%
- less than 5%

Proportion* of people in Canada whose mother tongue is English and who live in areas where most people speak French:

- 10% and over
- 5% to 10%
- less than 5%

*Percentage of the total population in each census division
Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census



Are these variations in the linguistic composition of Quebec and the Montreal area significant? Compared with the variation found in previous censuses, the changes during the 1970s are certainly much more striking.

One should not forget, however, that any change in this composition is a reciprocal phenomenon and that at least one of the language groups experiences some change as a result. Between 1951 and 1971, the French group experienced a reduction in its relative size and this was a cause for considerable anxiety; today, however, that anxiety is focussed on the decline in the Anglophone population.

Revival of language groups

What is the reason for these recent changes? Changes in the linguistic composition of a region result from different mortality rates, birth rates, linguistic mobility and migration of each of the three major language groups.

With respect to mortality and birth rates, everyone agrees that, notwithstanding the continued gap that exists between the language groups (high mortality rate of Francophones and high birth rate of Allophones), these phenomena no longer play a determining role in changes in linguistic composition, particularly since 1971.

Nevertheless, different rates of migration and linguistic mobility are exerting a growing influence. For the 15-year period subsequent to 1966, immigration to Quebec outweighed emigration from the province.

This situation was less disadvantageous to Francophones than to Anglophones, who are greatly over-represented not only among new arrivals (40 per cent), but even more so among those leaving the province (65 per cent) (particularly inter-provincial migration). Migration is thus very largely responsible for the reduced number of Anglophones in Quebec, especially since 1971, both

in terms of mother tongue composition and the language spoken in the home. Linguistic mobility also had a major impact on the linguistic composition of Quebec at least until 1971; the attraction of English was such that the Allophones rejected French. Francophones were also in a slightly negative situation vis-à-vis their linguistic exchanges with Anglophones. This, at least, was the picture of linguistic mobility revealed by the 1971 census, the principal results of which now follow.

Language transfers

Table 3 shows a comparison of language transfers based on 1971 census data.

These data indicated that the language transfers were largely advantageous to Anglophones; more than 96 per cent of the net transfers went to this group. Francophones were also in a slightly positive position, mainly because of their net gains from the Allophone group; however, the

TABLE 3 Comparative language transfers QUEBEC 1971

TRANSFERS	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL (gains)
Toward English	—	73,500	84,400	157,900
Toward French	49,100	—	34,600	83,700
Toward other languages	9,800	6,400	a	16,200
Total (losses)	58,900	79,900	119,000	257,800
Net transfers (gains — losses)	+ 99,000	+ 3,800	—102,800	

a. This comparison does not show the transfers that took place between groups whose mother tongue was neither English nor French.

TABLE 4 Comparative language transfers QUEBEC 1981

TRANSFERS	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL (gains)
Toward English	—	106,365	101,625	207,990
Toward French	82,135	—	46,565	128,700
Toward other languages	11,625	13,940	a	25,565
Total (losses)	93,760	120,305	148,190	362,255
Net transfers (gains — losses)	+ 114,230	+ 8,395	—122,625	

a. See note, Table 3.

h group was in a net loss on in its exchanges with the sh group ($49,100 - 73,500 = -24,400$). The vigorous linguistic mobility of Allophones was largely beneficial to the Anglophone group; 71 per cent of all transfers from Allophones were toward English.

In the Montreal area, the situation was much the same except that it was even more favourable to Allophones, who benefited from 69 per cent of the net transfers. Moreover, approximately three-quarters of all transfers from the French group went to the English group.

The phenomena spawned a great deal of interest and anxiety in Quebec. With a view to slowing down the assimilative trend of the English group, the authorities instituted a series of political measures. This is understandable to the extent that linguistic mobility is the dominant linguistic phenomenon in our society, is most sensitive to direct political intervention.

Much criticism was directed about the Act to Promote the French Language in Quebec (Bill 63), which sought to give everyone with free choice of language of education, the government adopted the Official Language Act (Bill 22), which limited access to English schools to those who had "a sufficient knowledge of English. Bill 22 was replaced in 1977 by the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), which, in the chapter dealing with the language of education, restricted access to English schools to those for children of whom at least one parent had received his primary education in English in Quebec; this legislation maintained a number of transitional measures and exceptions. In the widespread debate surrounding the adoption and implementation of these legislative measures, everyone eagerly awaited the 1981 census data on linguistic mobility. Did the context

of the 1970s modify the trends observed in 1971? Table 4 shows comparative language transfers based on 1981 census data.

This table shows that in 1981, language transfers once again worked largely to the advantage of Anglophones, who increased their net gain by more than 15,000 during the preceding 10-year period; by contrast, the French group, which is much larger, increased its net gain by only 4,600 during the same period. It would therefore appear that English maintained its strong attraction, but that the situation of French remained stable. In terms of language transfers with the English group, the Francophone situation is the same as in 1971 ($82,135 - 106,365 = -24,230$); thus, there has been no increase in the net loss since 1971⁸. Language transfers among Allophones still weighed heavily in favour of the Anglophone group, but a slight decline in the proportion of transfers toward English was recorded (69 per cent in 1981 instead of 71 per cent in 1971).

In the Montreal area, similar trends were revealed. Exchanges between the French and English groups were slightly less disadvantageous to the French group in 1981 than in 1971; Francophone net losses went from $-20,200$ to $-18,505$. On the other hand, among Allophones who made a language transfer, a slightly lower percentage adopted English (74 per cent in 1971 and 72 per cent in 1981).

In sum, these changes were minor when compared with what some people had expected. Are they in fact surprising? Not really. It is quite normal that, despite language legislation favouring French, particularly Bill 101 which has been on the statute books since 1977, very little change was recorded in 1981⁹.

Charter of the French Language

It should be understood that the Charter's provisions relating to

language of education cannot be very effective in the short term because they do not directly affect the phenomenon of language transfer. Instead, they affect one of the related mechanisms, the choice of children's language of education. Moreover, given the transitional measures provided for in Bill 101, this legislation had very little direct influence in the short term. It is only when children have passed through the entire education system that the law will show its full effect. In the coming years, we shall probably see a greater decline in the proportion of students in English schools. Bill 101 will thus have slowed the assimilative trend of these schools. The effect of this aspect of Bill 101 on the language spoken in the home is still very difficult to determine. Anglophones and Allophones may have a better knowledge of French, but they will continue to speak English in the home. In order for French to attract newly-arrived non-Francophones, other factors will have to encourage the use of the language, particularly in the workplace.

So far, it could be said that the Charter has had more effect on migration than on linguistic mobility; during the period 1976-81, more people with English as their mother tongue left Quebec for other provinces (131,500) than during the period 1971-76 (101,500); moreover, less people arrived from other Canadian provinces (25,200 as opposed to 41,300 in 1971-76). However, the same trends have been noted among both Francophones and Allophones and they may be as much related to economic conditions as to the language legislation. It is possible that the Charter may have had a temporary effect upon migration by hastening the departure of some Anglophones, particularly those who are unilingual; here we base ourselves on the results of a recent study¹⁰ which shows that the emigration of Quebec's Anglophones, which was higher than average between 1977 and 1979,

has returned to normal since 1980¹¹, even though Bill 101 is still with us and even though some provisions of this legislation, not in effect in 1977, have now come into force. As for the decline in immigration to Quebec, it is once again difficult to separate the effects of the Charter from those of other socio-economic factors.

■ Canada outside Quebec: Changes in linguistic composition since 1971

Outside Quebec, the 1981 data show that Francophones are still losing ground despite the fact that their numbers are increasing, (Table 5). The French mother tongue group now represents only 5.3 per cent of the population outside Quebec, and the group for which French is the language spoken in the home is even smaller (only 3.8 per cent of the population outside Quebec). The size of the English group has once again increased; 79.3 per cent of

the population outside Quebec has English as their mother tongue, and 88.1 per cent use English in the home. The size of the Allophone group has also declined but to a lesser extent than the French group. The progressive erosion of the French-speaking minority outside Quebec is explained in large part by linguistic mobility. It is interesting to follow changes in this phenomenon by comparing the results of the 1971 and 1981 censuses.

Language transfers

In 1971, the English group benefited from language transfers with other groups, and had net gains of 1,379,800 persons (Table 6); by contrast, the French group experienced net losses of -250,400 despite certain net gains in its exchanges with Allophones (+3,200).

In 1971, it was found that 93.4 per cent of all Canadians outside Quebec who did not use their mother tongue in the home had adopted English. This percentage dropped slightly in 1981 (Table 7): 92.1 per cent of all transfers were toward English. Moreover, in 1981, transfers from English to French were double those recorded in 1971 (40,385 as opposed to 20,200). Although this phenomenon is marginal, we

should understand the sources of this new support for the French group. The increase in transfers from English to French is found in every province, but most particularly in Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick and Ontario, the provinces that accounted for 91 per cent of all "new transfers" since 1971. Since these provinces are the preferred destinations for people leaving Quebec, it is not impossible that a portion of these new transfers may be more apparent than real, and may be more directly linked to migration.

Despite this new support for the French group, the net losses of Francophones continued to increase during the period 1978 growing from -250,400 to -261,000. In 1981, Francophones lost slightly more vis-à-vis Anglophones (-253,600 to -264,250) and gained a little less vis-à-vis Allophones (+3,200 to +2,640).

By way of summary, we shall examine the overall linguistic mobility rate in order to show the changes that have occurred since 1971 and to demonstrate the regional variations of this phenomenon (Table 8).

Progression of linguistic mobility

It should first be noted that the

TABLE 5
Population distribution (in %) by mother tongue and by language spoken in the home
CANADA OUTSIDE QUEBEC 1971-81

MOTHER TONGUE					LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE HOME				
YEAR	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL	YEAR	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL
1971	78.3	6.0	15.7	100.0	1971	87.2	4.4	8.4	100.0
1976 ^a	79.9	5.5	14.6	100.0	1981	88.1	3.8	8.1	100.0
1981	79.3	5.3	15.4	100.0					

a. See note, Table 1.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971, 1976, 1981.

TABLE 6

Comparative language transfers
**CANADA OUTSIDE
QUEBEC 1971**

TRANSFERS	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL (gains)
Toward English	—	273,800	1,201,700	1,475,500
Toward French	20,200	—	5,800	26,000
Toward other languages	75,500	2,600	a	78,100
Total (losses)	95,700	276,400	1,207,500	1,579,600
Net Transfers (gains — losses)	1,379,800	—250,400	—1,129,400	

a. See note, Table 3.

Source: John Kralt, *Languages in Canada. Profile Studies. Census of Canada, 1971 Cat. 99-707, 1976.*

TABLE 7

Comparative language transfers
**CANADA OUTSIDE
QUEBEC 1981**

TRANSFERS	MOTHER TONGUE			
	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER	TOTAL (gains)
Toward English	—	304,630	1,394,520	1,699,150
Toward French	40,385	—	5,435	45,820
Toward other languages	97,585	2,795	a	100,380
Total (losses)	137,970	307,425	1,399,955	1,845,350
Net transfers (gains — losses)	1,561,180	—261,605	—1,299,575	

a. See note, Table 3.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada, 1981.*

TABLE 8

Overall linguistic mobility rate (in %)^a by mother tongue
CANADA AND REGIONS 1971-81

	MOTHER TONGUE					
	ENGLISH		FRENCH		OTHER	
	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD FRENCH	OTHER LANGUAGES	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD ENGLISH	OTHER LANGUAGES	MOBILITY RATE TOWARD ENGLISH	FRENCH
Canada	0.8	0.8	6.6	0.3	47.4	1.6
Quebec	11.8	1.7	2.0	0.3	23.9	10.9
Montreal area	8.6	2.1	3.3	0.6	25.2	10.0
Canada less Quebec	0.3	0.7	32.8	0.3	51.1	0.2
Canada	0.5	0.7	6.0	0.2	45.8	1.4
Quebec	6.2	1.3	1.5	0.1	22.7	9.3
Montreal area	4.3	1.6	2.6	0.2	23.1	8.2
Canada less Quebec	0.2	0.6	29.6	0.2	49.3	0.2

a. Portion of persons of a given mother tongue who stated they use a different language in the home.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada, 1971, 1981.*

overall linguistic mobility rate has increased since 1971 in every region and for every language group (except for Allophones outside Quebec, of whom fewer have opted for French). This growth in the linguistic mobility of Francophones outside Quebec should not surprise us, given the many socioeconomic changes that have taken place (education, urbanization and industrialization), all of which increase the risks of such mobility. By contrast, however, the significant increase in the linguistic mobility of the English group in Quebec is surprising. A number of phenomena other than a higher propensity to adopt French may explain these variations. The overall linguistic mobility rate does not in itself reveal the reasons for this complex situation.

For example, by comparing the 1971 and 1981 data, we see that there is a significant increase in the overall linguistic mobility rate of Anglophones in Quebec toward French. The rate appears to double in this period. In their study¹², Lachapelle and Henripin established that the definitive linguistic mobility of the English group (that of persons over 35 years of age) increases from generation to generation; from 7 per cent for the generations of 1911-16 to 11 per cent for the generations of 1936-41.

However, the overall rate for all generations, including those under 35 years of age in 1971, was only 6.2 per cent. It may appear that, with an overall rate of 11.8 per cent in 1981, the mobility of the English group has increased among the younger generations. This may be so, but we should not ignore the selective effects of migration which, particularly for the Anglophones of Quebec whose number declined by 10 per cent between 1971 and 1981, has a much smaller effect on persons of English mother tongue who have either adopted French or who are at least bilingual.

Two other factors may also explain this phenomenon in Quebec; the aging population and the increased number of marriages to Francophones, given the weaker presence of Anglophones over time.

Regional variations

Table 8 reveals the major differences in linguistic mobility between Quebec and the rest of Canada. The mobility of Anglophones is much greater (approximately 40 times) in Quebec than outside that province, and more particularly outside the Montreal area. The opposite is, of course, true for the French group, whose propensity for adopting English is

16 times greater outside Quebec just as it is much greater in Montreal. In the case of Allophones, mobility toward English is twice as great outside Quebec than within the province, where one out of four Allophones adopts English while one out of ten adopts French.

Conclusion

We have provided a fairly summary description of linguistic mobility in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. We have omitted mention of a number of quite particular regional situations, both within and outside Quebec. Moreover, we have concentrated our attention on transfers between the French and English groups, even though transfers toward other groups, particularly outside Quebec, appear to be not insignificant (approximately 100,000 in 1981). This aspect of linguistic mobility in Canada, as well as a number of other results presented above, should therefore be clarified and explained with the help of other appropriate variables. Nevertheless, we have brought out some of the trends revealed by the preliminary results of the 1981 census as they relate to the linguistic characteristics of individuals.

(Adapted from the French.)

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2. Caldwell, Gary. "Anglo-Quebec on the verge of its history" *Language and Society*, N° 8, Autumn 1982, pp. 3-6.
3. More precisely, the census enables us to calculate the resulting transfers for those who have survived since birth.
4. Neologism used in Canada to designate those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French.
5. In his article, Hubert Gauthier used the expression "rate of anglicization", which corresponds to our use of "overall rate of linguistic mobility toward English."
6. The 1976 census reported 801,125 persons of English mother tongue, an increase of almost 12,000 over 1971.
7. See Bourbeau, Robert R. and Robitaille, Norbert. "Bilan démographique des Francophones au Québec et dans le reste du Canada" in *Critère*, n° 27, Spring 1980.
8. We here presume that the 1971 and 1981 census data on mother tongue and language spoken in the home are comparable. Studies on this subject are currently underway.
9. This corresponds to our expectations. See Bourbeau, Robert R. and Robitaille, Norbert. op. cit., p. 201.
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With 80 million citizens sharing 400 different languages, Nigeria faces an urgent need to articulate language policies for its legislatures, educational institutions, and other sectors of its public administration.

The ethnolinguistic giant of Africa

M.B. BRANN



Professor **Conrad Brann** has been living in Nigeria since 1966. Head of the Languages and Linguistics Department at the University of Maiduguri since 1977, he has, for the past decade, been specializing in the field of sociolinguistics and language planning in sub-Saharan Africa.

Nigeria, situated on the West African coast between the Bight of Benin in the south and the Sudanese Sahel in the north, extends over almost one million square km. Its population of over 80 million speaks some 400 languages, thereby making Nigeria the ethno-linguistic giant of Africa, comparable to the position of India in Asia. The present political boundaries are the result of the "Scramble for Africa" of the 1884-85 Congress of Berlin and a post-independence plebiscite regarding the U.N. Trust Territory of Cameroon. The civil war of 1967-70 was not intended to undo these frontiers but has, on the contrary, helped to develop a feeling of nationalism that was lacking before. Nigeria is a republic with a bicameral legislature, a strong independent judiciary and a presidential executive modelled — since the 1979 constitution — on that of the U.S. It went before the electorate this year (1983).

The motto "unity in diversity" derives from the multiplicity of cultures — some very ancient going back thousands of years without interruption — which is best seen in the wealth of languages. These belong to three of the four language phyla (the largest denomination) of Africa — Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan and Afro-Asiatic. To the first belong such language families as the Kwa languages which stretch along the West African coast and to which belong such major languages as the *Igbo*, *Yoruba*, *Edo*, *Nupe*; the Benue

Congo languages which — as their name implies — stretch from the Benue to the Congo rivers and encompass such major groups as the *Ibibio*/ *Efik* and *Tiv*; the Adamawa family, related to languages in the Cameroon, and the West Atlantic family, represented singly in Nigeria by the *Fulfulde* language, spoken by most Fulbe people — who stretch from Senegal to Cameroon. The Nilo-Saharan phylum is singly represented by the Saharan *Kanuri* language of North-eastern Nigeria, with related languages in Chad, the cradle of the ancient kingdom of Kanem-Bornu. Finally, to the third phylum belong representatives of the Semitic family, with several forms of *Arabic*, and the cluster of Chadic languages, represented by the major language of west Africa, *Hausa*. The distribution of these languages is well described and documented in "An index of Nigerian languages", published in 1976 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics; but apart from that, there has been no official census or map of languages.¹

Administrative evolution of Nigeria

The development of language use in Nigeria may be seen against the evolution of the politico-administrative, social and economic orders of the Federation.

Since the beginning of the century, when the term *Nigeria* was first used, there have been successive administrative allocations into provinces, regions, and states. These have increasingly divided the territory into ethno-linguistic units, even though this was not always the expressed intent of policy makers. The trichotomy into *Hausa*, *Igbo* and *Yoruba* spheres of influence was achieved in 1954 by the three regions, each of which had a separate constitution. Seven years after complete political independence in 1960, the Gowon regime created 12 states and, in 1976,

the Murtala Mohammed regime established 19 states. The intention of both was to create additional foci for development. The increased number of states liberated ethnic groups in the Cross Rivers and Rivers State from *Igbo* dominance; those in Bendel (formerly Mid-West) from *Yoruba*; and those in Bauchi, Borno and Gongola (formerly North-East) from *Hausa*. This is evidenced by the sudden appearance of a number of ethnic groups that were not even listed in the 1962-63 national census. The creation of new states has given rise to the selection of a number of "state" languages for official use in state broadcasting.

The reform of local government units since 1976 has resulted — at least in theory — in participatory democracy, complete with local elections to local councils for local government responsible for agriculture, primary education, construction, sanitation and so on. As a result of these new responsibilities, Local Government Areas (LGAs) in most states have doubled or tripled in number. Many ethnolinguistic groups, which had been subsumed under the larger units of the division or provinces, began to emerge as distinct entities. The states that had between eight (Lagos) and 24 divisions (Oyo) in the first Schedule of the 1979 Constitution have now doubled or tripled their LGAs, always in the expectation of further development. Whether this will occur is contingent on the Federation's ability to provide funds; the LGAs themselves generate little income.

The three major language groups

The present tripartite constitutional division of Nigeria into federal, state and local governments has thus crystallized three groups of languages. The first — the *federal*, or *national*, group — consists of English (the sole official link-language) and the three major (national) languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.² The

Twelve Nigerian languages for universal primary education and their distribution by state



STATES

AN	Anambra
BC	Bauchi
BD	Bendel
BN	Benue
BR	Borno
CR	Cross River
GO	Gongola
IM	Imo
KD	Kaduna
KN	Kano
KW	Kwara
LG	Lagos
NG	Niger
OG	Ogun
ON	Ondo
OY	Oyo
PL	Plateau
SK	Sokoto
RV	Rivers

LANGUAGES

ED	Edo
EF	Efik
F	Fulfulde
H	HAUSA*
ID	Idoma
IG	Igala
I	IGBO*
IJ	Ijo
K	Kanuri
N	Nupe
T	Tiv
Y	YORUBA*

● States where more than one language is taught at the primary level.

*One of the three major (national) languages.

tion of these three is incontestable: their demographic strength exceeds 10 million first-language speakers in each case. In the case of Hausa, however, the number of second-language speakers is at least as high, since Hausa has been the appointed second official language of the North since the 1960s. Hausa has thus enjoyed prestige as *koiné*, or language-in-common, of the North. It is unchallenged by either of the other two major languages, which until now have been mainly ethnic languages confined to their immediate territorial periphery.

The second — the regional, or "state," group — encompasses two categories. The first comprises the "work" languages now used for decades on the federal broadcasting network: 14 languages spoken by one million or more first-language users (including the major languages), Edo, Yoruba, Ezon (alias Ijo), Ibibio-Efik, Igbo, Igbo, Idoma, Igala, Hausa, Kanuri, Nupe, Urhobo, and Yoruba³. The second category consists of additional state broadcasting languages selected in the past two years in each state. There are a number of "monolingual" states — Kano, Anambra, Imo, Lagos, Ogun, Oyo — where Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba is dominant, and where indigenous or immigrant minorities have little influence. The remaining 12 states can be classified as "multilingual" in respect of indigenous ethnolinguistic minorities in broadcasting, with a monolingual or bilingual majority (Hausa and Fulfulde).

In some states, between three and five "state" languages have been selected for daily official broadcasting. In Borno State, for instance, on the scale of the University of Ife, six languages are so designated in addition to English. In Arabic: Bura/Babir, Hausa, Kanuri, Kanuri, Marghi and Hausa. Some 50 languages come within the compass of this new category, and each is the first language of at least 100,000 people.

The third estate in this typology are the local languages, corresponding to the Local Government Areas. These may be *dialects* of the major languages, or formally (linguistically) quite *distinct languages*. What constitutes a dialect is, of course, a moot point — not merely a linguistic, but above all a social question of auto-determination.

Some of the dialects of Hausa — notably that of Sokoto or Sakkwatanci (which is actually written) maintain a separate cultural existence; nevertheless, they clearly form one language mass, with Kano as the accepted written standard. Similarly, the 14 major Yoruba dialects are subordinate to Yoruba proper, or Oyo, the recognized written standard. Yet, orally, they are very much alive in their respective areas.

The dialects of Igbo, however, have still not been subsumed under one recognized standard. Indeed, in the past 20 years, several of these "dialects" — such as Ika and Ukwuani in Bendel and Ikwerre and Echie in Rivers State — have decided to separate and establish autonomous socio-economic units.

This is largely as the result of the split of the former Eastern Region during the civil war, and the animosities engendered by the secession. However, the concept of self-determination seems to be lasting, thus demonstrating that the status and dynamics of the three major languages is by no means uniform. Moreover, the Igbo dialects contain a language cluster that is phonetically and lexically quite distinct. Unless they are educated, speakers of this Abakaliki group, known as Izi-Ezaa-Ikwo-Mgbo, find it difficult to understand Central Igbo, and certainly there is no reciprocal communication. Yet, situated within the boundaries of Anambra state, they will probably not be given any separate recognition, but be led to learn the central form and to communicate outside their own communities.

Autonomous ethnolinguistic groups

More difficult to determine is the large number of autonomous ethnolinguistic groups. Some living within the ambit of the Hausa area are being assimilated: though they maintain identification with their old ethnic centres, they have either become bilingual — speaking their own language, plus Hausa — or have come to adopt Hausa as their first language. Donald Morrison, in his excellent compendium, *Black Africa* (New York, Free Press, 1974), cites some 20 such groups in the process of assimilation. But there are many ethnolinguistic groups living on the plateau or mountains of Bauchi, Adamawa and Mandara which have been used to separate identities for many centuries. It is their languages which, above all, are now recognized by local government. To these may be added the 28 ethnolinguistic groups of the Delta, and the same number in the hills of the upper Cross. There are altogether some 300 such groups within the country. Whether it is economically viable to give these ethnolinguistic groups separate cultural recognition is questionable. The recent proliferation of local government authorities certainly favours such recognition, since many carry the names of these ethnolinguistic units — Abua, Bonny, Echie, Ekpeye, Eleme, Ikwerre, Kalabari, Kana, Nembe, Odual, Okrika, Okodia, Tai, in Rivers State; Chibok, Gwoza, in Borno State; and Verre, Nzangi, Kona, Ga'anda, Hildi, Wukari, Jibu, Jen, Karim, Kunini Kiri, districts in the Local Government Areas of Gongola State, are all eponymous with resident groups.

Communications dynamics

In terms of communication, of course, it is clear that the fewer the languages recognized for development, the better. But given the tripartite Constitution of the Federal Republic, it is difficult to see how government is not to encourage the development of

additional state and local languages. The current re-definition of the state structure before the National Assembly (more than 30 new states have been proposed and 21 additional states were accepted by the Assembly in November 1982 but have not yet been ratified), and the recent explosion of Local Government Areas within the existing states are evidence of this movement. The former military government initiated and stabilized the movement for at least a decade. The new civilian regime is trying to control the dynamics and dangers inherent in such multiple divisions. Two dangers — possibly the greatest — are internal economic haemorrhage, and the setting up of innumerable obstacles to countrywide communication. Already, the proliferation of languages on the state broadcasting networks has dangerously reduced the amount of time available for each. With reason, Sydney Head, in his *Broadcasting in Africa* (Temple University Press, 1974), warned of the fragmentation of programmes due to the use of local languages. This has become true of the Nigerian multilingual state broadcasting services with their "grassroots" language policies. The only counter-balance is the present network of federal state broadcasting stations⁴.

The urgent need for language policies

For the descriptive linguist, all languages are equal; for the sociolinguist, some are more equal than others. In recognizing the cultural value of the many languages, and affirming the wealth of its ethno-linguistic heritage, Nigerian authorities have a duty to articulate a policy, or a tripartite series of interlocking policies (federation, state and local). They have to enable the country to develop socio-linguistically instead of being stifled in a plethora of self-determining, and increasingly stimulated, ethnic groups. Such policies are needed not only for the legislatures, where they have been clearly set out in the Constitution, or for education, where

they are merely outlined in the National Policy on Education (1977 and 1981). They are also needed for other sectors of public life, especially the administrations and the courts (federal, state and local). A first step in this direction has been the decision of the National Language Centre of the federal Ministry of Education in Lagos to set up regional language centres and to embark on a nationwide socio-linguistic survey. Planning without facts is possible, but remains in the realm of philosophical speculation, rather than that of engineering and management.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The last recognized census, that of 1963, is based on ethnic self-identification, not on actual language use.
2. The term "national" is not officially used for any language in Nigeria. In Francophone countries the term is applied to virtually all indigenous languages (as distinct from the exogenous French), or to a generous selection of majority indigenous languages. In Nigeria, the term "major" has been officially employed for the three dominant languages. This term has not been contested, whereas the term "national" might be viewed as controversial.
3. Some of these "languages" are actually language groups. Thus, Edo is both the term for the standard form of the language Bini (the language of Benin), as well as for the Edo group of languages. Many groups are now opting for a separate existence — e.g. Urhobo and Isoko, as followed by Esan, Yekhee (Etsako), Ososo, Ora, Okpamheri. Similarly, the term IJO is no longer a linguistic term. The language has split into Ezon (Bendel), Kolokuma, Kalabari, Nembe (Rivers) and other components. Efik for some years overshadowed its parent Ibibio, because it was the standard written form. However, the Ibibio are now insisting on their language being recognized in education and mass communications.
4. *Language Choice and Language Allocation in the Nigerian Broadcasting Services*, C.M.B. Brann. Afrika-Spektrum (Hamburg.) Forthcoming.

Letters to the Editor

A note from Africa

Congratulations on the survey you included in issue no. 9 of *Language and Society*.

I always look forward to receiving your magazine. I find it stimulates interest and encourages me to reach more widely.

My very best wishes.

Vangu-P
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About the survey

I have completed the survey insert in *Language and Society* no. 9, Spring 1983 on the validity and usefulness of your magazine. However, I believe that some additional remarks are in order which may assist in making your magazine more relevant.

The usefulness of articles of professional stature may be questioned. It is, in my view, not the academic community that one would wish to influence and to the fact of a bilingual Canada, but rather average Canadians be they French or English. It would appear to me that most Canadians would see little relevance in the Finnish or Belgian experiences since the education process in both countries differs from Canada's. It would, I suggest, be more applicable to concentrate on articles which relate directly to Canadian society, and presented in a form which is more reachable and comprehensible.

I also find that the thrust of a number of articles avoids the fact of the value of a dual linguistic country, and concentrates instead on the justification of the French fact as it exists rather than the value of extension of that fact.

Finally, if the objective of the magazine is to promote bilingualism, and I can only assume that since it is circulated by your office that would be its central objective, those articles which reflect that minority linguistic groups must fight for survival do not in my view enhance the objective. It would be better to solicit those articles which give a more positive view of the survival of minority languages rather than their demise.

I hope that these comments are of some use to you. I congratulate you on the general excellence of the publication and offer my comments in a positive light.

R.W. Busk
Gloucester, Ontario

bénéficieront sans doute d'aucune reconnaissance et devront apprendre à parler l'Ibo central et à communiquer avec le monde extérieur à leur micro-univers.

Les groupes

ethnolinguistiques autonomes

De nombreux autres groupes, indépendants, se prêtent mal à l'analyse. Certains qui vivent dans la sphère d'influence du haoussa sont en voie d'assimilation. Bien que s'identifiant toujours à leurs centres ethniques traditionnels, ils sont devenus bilingues — parlant leur langue et le haoussa — ou ont fini par faire de ce dernier leur langue première. Dans son excellent précis, intitulé *Black Africa* (New York Free Press, 1974), Donald Morrison cite 20 groupes en voie d'assimilation. Subsistent par contre sur les plateaux de Bauchi et d'Adamawa ou dans les monts du Mandara, de nombreuses ethnies dont l'identité s'est préservée au cours des siècles. Leurs langues jouissent auprès des administrations locales d'une reconnaissance prioritaire. Signalons par ailleurs les 28 groupes ethnolinguistiques du Delta et un nombre équivalent dans les collines de la haute Cross. Ils sont ainsi environ 300 dans l'ensemble du pays. On peut bien sûr se demander s'il est économiquement pensable de reconnaître une identité culturelle à tous. La récente prolifération des circonscriptions administratives locales plaide en faveur de cette reconnaissance, parce que nombre d'entre elles portent le nom du groupe qui y est concentré :

Chibok et Gouzoa dans le Bornou ; et Tai dans l'Etat des Rivières ; Nembe, Odoual, Okrika, Okodia, Elémé, Ikouère, Kalabari, Kana, Aboua, Bonny, Echie, Ekpèye, Vèrè, Nzangui, Kona, Ga'anda, Hildi, Woukari, Jibou, Jen, Karim et Kounini-Kiri dans les circonscriptions de l'Etat de Congoa.

La dynamique des communications

Même si la multiplicité des langues de communication constitue à n'en pas douter une entrave au développement, on voit mal comment

cinquantaine de langues parlées en premier par au moins 100 000 personnes.

Viennent enfin au troisième rang de cette typologie les langues locales, celles des circonscriptions administratives. On y trouve aussi bien des *dialectes* des langues principales que d'*authentiques langues distinctes*. Définit ce qu'est un dialecte est bien entendu une entrepris aléatoire grevée d'a priori sociaux tout autant que linguistiques. Si certains des dialectes du haoussa — et en particulier le sokoto ou le sakkwatanci (qui bénéficie de l'écrit) — ont une existence culturelle indépendante, ils forment incontestablement une masse linguistique dont le kano constitue la norme écrite. De même, les 14 principaux dialectes yorubas sont infodés à cette langue dont la norme écrite est l'oyo. Tous ces idiomes sont extrêmement vivants dans chacune des régions où ils règnent oralement.

Il n'existe par contre aucune norme reconnue pour les dialectes issus de l'Ibo. En fait, depuis 20 ans, les locuteurs d'un certain nombre d'entre eux — l'ika et l'oukouani dans le Bendel, ou l'ikouère et l'echie dans l'Etat des Rivières — ont décidé de se constituer en unités socio-économiques autonomes. Cela résulte en grande partie de la division de l'ancienne région orientale au cours de la guerre civile, et de l'animosité qu'entraîne la sécession. Ce concept de l'auto-détermination semble vouloir se perpétuer, preuve que la situation et la dynamique des trois langues principales n'ont rien d'uniforme.

Ajoutons qu'il existe parmi les dialectes rattachés à l'Ibo un noyau linguistique phonétiquement et lexicale bien à part. A moins d'avoir été scolarisés, les locuteurs du groupe Abakaliki, connu sous la désignation izi-ezaa-ikoua-mgbo, comprennent en effet difficilement l'Ibo central, et la communication entre eux est inexistante. Géographiquement situés comme ils le sont dans l'Etat d'Anambra, ils ne

le premier, le groupe *fédéral* ou *national*, comprend l'anglais (la langue de communication officielle pan-nationale) et les trois principales langues nigérianes (yoruba². Leur importance est instable, chacune étant la langue première de plus de 10 millions de locuteurs. A noter cependant qu'au moins autant de Nigériens ont comme langue seconde le haoussa qui, depuis 1920, est la seconde langue officielle du Nord. Il a bénéficié du prestige dont jouit une langue commune, une « koine ». Ce parler arrive donc inévitablement devant les deux autres qui sont essentiellement restés justiciers des langues ethniques, sauf dans leur secteur territorial propre.

de deuxième groupe — celui des régions ou des Etats — se compose de deux catégories. La première comprend les langues dites « utilisées depuis longtemps », utilisées depuis maintenant 30 ans par le réseau national de radiodiffusion, 14 (y compris les trois principales) sont langue première d'au moins un million de locuteurs : edo, ebira, idoma, igala, peul, kanouri, ourhobo, tiv et yoruba³. La seconde se rattachent les langues retenues depuis deux ans par l'Etat pour sa radiodiffusion. Nous ici qu'existent au Nigéria des Etats « unilingues » : Kano, Anambra, Imo, Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, où dominent le haoussa, l'Ibo ou le yoruba, et où les minorités, autochtones comme les autres, ont peu d'influence. 12 autres Etats peuvent être qualifiés de « multilingues » du fait de la présence de leurs minorités ethnolinguistiques sur les bords malgré une politique de bilinguisme unilingue ou bilingue (Nouveau et peul). Neuf Etats ont subi pour leurs émissions quotidiennes de trois à huit langues officielles ». C'est ainsi que dans l'Etat du Bornou, siège de l'université de Maiduguri, six langues s'ajoutent à l'anglais et à l'arabe : le boura-babir, haoussa, kanouri, marghi et shoua. La catégorie comprend une

Les douze langues nigériennes
proposées pour l'enseignement primaire
et leur répartition



ÉTATS

LANGUES

AN	Anambra	ED	Edo
BC	Bauchi	EF	Efik
BD	Bendel	H	Haoussa
BN	Bénoué	I	Ibo*
BR	Bornou	ID	Idoma
CR	Cross River	IG	Igala
CO	Congo	IJ	Ijo
IM	Imo	K	Kanouri
KD	Kaduna	N	Noupé
KN	Kano	P	Peul
KW	Kwara	T	Tiv
LG	Lagos	Y	Yorouba
NG	Niger		
OG	Ogun		
ON	Ondo		
OY	Oyo		
PL	Plateau		
SK	Sokoto		
RV	Rivières		

*Une des trois langues

Tous deux cherchaient à former ainsi de nouveaux foyers de développement. Cette initiative libérait en effet de la domination de l'Ibo les groupes ethniques des États de la Cross River et des Rivières; enlevait à l'emprise du Yorouba ceux du Bendel (ancien Moyen-Ouest); et enfin soustrayait à la dominance du Haoussa ceux du Bauchi, du Bornou et du Congo (l'ancien Nord-Est).

La preuve en fut l'apparition soudaine de plusieurs groupes ethniques qui n'avaient même pas été répertoriés lors du recensement national de 1962-1963. La création de nouveaux États exigea l'identification d'un certain nombre de langues « d'État » pour la radiodiffusion.

La réforme des circonscriptions administratives intervenue à compter de 1976 a — du moins théoriquement — débouché sur la démocratie active, avec tout son arsenal d'élections de conseils locaux ayant compétence dans des matières comme l'agriculture, l'enseignement primaire, la construction et la salubrité publique. Du simple fait de ces nouvelles charges, les circonscriptions administratives locales (CAL) ont doublé ou triple dans la plupart des États. Classées jusqu'alors dans des entités plus étendues, soit les districts ou les provinces, de nombreuses communautés ethnolinguistiques ont commencé à faire leur apparition en tant que groupes distincts. Les États, qui comptaient de huit (Lagos) à vingt-quatre (Oyo) districts en vertu de la constitution de 1979, ont maintenant deux à trois fois plus de CAL, dont l'essor est toutefois dépendant des ressources que l'État fédéral pourra mettre à leur disposition, car elles n'ont guère de moyens de se procurer des revenus autrement.

Les trois grands groupes linguistiques
La tripartition constitutionnelle du Nigeria : fédéral, États, et administrations locales, a débouché sur une trilogie de groupes de langues.

État dispensant l'éducation primaire dans plus d'une langue.

Nigéria, géant ethnolinguistique

B. BRANN

« Développement socio-économique du Nigéria — il s'accommoder d'une pléthore de langues — le pays compte 400 environ — qui représentent par ailleurs incontestable richesse culturelle ? C'est la question tentée de cerner cet article.

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À l'ouest de l'Afrique occidentale, le Nigéria qui s'étend du golfe de Guinée, au sud, au Sahel soudanais, au nord, et compte près d'un million de kilomètres carrés, comprend plus de 80 millions d'habitants parlant quelque 400 langues. C'est indubitablement le géant ethnolinguistique de l'Afrique, l'ologue de l'Inde en Asie. Ses frontières actuelles des du « partage de l'Afrique » intervenu en 1885 à la Conférence de Berlin, ainsi que du ple- te qui a suivi l'accession à l'indépendance du roun auparavant sous mandat des Nations Loïn d'en modifier le tracé, la guerre civile de 1970 a largement contribué à l'émergence d'un ent national jusqu'alors inexistant. République le, le Nigéria est doté d'un système parlementaire, d'un judiciaire indépendant très fort puis l'adoption de sa constitution en 1979, d'un f présidentiel inspiré de celui des États-Unis. Nigériens se sont rendus aux urnes cette année. vité du pays, « unité dans la diversité », vient multiplicité de ses cultures, dont certaines, plus millénaires, se perpétuent localement au travers niche gamme de langues appartenant à trois des grands phylums linguistiques de l'Afrique : le -kordofanien, le nilo-saharien et l'afro-asiatique. ermier sont issues des familles comme celle des es kwa qui se parlent le long de la côte occi- le de l'Afrique et qui englobent des groupes

aussi importants que les Ibos, les Yoroubas, les Edos, et les Noupés ; la famille Bénoué-Congo, qui occupe l'espace entre ces deux cours d'eau et qui comprend les Ibibios-Efiks et les Tivs ; la famille Adamaoua — de l'Atlantique ouest — représentée au Nigéria uniquement par le peul, langue employée par la plupart des Foulbés, du Sénégal au Cameroun. La seule langue nilo-saharienne parlée au Nigéria est le kanouri du nord-est du pays — dont on retrouve des variantes au Tchad — berceau de l'ancien royaume du Kanem-Bornou. Au troisième phylum enfin se rattachent des langues représentatives de la famille sémitique, dont plusieurs formes d'arabe et la gamme des langues tchadiennes, que représente le haoussa, moyen d'expression le plus répandu de l'Afrique occidentale. Une excellente source sur la répartition de ces langues est *An index of Nigerian Languages*, publié en 1976 par le Summer Institute of Linguistics. À part cela, il n'existe ni carte ni recensement linguistiques officiels.

Évolution administrative de la fédération

Il est intéressant de comparer l'évolution des langues nigérianes à celle du tissu politico-administratif, social et économique de la fédération.

Depuis qu'au début du siècle fut forgé le terme *Nigéria*, le pays est passé par des découpages administratifs successifs en provinces, régions et États. Le territoire se trouve ainsi de plus en plus morcelé en unités ethnolinguistiques, même si ce n'était pas toujours l'intention expresse des dirigeants politiques. La répartition entre les sphères d'influence haoussa, ibo et yorouba s'est concrétisée en 1954 par la création de trois régions ayant chacune sa constitution. Sept ans après l'indépendance politique complète du pays, en 1960, le régime du général Gowon créa 12 États qui, en 1976, devinrent 19 sous Murtala Mohammed.

changements socio-économiques (scolarisation, urbanisation et industrialisation) qui multiplient ses incidences, en revanche, les transferts des Anglo-Québécois étonnent. Divers facteurs, autres qu'une plus grande propension à adopter le français, peuvent cependant les expliquer et mieux traduire cette réalité complexe que le simple taux global de mobilité linguistique.

Preons pour exemple le relevé ment appréciable du taux de mobilité des Anglophones du Québec vers le français qui semble doubler entre 1971 et 1981. Dans leur étude¹², Lachapelle et Henripin avaient établi que la mobilité linguistique définitive (celle des personnes de plus de 35 ans) du groupe anglais croissait au sein des générations; de 7 pour cent pour celles de 1911-1916, elle atteignait 11 pour cent pour celles de 1936-1941. Pourtant, le taux global, incluant les générations qui avaient moins de 35 ans en 1971, ne représentait que 6,2 pour cent. On peut penser qu'avec un chiffre de 11,8 pour cent en 1981, la mobilité des Anglophones dans les jeunes générations a augmenté. Peut-être, mais il ne faut pas négli-

Ce travail a été effectué dans le cadre d'une recherche sur les groupes linguistiques, financée par le Conseil des Arts du Canada (Programme Killam).
L'Équipe de recherche : Robert Lachapelle, Jacques Demers, Jacques Henripin, Jacques Légaré et Marc Tremblay pour leurs

tion qui, particulièrement pour les Anglo-Québécois dont l'effectif a diminué de 10 pour cent entre 1971 et 1981, touche beaucoup moins les personnes de langue maternelle anglaise qui ont adopté le français ou, du moins, sont bilingues.

Deux autres facteurs peuvent aussi expliquer ce phénomène au Québec : le vieillissement de la population et le développement de l'exogamie, étant donné l'affaiblissement de la présence anglophone avec le temps.

Variations régionales

Le tableau 8 révèle des différences marquées entre le Québec et le reste du Canada en ce qui concerne la mobilité linguistique. La mobilité des Anglophones est beaucoup plus forte (environ 40 fois) au Québec qu'à l'extérieur de cette province et plus précisément en dehors de la région de Montréal. C'est bien sûr l'inverse pour les Francophones dont la propension à adopter l'anglais est 16 fois plus poussée à l'extérieur du Québec, tout comme elle est plus marquée à Montréal. Quant aux Allophones, leur mobilité vers l'anglais est deux fois plus forte

NOTES ET RÉFÉRENCES

1. Gauthier, Hubert, « Les Francophones hors Québec ont-ils un avenir? », *Langue et société*, n° 8, automne 1982, p. 3-7.
2. Caldwell, Gary, « L'Anglophonie québécoise à la croisée des chemins », *Langue et société*, n° 8, automne 1982, p. 8-11.
3. De façon plus précise, le recensement permet de calculer les transferts survivants depuis la naissance.
4. Néologisme qui, au Canada, désigne ceux dont la langue maternelle n'est ni le français ni l'anglais.
5. Dans son article, Hubert Gauthier a utilisé l'expression « taux d'anglicisation » qui équivaut à notre taux global de mobilité linguistique vers l'anglais.
6. Lors du recensement de 1976, on a dénombré 801 125 personnes de langue maternelle anglaise, soit une augmentation de près de 12 000 personnes par rapport à 1971.
7. Voir à ce sujet : Bourbeau, Robert R. et Robitaille, Norbert, « Bilan démographique

Conclusion

Nous avons présenté une description assez sommaire de la mobilité linguistique au Québec et dans le reste du Canada en passant sous silence plusieurs situations régionales fort variées, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur du Québec. Dans plus, nous sommes surtout attachés aux transferts entre les groupes français et anglais. Pourtant, les transferts vers les autres groupes, particulièrement hors Québec, ne sont pas négligeables (environ 100 000 en 1981), du moins en apparence.

Cet aspect de la mobilité linguistique au Canada, de même que plusieurs autres résultats, devront être précisés et expliqués à l'avenir. Néanmoins, nous avons fait ressortir certaines des tendances que recèlent les premiers résultats du recensement de 1981 concernant les attributs linguistiques des individus.

10. Maheu, Robert, « La loi 101 et l'émigration des autres provinces canadiennes vers les autres provinces canadiennes », *Communication présentée au 51^e congrès IACFAS, Trois-Rivières, 27 mai 1983*.
11. Précisons que ces résultats ont été obtenus à partir de données concernant les enfants de 0 à 17 ans.
12. Lachapelle, Réjean et Henripin, Jacques, *Situation démographique au Canada. Étude et prospective*, Montréal, Institut de recherches politiques, 1980.

Bilan des transferts linguistiques
CANADA MOINS QUÉBEC
1981

TABLEAU 7

LANGUE MATERNELLE					LANGUE MATERNELLE				
TRANSFERTS	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL	TRANSFERTS	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL
Vers l'anglais	304 630	—	1 394 520	1 699 150	Vers l'anglais	304 630	—	1 394 520	1 699 150
Vers le français	—	40 385	5 435	45 820	Vers le français	—	40 385	5 435	45 820
Vers les autres langues	2 795	97 585	a	100 380	Vers les autres langues	2 795	97 585	a	100 380
Total (pertes)	307 425	137 970	1 399 955	1 845 350	Total (pertes)	307 425	137 970	1 399 955	1 845 350
Transferts nets (gains — pertes)	—261 605	1 561 180	—1 299 575		Transferts nets (gains — pertes)	—261 605	1 561 180	—1 299 575	

a. Voir la note du tableau 3.
Source: Statistique Canada. Recensement du Canada, 1981.

Bilan des transferts linguistiques
CANADA MOINS QUÉBEC
1971

TABLEAU 6

LANGUE MATERNELLE					LANGUE MATERNELLE				
TRANSFERTS	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL	TRANSFERTS	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL
Vers l'anglais	273 800	—	1 201 700	1 475 500	Vers l'anglais	273 800	—	1 201 700	1 475 500
Vers le français	—	20 200	5 800	26 000	Vers le français	—	20 200	5 800	26 000
Vers les autres langues	2 600	75 500	a	78 100	Vers les autres langues	2 600	75 500	a	78 100
Total (pertes)	276 400	95 700	1 207 500	1 579 600	Total (pertes)	276 400	95 700	1 207 500	1 579 600
Transferts nets (gains — pertes)	—250 400	1 379 800	—1 129 400		Transferts nets (gains — pertes)	—250 400	1 379 800	—1 129 400	

John Kralit, Les langues au Canada. Études schématiques. Recensement du Canada, 1971 cat. 99-707, 1976.

Taux global de mobilité linguistique (%)^a par langue maternelle
CANADA ET RÉGIONS 1971-1981

FRANÇAIS					ANGLAIS					AUTRE				
TAUX DE MOBILITÉ VERS LES AUTRES LANGUES	LE FRANÇAIS	LES AUTRES LANGUES	LE FRANÇAIS	LES AUTRES LANGUES	TAUX DE MOBILITÉ VERS LES AUTRES LANGUES	LE FRANÇAIS	LES AUTRES LANGUES	LE FRANÇAIS	LES AUTRES LANGUES	TAUX DE MOBILITÉ VERS LES AUTRES LANGUES	LE FRANÇAIS	LES AUTRES LANGUES	LE FRANÇAIS	LES AUTRES LANGUES
6,6	0,3	0,8	0,8	0,8	6,6	0,3	0,8	0,8	0,8	1,6	10,9	23,9	47,4	25,2
2,0	0,3	11,8	1,7	8,6	2,0	0,3	11,8	1,7	8,6	10,9	23,9	25,2	51,1	23,1
3,3	0,6	8,6	2,1	0,7	3,3	0,6	8,6	2,1	0,7	10,0	23,9	25,2	51,1	23,1
32,8	0,3	0,3	0,3	0,2	32,8	0,3	0,3	0,3	0,2	0,2	9,3	22,7	45,8	23,1
1,5	0,1	6,2	1,3	4,3	1,5	0,1	6,2	1,3	4,3	9,3	22,7	45,8	45,8	23,1
2,6	0,2	4,3	1,6	0,6	2,6	0,2	4,3	1,6	0,6	8,2	22,7	45,8	45,8	23,1
29,6	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,2	29,6	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,2	22,7	45,8	45,8	23,1

pourcentage des personnes d'une langue maternelle donnée qui déclarent utiliser une langue différente à la maison.

Statistique Canada. Recensements de 1971 et 1981.

Le Canada
moins le Québec
Sa composition
linguistique :
évolution depuis
1971

leurs intéressant de suivre l'évolu-
tion de ce phénomène en com-
parant les résultats des
recensements de 1971 et de 1981.

Les transferts linguistiques

En 1971, on observait que le
groupe anglophone était largement
favorisé dans ses échanges linguis-
tiques, avec des gains nets de
1 379 800 personnes (tableau 6);
par contre, celui de l'autre langue
officielle enregistrait des pertes
nettes de -250 400, malgré certains
gains nets (+ 3 200) dans ses
échanges avec le tiers groupe.

En fait, on a constaté en 1971 que
93,4 pour cent des Canadiens hors
Québec qui n'utilisaient plus leur
langue maternelle à la maison
avaient adopté l'anglais. Ce pour-
centage a légèrement diminué en
1981 (tableau 7), puisqu'il s'est
établi à 92,1 pour cent. De plus,
on note qu'il y a, en 1981, deux
fois plus de transferts de l'anglais
au français (40 385) qu'en 1971
(20 200). Bien que ce soit un phé-
nomène marginal, il est intéressant
de connaître l'origine de cet apport
nouveau au groupe français. On
l'observe dans toutes les pro-
vinces, mais surtout en Alberta,
en Colombie-Britannique, au
Nouveau-Brunswick et en Ontario,
qui regroupent 90 pour cent des
« nouveaux transferts » depuis

1971. Puisque ces provinces co-
mencent aux destinations pri-
vilégiées des sortants du Qué-
bec, il n'est pas impossible qu'une
partie de ces « nouveaux transfér-
ts ne soient qu'apparents et relè-
vent plutôt de la migration.

Malgré ces ralliements, les per-
nettes des Francophones hors
Québec n'ont cessé d'augmen-
ter depuis 1971, passant de -250
à -261 600. En 1981, les Franc-
phones ont perdu sur deux
tableaux : les échanges avec le
Anglophones (-253 600 à -264
+ 2 640).

Pour résumer, nous parlerons
taux global de mobilité linguis-
tique, qui permettra d'évaluer les
changements intervenus depuis
1971 et de souligner les variat-
régionales (tableau 8).

**La mobilité linguistique :
il y a progression**

On constate d'abord que ce ta-
augmente dans toutes les régi-
et pour tous les groupes linguis-
tiques par rapport à 1971, sauf
qui concerne les Allophones d-
l'extérieur du Québec, qui ont
en moins grand nombre pour
français. Si, hors Québec, la p-
gression de la mobilité linguis-
trophone ne nous surpren-

À l'extérieur du Québec, les don-
nées de 1981 montrent que, malgré
des gains, les Francophones per-
dent encore du terrain (tableau 5).
Le groupe de langue maternelle
français ne représente plus en
effet que 5,3 pour cent de la
population hors Québec, celui dont
la langue parlée à la maison est le
français étant encore plus réduit,
soit 3,8 pour cent des effectifs. La
primaute des Anglophones s'est
encore accrue, de telle sorte que
79,3 pour cent de la population
hors Québec est de langue mater-
nelle anglaise et que 88,1 pour
cent utilise l'anglais à la maison.
Quant au tiers groupe, son im-
portance a diminué, mais moins
que celle du groupe francophone.
L'érosion progressive de la
minorité française hors Québec
s'explique en bonne partie par la
mobilité linguistique. Il est d'ail-

CANADA MOINS QUÉBEC 1971-1981

Répartition de la population (en %)
selon la langue maternelle
et selon la langue parlée à la maison

LANGUE MATERNELLE					
ANNÉE	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL	ANNÉE
1971	6,0	78,3	15,7	100	1971
1976a	5,5	79,9	14,6	100	1981
1981	5,3	79,3	15,4	100	

LANGUE PARLÉE À LA MAISON					
ANNÉE	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL	ANNÉE
1971	4,4	87,2	8,4	100	1971
1976a	3,8	88,1	8,1	100	1981
1981	3,8	88,1	8,1	100	

a. Voir la note du tableau 1.

Source: Statistique Canada. Recensements de 1971, 1976 et 1981.

n'aura son plein effet que lorsque les enfants arriveront en fin de course. Néanmoins, la diminution des inscriptions dans les écoles anglophones devrait se poursuivre au cours des prochaines années. La Loi aura alors freiné la tendance assimilatrice de ces établissements. Quels en seront les effets sur la langue parlée à la maison ? Il est encore difficile de se prononcer. Les Anglophones et les Allophones connaîtront peut-être davantage le français, mais ils continueront à parler anglais chez eux. Pour que le français attire les non-Francophones nouvellement arrivés, d'autres éléments devront à coup sûr favoriser le français, notamment sur le marché du travail.

Jusqu'à présent, la *Charte de la langue française* a pu sembler influencer davantage sur la migration que sur la mobilité linguistique; en effet, de 1976 à 1981, plus de pertes nettes des Francophones sont passées de -20 200 à -18 505. D'autre part, on remarque, chez les Allophones concernés, une très légère diminution de la proportion de ceux qui ont adopté l'anglais (74 pour cent en 1971 et 72 en 1981).

Somme toute, il s'agit de modifications mineures par rapport à certaines attentes. Faut-il s'en surprendre ? En fait, il est normal que, malgré les textes favorisant le français, particulière-ment la *Charte de la langue française* (Loi 101) en vigueur depuis 1977, l'on n'ait enregistré en 1981 que peu de changements.

La Charte de la langue française
Les dispositions de la Charte (Loi 101) en matière de langue d'enseignement ne peuvent être très efficaces à court terme, car elles ne touchent pas directement le transfert linguistique. Elles agissent plutôt sur un des mécanismes connexes, le choix de la langue d'enseignement pour les enfants. De plus, à court terme, elle ne visait que peu d'individus étant donné les mesures transitoires prévues et les mesures socio-économiques.

gains nets de plus de 15 000 personnes depuis 1971; par contre, les Francophones, beaucoup plus nombreux, n'ont augmenté que de 4 600 sujets. Il apparaît donc que l'anglais a conservé son attrait alors que la situation du français est restée stable. En effet, au chapitre des échanges linguistiques avec le groupe anglais, le bilan des Francophones (82 135 - 106 365 = -24 230) est le même qu'en 1971 : c'est le statu quo⁸. Par ailleurs, les transferts des Allophones se font encore très majoritairement en faveur des Anglophones, avec cependant un très léger ralentissement (69 pour cent en 1981 contre 71 en 1971).

Dans la région de Montréal, la tendance est la même; d'une part, le bilan des échanges entre les groupes français et anglais est un peu moins défavorable au premier groupe en 1981 qu'en 1971 : les pertes nettes des Francophones sont passées de -20 200 à -18 505. D'autre part, on remarque, chez les Allophones concernés, une très légère diminution de la proportion de ceux qui ont adopté l'anglais (74 pour cent en 1971 et 72 en 1981).

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la région de Montréal, la situation était sensiblement la même, quoique encore plus favorable aux Anglophones qui profitent de 98 pour cent des transferts; de plus, environ les quatre-vingts des transferts des Anglophones se faisaient vers le français.

phénomène a soulevé beaucoup d'intérêt et d'inquiétudes au Québec. Désireuses de freiner la tendance assimilatrice de l'anglais, les autorités ont pris un certain nombre de mesures, ce qui s'explique étant donné que la mobilité linguistique est le phénomène le plus préoccupant, dans notre société, se prête le mieux à une intervention politique directe.

suite des nombreuses mesures formulées contre la Loi 101, qui, au chapitre de la langue d'enseignement, réservait aux établissements anglophones aux seuls enfants au moins un des parents français au Québec son primaire; ce texte était assorti de certaines exceptions et d'exceptions.

polémique qui a entouré l'adoption et la mise en vigueur de la Loi 101, on attendait avec grand intérêt les résultats du recensement de 1981 concernant la mobilité linguistique; le climat des transferts linguistiques (sous le format que le tableau 3).

ressort que les transferts linguistiques (sous le format que le tableau 3).

Rappelons cependant qu'il s'agit là d'un phénomène d'interaction réciproque et que toute modification de la composition linguistique se répercute inévitablement sur au moins un des groupes, y suscitant des réactions diverses. Les Francophones, par exemple, se sont vivement inquiétés de la diminution de leur importance relative en constatant qu'elle avait chuté entre 1951 et 1971. Aujourd'hui, on s'alarme plutôt à propos des Anglophones.

Le renouvellement des groupes linguistiques

Quelle est l'origine de ces modifications récentes ? Dans une région, elles dépendent d'un certain nombre de facteurs propres à chacun des trois principaux groupes, soit la mortalité, la fécondité, la mobilité linguistique et la migration.

Dans les deux premiers cas — la mortalité et la fécondité — on s'entend pour dire que, malgré la persistance de certains écarts entre les communautés (surmortalité des Francophones, surfécondité des Allophones), ces phénomènes

TABLEAU 3 Bilan des transferts linguistiques QUÉBEC 1971

LANGUE MATERNELLE				
FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL	(gains)
Vers l'anglais	73 500	—	84 400	157 900
Vers le français	—	49 100	34 600	83 700
Vers les autres langues	6 400	9 800	a	16 200
Total (pertes)	79 900	58 900	119 000	257 800
Les gains nets				
(gains — pertes)	+ 3 800	+ 99 000	— 102 800	

a. Ce bilan ne fait pas apparaître les transferts réalisés entre les groupes de langue maternelle autre que le français et l'anglais.
Source: John Kralt, *Les langues au Canada. Études schématisées*. Recensement du Canada, 1971, cat. 99-707, 1976.

TABLEAU 4 Bilan des transferts linguistiques QUÉBEC 1981

LANGUE MATERNELLE				
FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL	(gains)
Vers l'anglais	106 365	—	101 625	207 990
Vers le français	—	82 135	46 565	128 700
Vers les autres langues	13 940	11 625	a	25 565
Total (pertes)	120 305	93 760	148 190	362 255
Les gains nets				
(gains — pertes)	+ 8 395	+ 114 230	— 122 625	

a. Voir la note du tableau 3.
Source: Statistique Canada, Recensement du Canada, 1981.

n'ont plus un rôle déterminant dans l'évolution de la composition linguistique, particulièrement depuis 1971.

Par contre, les différences de comportement en matière de migration et de mobilité linguistique influent de plus en plus.

Les transferts linguistiques

Le tableau 3 dresse le bilan de transferts linguistiques au Québec (passage d'une langue maternelle à une autre langue parlée à la maison) établi à partir des résultats du recensement de 1971.

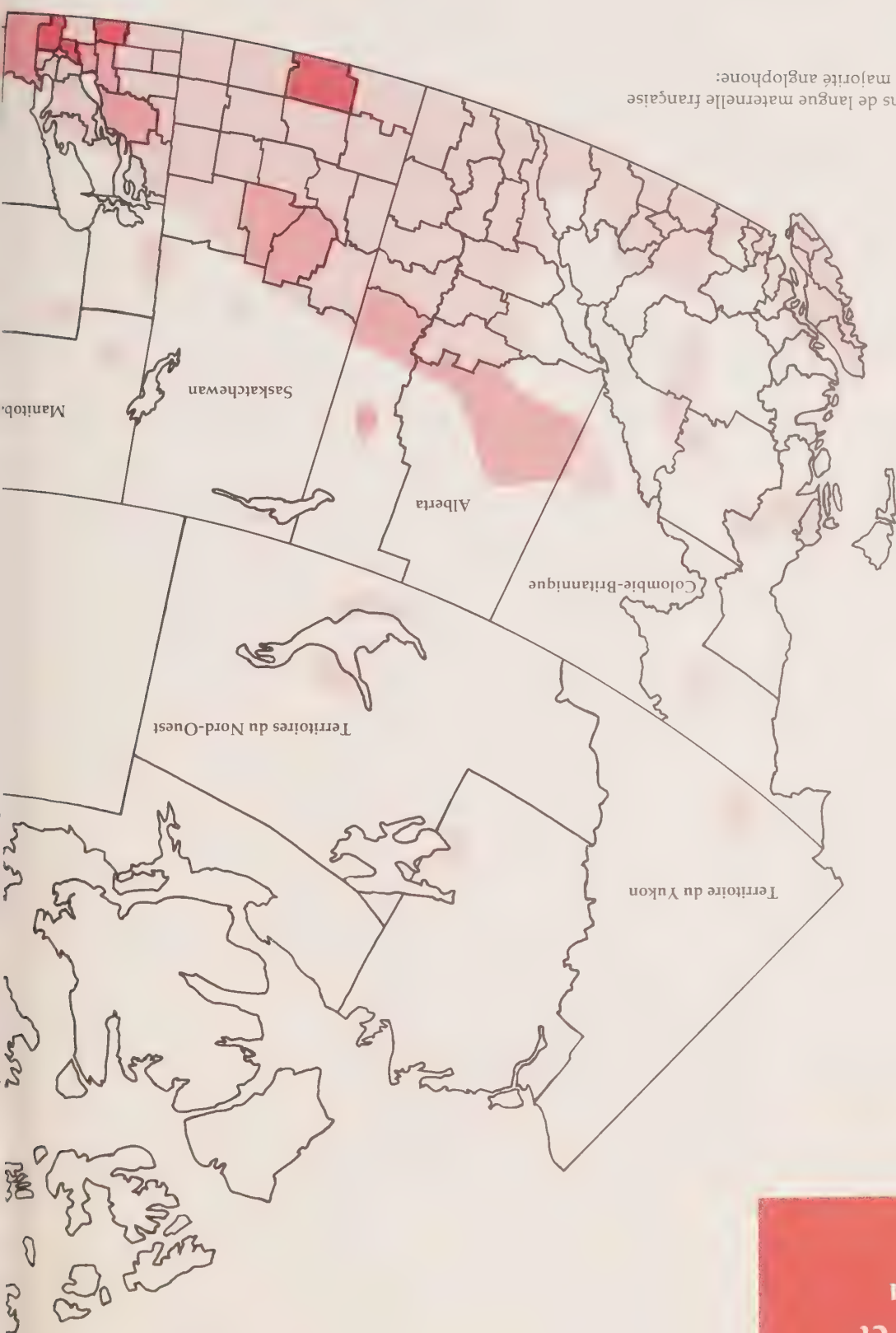
Les Anglophones en étaient les grands bénéficiaires : plus de 96 pour cent des transferts nets sont faits en leur faveur. Les Francophones gagnaient aussi légèrement, surtout aux dépens des Allophones, mais ils perdaient dans leurs échanges avec le groupe anglophone (49 100 — 73 500 = -24 400). Quant aux Allophones, leur forte mobilité linguistique profitait surtout à des Francophones, 71 pour cent des transferts se faisant vers l'anglais.

Rappelons-en les principaux résultats.

Le tableau 3 dresse le bilan de transferts linguistiques au Québec (passage d'une langue maternelle à une autre langue parlée à la maison) établi à partir des résultats du recensement de 1971.



Le français et l'anglais au Canada



Proportion* de Canadiens de langue maternelle française vivant dans les régions à majorité anglophone:

- 10% et plus
- de 5% à 10%
- inférieure à 5%

Proportion* de Canadiens de langue maternelle anglaise vivant dans les régions à majorité francophone:

- 10% et plus
- de 5% à 10%
- inférieure à 5%

*Pourcentage de la population totale par division de recensement
Source: Statistique Canada, recensement de 1981

itions régionales de la mobilité
statistique au Canada.

Le Québec

Sa composition

linguistique :

évolution depuis

1971

us 1971, la composition
istique a beaucoup évolué
Québec; déjà, le recensement
976 avait fait apparaître de
velles tendances, mais celui de
confirme ce phénomène
eau 1).

Québec, le pourcentage des
onnes de langue maternelle
gaïse a crû depuis 1971 pour
ndre 82,4 en 1981, chiffre à
près comparable à celui de

EAU
I

Répartition de la population (en %) selon la langue maternelle et la langue parlée à la maison

QUÉBEC 1971-1981

LANGUE MATERNELLE

ANNEE	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL
1971	80,7	13,1	6,2	100
1976a	81,1	12,8	6,1	100
1981	82,4	11,0	6,6	100

LANGUE PARLÉE À LA MAISON

ANNEE	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL
1971	80,8	14,7	4,5	100
1981	82,5	12,7	4,8	100

données de 1976 ont été redressées afin de les rendre comparables
lles de 1981 (d'après Linda Demers et John Kralt, document à
Statistique Canada. Recensements de 1971, 1976 et 1981.

TABLEAU
2

Répartition de la population (en %) selon la langue maternelle et selon la langue parlée à la maison

RÉGION MÉTROPOLITAINE DE RECENSEMENT (RMR) DE MONTRÉAL 1971-1981

LANGUE MATERNELLE

ANNEE	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL
1971	66,3	21,7	12,0	100
1976a	67,0	22,2	10,8	100
1981	68,5	18,4	13,1	100

LANGUE PARLÉE À LA MAISON

ANNEE	FRANÇAIS	ANGLAIS	AUTRE	TOTAL
1971	66,3	24,9	8,8	100
1981	68,6	22,0	9,4	100

Source: Statistique Canada. Recensements de 1971, 1976 et 1981.

a. Données non redressées que l'on ne peut comparer à celles de 1981.

1951. Parallèlement, le groupe de
langue maternelle anglaise a con-
tinué à régresser puisqu'il a perdu
2,1 pour cent de son importance
relative et représente, en 1981,
11 pour cent de la population de la
province. Cette baisse s'accom-
pagne d'une diminution en nom-
bres absolus : 706 100 contre
789 200.

Plusieurs signes permettent de
penser que la légère augmentation
du nombre d'Anglophones obser-
vée lors du recensement de 1976
est trompeuse et tient plutôt à des
changements de déclaration de la
langue maternelle, provenant sur-
tout de personnes du tiers
groupe². Pour ce dernier, on
constate une augmentation de leur
importance relative entre 1971 et
1981, de 6,2 à 6,6 pour cent.

L'examen de la composition de la
population selon la langue parlée à
la maison révèle à peu près les
mêmes tendances : hausse du

évolution.

Ces différences de la composition
linguistique au Québec et dans la
région de Montréal sont-elles
importantes ? En fait, par rapport
aux décennies antérieures, il est
évident que les changements
enregistrés dans les années 70 ont
été beaucoup plus marqués.

Les transferts linguistiques au Canada

ROBERT BOURBEAU

Les données du recensement de 1981 sont-elles de nature à rassurer les Francophones qu'alarme la puissance assimilatrice de l'anglais, et à alimenter les craintes des Anglo-Québécois ? Un démographe nous livre ses conclusions préliminaires.



Actuaire et démographe, Robert Bourbeau est chercheur adjoint au Département de démographie de l'Université de Montréal et membre du Groupe de recherche sur la démographie québécoise depuis 1981. Né à St-Jérôme, au Québec, il s'intéresse particulièrement à l'évolution des groupes ethniques et linguistiques au Québec et au Canada.

Dans un numéro précédent de *Langue et société*, deux auteurs présentaient leur point de vue sur l'avenir des minorités francophones hors Québec¹, et anglo-notamment l'importance à cet égard de la mobilité linguistique, nettement favorable aux Anglophones du Québec, mais beaucoup moins aux Francophones hors Québec. Ces constatations étaient basées sur les résultats du recensement de 1971 qui permettait pour la première fois de comparer la langue maternelle des répondants à leur langue usuelle et d'évaluer ainsi les transferts.

Disposant des premières données du recensement de 1981, nous voulons actualiser les résultats de 1971 et tenter de dégager certaines tendances récentes de la mobilité linguistique, d'abord au Québec, puis dans le reste du Canada. Cet examen est d'autant plus intéressant que la décennie 1960-1970 a été marquée par de nombreux débats sur l'avenir des principaux groupes linguistiques et par la mise en place de législations connexes, particulièrement au Québec. Les changements notés en 1981 doivent s'interpréter en fonction de ce contexte.

Le recensement du Canada constitue la principale source d'information concernant les attributs linguistiques des individus; trois types de questions y sont

La mesure de la mobilité linguistique

À partir des recensements de 1971 et de 1981, nous établirons d'abord un bilan des transferts linguistiques entre les trois principaux groupes : les Francophones², les Anglophones et les Allophones⁴.

Nous nous arrêterons ici aux deux premiers concepts : la langue maternelle et la langue parlée à la maison. Nous permettront, en les comparant, d'évaluer les transferts linguistiques (abandon de la langue maternelle au profit d'une autre langue)³. Introduite lors du recensement de 1971 (échantillon d'un ménage sur trois), la question relative à la langue parlée à la maison a été posée de nouveau en 1981 (échantillon d'un ménage sur cinq).

Nous nous arrêterons ici aux deux premiers concepts : la langue maternelle et la langue parlée à la maison. Nous permettront, en les comparant, d'évaluer les transferts linguistiques (abandon de la langue maternelle au profit d'une autre langue)³. Introduite lors du recensement de 1971 (échantillon d'un ménage sur trois), la question relative à la langue parlée à la maison a été posée de nouveau en 1981 (échantillon d'un ménage sur cinq).

Nous chercherons ensuite à établir un indice, approuvé par le Bureau de la Statistique, qui permettra de comparer les données de 1981 avec celles de 1971. Dans ce calcul, nous donnerons plus de poids à la langue maternelle que la langue parlée à la maison. Dans ce calcul, nous donnerons plus de poids à la langue maternelle que la langue parlée à la maison. Dans ce calcul, nous donnerons plus de poids à la langue maternelle que la langue parlée à la maison.

Subventions à la traduction du Conseil des Arts du Canada

Créé en 1972, le programme de subventions à la traduction du Conseil des Arts du Canada veut avant tout encourager les échanges entre les communautés francophone et anglophone du Canada en fournissant une aide pour la traduction, dans l'autre langue officielle, d'ouvrages écrits par des Canadiens. Le Conseil subventionne de plus, à l'occasion, la traduction en français ou en anglais d'ouvrages canadiens écrits en d'autres langues. Depuis 1981, il accorde également son appui aux éditeurs étrangers désireux de publier des auteurs canadiens dans une langue autre que le français et l'anglais.

Les subventions vont à des maisons d'édition professionnelles appartenant à des Canadiens et réputées pour publier des titres canadiens présents un intérêt culturel. Les traducteurs doivent être citoyens canadiens ou immigrants reçus depuis cinq ans et faire leurs preuves en traduction littéraire en remettant, par l'intermédiaire de l'éditeur et pour évaluation, un manuscrit de 25 à 30 pages de la traduction proposée. Si le travail est satisfaisant, ils reçoivent à 6 000 \$ pour un roman moyen.

En 1982-1983, ce programme recevait un budget d'environ 380 000 \$ pour la traduction d'ouvrages de fiction, de poésie, de théâtre, de littérature enfantine et d'essais. La première année du programme, 27 titres ont bénéficié d'une telle aide, 14 du français à l'anglais et 13 de l'anglais au français. Dans les dernières années, le Conseil a décerné une soixantaine de subventions par an presque également ventilées entre les deux langues officielles.

Ce chiffre ne représente, bien sûr, pas la totalité des ouvrages traduits au Canada, pas plus qu'il n'inclut les guides pratiques non admissibles à des subventions du Conseil ou encore les oeuvres d'auteurs étrangers. Soucieux cependant de favoriser les échanges culturels entre les deux principales communautés linguistiques du Canada, le Conseil subventionne la traduction de la majorité des oeuvres littéraires et des essais écrits par des Canadiens et leurs auteurs.

le contexte canadien, Bilingue et traduction au Canada : rôle linguistique du traducteur (Québec 1982) de Denis du Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme à l'Université Laval. D'autres projets de la traduction au Canada (Jean Delisle, de l'Université d'Ottawa, et un dictionnaire uni- des traducteurs anglo- des du XX^e siècle de Milly pour de l'Université Carleton.) est-il permis de penser que la traduction littéraire est finale- en passe d'acquiescer chez ses lettres de noblesse ?

puvent être dit que la tion est un pont entre les res. En ce qui concerne la tra- on littéraire au Canada, la tification, la conception et la truction de l'armature sont vées. Il ne manque plus e circulation plus intense les deux sens.

de l'anglais.)

ET RÉFÉRENCES

- Ans à remonter les collaborateurs d'un spécial de *Méla*, le journal des traducteurs, volume 22, n° 1, mars 1977, histoire de la traduction au Canada » et particulièrement M. Jean Delisle pour son, J., « La traduction, facteur d'éculturation ? » *Méla*, vol. 22, n° 3, novembre 1977, p. 232-233.
- reproduction des vers du poème d'Anne bert Le Tombeau des rois, titre du recueil *Stèle Poèmes*, a été autorisée par les Éditions Seuil et celle de la traduction de Frank Cleland and Stewart Ltd. (p. 10)
- ne Hébert et Frank Scott, *Dialogue sur la traduction*, Collection Sur Parole, Montréal, Éditions Hurtubise HMH, 1970. (p. 10)
- les humanités, Ottawa, 1977.
- reproduction de l'extrait de *Counterblast*, Jean Paré, est autorisée par les Éditions Hurtubise HMH, Ltée, Montréal, Canada.
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de la réalité canadienne. Ce n'est qu'à ce moment-là, peut-être, que le public saura réellement apprécier nos deux littératures douces ainsi son héritage culturel.

Ce processus sera long, mais il suffit de jeter un regard en arrière pour constater l'ampleur du progrès. Depuis que le Conseil des Arts a créé son programme en 1972, près de 500 nouveaux ouvrages littéraires ont été traduits, rendement sans précédent. Quarante-cinq maisons d'édition françaises et cinquante anglaises ont collaboré à ce travail réalisé par 110 traducteurs francophones et 100 anglophones, dont une certaine ont maintenant au moins deux traductions à leur crédit.

Changement de grande portée: l'ancien coefficient de 2 contre (deux titres français contre un anglais) n'a plus cours. Durant cinq des dix dernières années, de livres ont été traduits vers le français que l'anglais, pour des totaux équivalents. Plusieurs jets de traduction importants ont été mis à exécution: les recueils de poèmes de Earle Birney et de E.J. Pratt, la biographie de Sir Macdonald de Donald Creighton et des classiques tels que *Sunsketches* de Stephen Leacock et *for Me and My House* de Sinclair Ross. Le Conseil des Arts, de même que la Direction du multiculturalisme du Secrétariat d'Accordent maintenant quelques conventions pour des traductions dans des langues autres que l'anglais et l'anglais.

En marge de cette activité, quelques ouvrages intéressants sur l'art de la traduction ont été publiés: un échange de correspondance entre Anne Hébert et Frank Scott, *Dialogue sur la traduction* (HMH, Montréal, 1970), inspiré de la traduction que ce dernier a fait du *Tombeau des rois*; une étude historique de la théorie et la pratique de la traduction par L.G. Kelly de l'Université d'Ottawa, *The True Interpreter* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1979); une analyse de la traduction

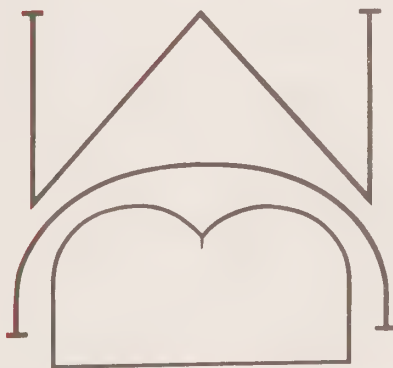
Bien traduire c'est mettre à contribution toutes les ressources de son imagination. Ces extraits, tirés de Countersblaste, de Marshall McLuhan et de l'adaptation française qu'en a faite Jean Paré en sont un exemple. Gilles Robert a adapté l'illustration originale de Harley Parker.

La chaise prolonge le postérieur.



The squat posture is "translated" into a new matter, namely wood or stone or steel. The temporary tension of squatting is translated and fixed in a new matter. The fixing of the human posture in solid matter is a great saver of toil and tension. This is true of all media and tools and technologies. But chair at once causes something else to happen that would never occur without chair.

A chair outers the human posterior.



La position assise est «traduite» en un matériau: bois, pierre ou acier. La tension momentanée de l'accroupissement est transposée et figée dans la matière. La fixation en dur d'une posture humaine constitue une grande économie de tension et de sueur. Cela est vrai de tous les média, de tous les outils et de toutes les technologies. Mais une chaise, s'ilôt créée, provoque l'apparition de quelque chose qui n'aurait jamais existé sans elle.

De toute évidence, il faudra attendre quelque temps pour récolter ce qui a été semé. L'Association des traducteurs littéraires devra s'efforcer d'augmenter le nombre de maisons d'édition canadiennes pour mettre au point des lignes directrices à long terme pour la publication des traductions, stimulant qui s'ajoute ainsi à ceux du gouvernement. Les critiques littéraires devront accorder une attention particulière aux traducteurs car, comme l'a écrit James Page dans un numéro précédent, étudier la littérature dans une seule langue officielle ne permet d'acquiescer qu'une vue partielle

Citons d'autres effets secondaires : la publication d'une bibliographie⁵ des livres canadiens en traduction, dont la troisième édition paraîtra sous peu; la reconnaissance de la traduction en tant qu'art (par exemple, par le truchement de l'introduction en 1977 d'une rubrique intitulée « Translation » dans le cadre de la revue annuelle des oeuvres littéraires canadiennes du *University of Toronto Quarterly*); un nombre accru de conférences sur la théorie et pratique de la traduction. Plusieurs revues, notamment *Ellipse* depuis 1969, mais aussi des numéros spéciaux de *Contemporary Literature in Translation*, *Canadian Literature*, *Canadian Fiction Magazine*, *Journal of Canadian Fiction*, et *Liberte* ont soutenu cet intérêt. Du côté des maisons d'édition, deux séries de publications sont consacrées à la traduction : au Cercle du Livre de France, la collection des « Deux Solitudes », et chez Harvest House, « French Writers of Canada ». D'autres maisons, McClelland and Stewart, Oberon Press, Coach House Press et Talonbooks en anglais, et Éditions Héritage, Hurtubise HMH et Québec-Amérique en français, ont manifesté un intérêt marqué pour la publication d'oeuvres traduites.

de l'avenir!

Bien que ces tendances laissent présager un avenir prometteur, il n'y pas lieu de céder à un optimisme béat. Un regard averti révèle par exemple que la période d'activité intense est courte, la croissance dépendant entièrement de l'aide fédérale. Sans compter que les répercussions transcul-turelles sont très difficiles à évaluer. Une étude des premières

pendant, au début des années
te-dix le scénario se modifie.
Conseil des Arts du Canada
trageait depuis le milieu des
soixante les traductions en
dant aux éditeurs des subven-
pour leur permettre d'en dé-
re le coût. Il établit en 1972 un
amme officiel de subventions
les traductions canadiennes,
ées par des Canadiens, assu-
un tarif minimum qui, selon
ormes internationales, était
généreux. Cette initiative a
l'intérêt de nombreux écri-
et accru considérablement le
re d'ouvrages traduits. Dès le
la qualité du travail a été
comme préalable et, en
le Conseil a instauré le pro-
me annuel des prix à la
tion, équivalents des Prix lit-
es du gouverneur général. Il
déra aussi une indemnité de
ge aux traducteurs afin qu'ils
ent rencontrer l'auteur.

initiative a eu plusieurs
membres, dont la création de
l'association des traducteurs litté-
raires (Literary Translators' Association) qui poursuit les objectifs suivants : faire connaître le travail des traducteurs, assurer une qualification, protéger les droits des membres, promouvoir la profession auprès du grand public, défendre les intérêts des traducteurs à l'échelle du pays, et que la moitié traduisant vers

Louis Fréchette). Cela, manifestement, témoigne d'un intérêt pour la culture québécoise que la province rend bien mal. Nombreuses sont les raisons qui peuvent être mises de l'avant pour expliquer la situation, le dynamisme et l'originalité de la littérature québécoise n'étant pas les moindres.

Malgré tout, historiquement parlant, l'intérêt pour l'autre culture

a été lent à se manifester. En prenant le roman, type d'ouvrage le plus traduit, comme point de repère, on peut dresser le bilan suivant : avant 1900 sept romans québécois ont été traduits; de 1900 à 1960, 36, soit un peu plus d'un tous les deux ans; de 1960 à 1970, 20 autres traductions sont venues s'ajouter à la liste, soit une moyenne de deux par année; de 1973 à 1982, 89 traductions ont été

entreprises, soit presque neuf avant d'examiner les causes et le rendement du Canada dans le domaine de la traduction littéraire. Bon nombre d'ouvrages mentionnés dans le graphique précédent ont été traduits aux États-Unis ou en Grande-Bretagne et les traductions de

LE TOMBEAU DES ROIS

par ANNE HEBERT

J'ai mon coeur au poing
Comme un faucon aveugle.

Le taciturne oiseau pris à mes doigts
Lampe gonflée de vin et de sang,
5 Je descends
Vers les tombeaux des rois
Étonnée
A peine née.

Quel fil d'Ariane me mène
10 Au long des dédales sourds ?
L'écho des pas s'y mange à mesure.

(En quel songe
Cette enfant fut-elle liée par la cheville
Pareille à une esclave fascinée ?)

15 L'auteur du songe
Presse le fil,
Et viennent les pas nus
Un à un
Comme les premières gouttes de pluie
20 Au fond du puits.³

THE TOMB OF THE KINGS

par ANNE HEBERT

I carry my heart on my fist
Like a blind falcon.

The taciturn bird gripping my fingers
A swollen lamp of wine and blood
I go down
Toward the tombs of the kings
Astonished
Scarcely born.

What Ariadne-thread leads me
Along the muted labyrinths ?
The echo of my steps fades away as they fall.

(In what dream
Was this child tied by her ankle
Like a fascinated slave ?)

The maker of the dream
Presses on the cord
And my naked footsteps come
One by one
Like the first drops of rain
At the bottom of the well.³

Traduction (troisième version)
par Frank Scott

Dans sa préface au Dialogue sur la traduction, d'où sont tirés cet extrait du poème d'Anne Hébert Le Tombeau des rois et la traduction qu'en a faite Frank Scott, Northrop Frye écrit: « Frank Scott cristallise le tout en anglais à son propre poème. C'est en pareil cas que la traduction devient oeuvre de création, au plan de la communication, et non plus seulement un mal nécessaire ou la suppression d'une barrière. Il est difficile d'apprendre plus, et en moins de pages, sur le « métier » qui entre dans la fabrication d'un poème, qu'on ne le fait ici. »⁴

**Le rapprochement
des solitudes**

Traduction et paradoxes vont de pair. Dans le domaine littéraire, point de mire des pages suivantes, le courant a été dans le sens inverse. Traditionnellement, deux fois plus d'ouvrages ont été traduits vers l'anglais que vers le français, et ce malgré qu'au début un très petit nombre d'écrivains anglo-canadiens de renom se soient mis à la traduction (exception faite des traductions de Charles G.D. Roberts des oeuvres de Philippe-Aubert de Gaspé et de



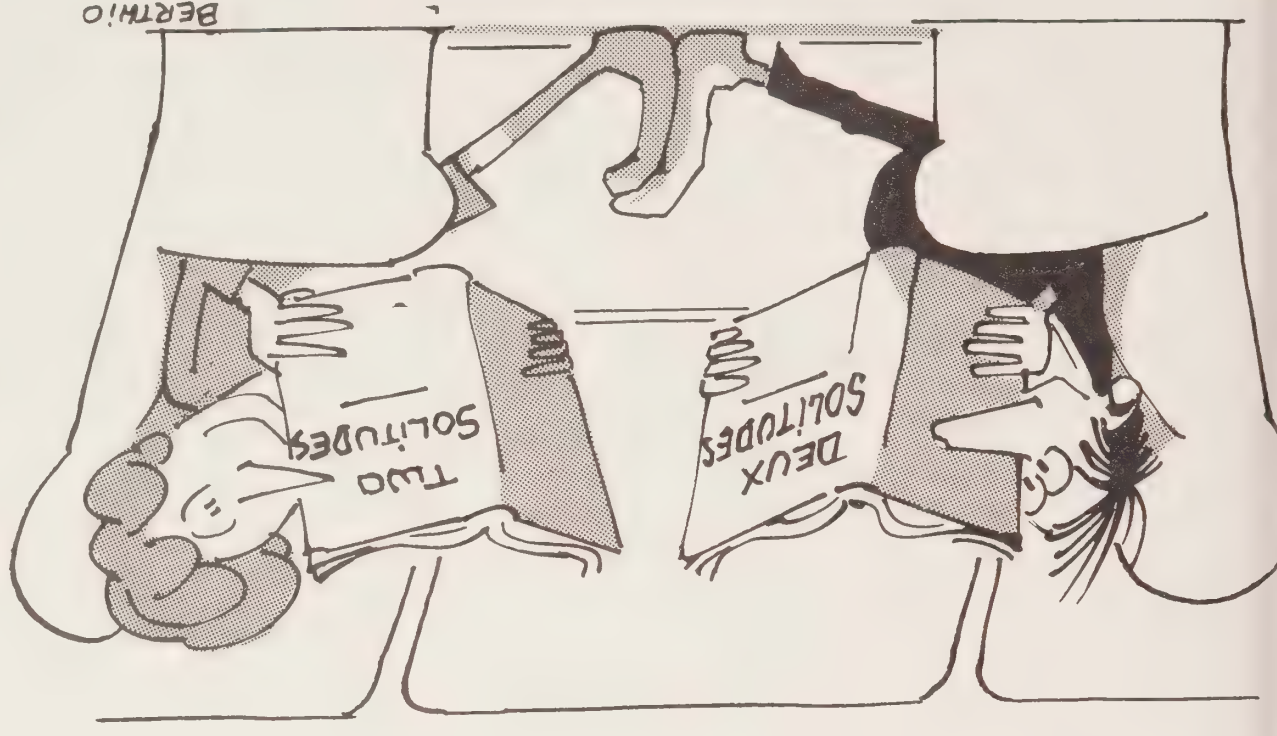
Cela fait plus de dix ans que les personnages typés des caricatures de *Berthio* paraissent dans *Le Devoir*. Il a aussi amusé les lecteurs de *La Presse*, du *Dimanche-Matin* et de *l'Actualité*. Né à Montréal, Berthio lui reste fidèle, comme aux amis et voisins qui le connaissent sous le nom de **Roland Berthiaume**.

François-Xavier Carneau, historien de renom; Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, auteur de *Jean Rivard*; les poètes Louis Fréchette et Pamphile Le May dont on retient surtout de ce dernier sa traduction du roman de William Kirby, *The Golden Dog*, et du poème de Longfellow, *Evangeline*.

Les impératifs politiques et commerciaux ont contribué à faire des Québécois « un peuple de traducteurs ». Même à l'heure actuelle, les Québécois demeurent parmi les plus grands consommateurs de renseignements provenant de sources anglophones (40 contre 1 dans le contexte nord-américain) en fait un public particulièrement désigné. Ce phénomène a incité certains linguistes à étudier le concept d'acculturation, c'est-à-dire l'effet nuisible de la traduction sur le français parlé au Québec.

Malgré le fait que cet emploi, le mystère de la traduction de traduction, Cugnet sera accusé d'aucune preuve à l'appui (il est indiqué à Wolfe le sentier de l'Anse-au-Foulon laines d'Abraham. D'autre les Nipissing n'avaient-ils interprété-ronommé l'interprète-ateur, Jean Nicolet, « deux homme », ou « homme double » ? ce complément persiste sation de duplicité.

responsabilité de la traduction était surtout aux Français. En la Compagnie du Nord-comptait 56 interprètes français contre 12 anglophones. ours du 19^e siècle bon nombre vains québécois célèbres ont office de traducteurs officiels : ppe-Aubert de Gaspé, auteur man *Les anciens Canadiens*;



La traduction littéraire au Canada est finalement en passe d'acquiescer ses lettres de noblesse. Mais si l'avenir est prometteur, les Canadiens ont encore beaucoup à faire s'ils veulent doubler leur héritage culturel.

Deux littératures à se partager

PHILIP STRATFORD



Professeur d'anglais à l'Université de Montréal, Philip Stratford est un des fondateurs de l'Association des traducteurs littéraires. On lui doit des traductions d'oeuvres de Jean Le Moyne, Claire Martin, André Laurendeau, Félix Leclerc et Antonine Maillet. Il a aussi publié deux anthologies de traductions de même qu'une bibliographie d'ouvrages canadiens en traduction.



Omniprésente dans la vie des Canadiens, la traduction, chose curieuse, ne semble guère retenir leur attention. On dirait que, comme de la masse d'un iceberg, ils n'en peuvent percevoir qu'une infime partie. Elle est pourtant de règle pour nous que nous avons choisi, à l'encontre de nos voisins du sud, de constituer non pas un creuset mais une sorte de « grand damier nordique ». Tout passage d'une case à une autre — c'est-à-dire toute communication entre deux groupes linguistiques différents — suppose alors invariablement que l'un des interlocuteurs rend bien sûr plus ardue l'incessante quête de notre identité. D'autant plus que la traduction — comme les traducteurs le savent bien — n'opère jamais un banal transfert d'une langue à une autre par le truchement de moyens d'expression neutres, inodores et sans saveur, mais une véritable transformation politiquement et culturellement prégnante.

Traductore, traditore . . .

Ces phénomènes, qui se présentent comme des probèmes inhérents à la réalité canadienne, peuvent être illustrés par certains événements de notre histoire où la traduction a joué un rôle de premier plan.

L'expérience de Jacques Cartier, par exemple, semble confirmer le vieil adage italien, *Traduttore, traditore*, selon lequel le traducteur est par définition un traître.

Au mois de juillet de l'an 1534, au large de Gaspé, Cartier kidnappa les deux fils de Donnacona, disant souverain du Canada. Il les conduisit en Bretagne et les initia au métier d'interprète. À leur retour en Nouvelle-France, le printemps suivant, les pilotes bretons prennent leur revanche. Par souci de loyauté envers leur peuple, ils font jouer les traductions en sa faveur. Ce qui leur vaut la réputation d'intrigants. Cependant, ce sont les Européens qui auront le dernier mot : Cartier kidnappera les princes un mois plus tard, en terre française. Les deux fils de Donnacona et le cours de l'histoire se trouva changés par l'inévitable subjectivité de l'activité traductrice. Champlain, en homme averti, prend un autre chemin et envoie Étienne Brûlé séjourner chez les Indiens durant l'hiver de 1610-1611, pour qu'il se familiarise avec la langue. L'expérience a si bien réussi que Brûlé demeure parmi les indigènes pendant 20 ans et renonce à la plupart de ses coutumes européennes. « Assimiler ou être assimilé », tel est le risque que court le traducteur. Ironie du sort, Étienne Brûlé, qui avait passé tant d'années de sa vie à adopter intégralement le mode de vie des Hurons, a été assassiné par ses hôtes qui en ont fait le plat de résistance d'un festin anthropophagique.

Après la conquête de 1760, les mêmes problèmes de communication surgissent, quoique à une échelle différente, entre les colons français et les occupants britanniques. Personne dans la colonie ne parlant l'anglais, ces derniers ont recours à des Huguenots trilingues. À l'arrivée de Carleton en 1767, on retient les services d'un interprète-résident, François-Joseph Cugnet, qui occupera le poste de traducteur et secrétaire français du gouverneur et du

Le débat a eu pour effet de convertir les personnes les plus raisonnables à l'équité essentielle de la cause de l'égalité linguistique.

Les Canadiens instruits sont maintenant mieux informés des problèmes linguistiques qu'au moment de l'enquête. Bien que certains propos soient encore empreints d'ignorance et d'étroitesse d'esprit, ils se font plus rares.

Plusieurs commissaires ont mentionné que la multiplication des classes d'immersion est signe d'une reconnaissance accrue du caractère bilingue du pays. M. Wyczynski, en particulier, a insisté sur le besoin pour toutes les provinces d'offrir des cours de langue seconde à tous les niveaux, « mais pour cela, elles doivent faire preuve d'un esprit de fraternité, respectueux de la dignité de tous ».

Le mot de la fin devrait peut-être revenir à M. André Raynauld, qui croit que la sensibilisation accrue aux questions linguistiques dans le grand public est, paradoxalement, le fait des tensions et des crises des vingt dernières années. Le débat public qu'elles ont suscité a eu pour effet de convertir les personnes les plus raisonnables à l'équité essentielle de la cause de l'égalité linguistique.

En conclusion, nous nous devons de mentionner que les commissaires ont tenu plusieurs fois à rendre hommage à la mémoire de M. André Laurendeau. Selon M. Gagnon, il était le grand antimateur : « la Commission, il l'avouait, il l'a eue. » Sa tolérance, son aptitude à faciliter les consensus et sa volonté de créer un Canada meilleur ont inspiré les membres de la Commission à poursuivre leurs travaux avec diligence, même après sa mort survenue soudainement en 1968.

(Adapté de l'anglais.)

desquels le statut de langue officielle serait accordé à des langues autres que le français et l'anglais. Il propose le modèle suisse, selon lequel il y a deux langues officielles et, dans certains cantons, des langues régionales reconnues. Il regrette que l'article 28 de la Loi sur les langues officielles et les articles 22 et 27 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés ne soient que des dispositions « anti-linguicides » — appuyant l'expression culturelle, mais n'allant pas jusqu'à garantir un statut officiel aux langues autres que le français et l'anglais.

En général, les autres commissaires estimaient que les autorités fédérales avaient, par le biais de leur politique en matière de multiculturalisme, appliqué les recommandations de la Commission B. B. Selon M. Wyczynski, cette politique en est une d'intégration, non pas d'assimilation, qui est radicalement différente du creuset de nos voisins du Sud.

MM. Gagnon et Fritih étaient d'avis que le fédéral ne devrait pas aller jusqu'à reconnaître des langues autres que l'anglais et le français. Toutefois, ils ont admis qu'une politique s'imposait afin de dispenser, dans des régions à forte concentration de minorités ethniques, des services dans d'autres langues.

Enfin, M. Lacoste a fait remarquer que les divers ordres de gouvernement ont très peu fait pour reconnaître l'existence des langues autochtones. Les Indiens et les Inuit, a-t-il observé, premiers habitants du Canada, ont été contraints d'accepter le français et l'anglais dans un pays qui, historiquement, était le leur.

Sensibilisation du public

La dernière question que nous avons posée aux commissaires avait trait à la perception qu'a le public du bilinguisme, par rapport à il y a vingt ans. Ils étaient d'accord pour dire que

« d'un avantage. Toutefois, la Charte est le seul texte qui s'occupe des droits des minorités à travailler, à étudier et à évoluer dans leur langue. »

Il faut noter, avec les autres, que l'Ontario n'a pas accordé au français un statut officiel, il souligne qu'aucune disposition provinciale n'empêche les personnes de travailler en français. En dernier lieu, il faut valoir que la recommandation 42 du Livre III du Rapport de la Commission avait prévu que le français deviendrait la principale langue de travail au Québec, mais qu'il ne faut pas au détriment de la langue anglaise.

En résumé, les commissaires, bien qu'ils aient des opinions divergentes sur certains détails, s'entendent à dire que la plupart des propositions ont beaucoup à faire avant d'être acceptées. Ils ont souligné que le respect de la pleine diversité linguistique des citoyens du Canada, ainsi que des mesures à prendre pour sauvegarder cet apport à la culture, nous demandent de nous diriger vers ce que nous pensons être l'avenir de ces minorités.

Une politique officielle s'impose afin de dispenser, dans des régions à forte concentration de minorités ethniques, des services dans d'autres langues.

qualifiée « d'idéaliste, nécessaire, mais peut être fatale » si on la met en oeuvre.

Partageant cet avis, M. Raynauld a noté que si les services fédéraux aux minorités se sont améliorés, les autres ordres de gouvernement n'ont pas su emboîter le pas. Même si plus de services provinciaux sont dispensés en français dans certaines régions de l'Ontario, par exemple, ils ne sont pas consacrés par la loi. M. Gagnon, ardent défenseur de la notion des districts bilingues, a pour sa part remis en question le raisonnement selon lequel certains gouvernements provinciaux offrent de facto des services bilingues, mais sont opposés à la consécration de ces droits.

Le programme de formation massive en langue seconde était un outil bureaucratique qui, quelquefois, « n'avait aucun respect pour les sentiments, les besoins, les craintes et les aspirations des citoyens ».

Un point capital soulevé par la majorité des commissaires était que les districts bilingues, en mettant en cause tous les ordres de gouvernement, garantiraient la prestation de services essentiels. Nombre de groupes minoritaires, ont-ils observé, tenaient beaucoup plus à obtenir des services publics locaux et à faire éduquer leurs enfants dans leur langue qu'à pouvoir acheter des timbres ou à réserver un billet d'avion en anglais ou en français.

Les minorités de langue officielle

Débordant la question des districts bilingues en tant qu'instrument de la réforme linguistique, nous avons demandé aux commissaires de réfléchir sur les initiatives prises depuis vingt ans par les autorités provinciales à l'endroit de leurs minorités de langue officielle.

Les commissaires ont loué le Nouveau-Brunswick pour l'adoption expéditive de sa Loi sur les langues officielles et pour avoir poussé à la constitutionnalisation les principes qui la fondent. La rapidité avec laquelle certaines dispositions visant l'éducation ont été proclamées a fait l'objet de critiques, mais en général les initiatives de la province ont été applaudies.

La question brûlante d'actualité qu'est le bilinguisme au Manitoba a donné lieu à plusieurs commentaires. M. Duntou, par exemple, a affirmé que la Commission n'avait pas anticipé ce débat constitutionnel engendré par une décision de la Cour suprême rendue en 1979 et liée au cas Bilodeau, en instance. La Commission avait évidemment étudié l'histoire des Francophones et des Anglophones du Manitoba, mais elle n'avait pas scruté les ramifications légales et constitutionnelles de l'entrée de cette province dans la Confédération ni de l'adoption, en 1890, de l'Official Language Act.

Plusieurs commissaires ont critiqué l'Ontario pour avoir omis de consacrer les droits linguistiques des Francophones de cette province.

Les politiciens, a-t-il fait remarquer, répondent à la volonté du public et, dans le cas des droits des minorités, leur message se doit d'être percutant et sans équivoque.

M. Gagnon a qualifié les efforts des autorités ontariennes « des autorités hésitantes » et a dit que la dernière étape, c'est de consacrer légalement les pratiques en la matière. D'autres optimistes, ont noté que l'expression « étapisme reflète guère un sentiment deurgence, la province progresse, plusieurs fronts et offre maintenant un éventail relativement vaste de services sociaux dans deux langues officielles.

En ce qui a trait à la Charte de la langue française du Québec, part des commissaires avait des réactions mitigées. Bien que l'ensemble, ils aient applaudi les efforts de la province pour faire de la langue officielle — la principale langue de travail — certains « excès » de cette loi nuançait sur l'évolution démographique et économique de la province. Depuis vingt ans, la baisse, une forte émigration vers le Québec a un taux de natalité élevé, une forte réduction de degré d'accroissement de la population non négligeable de l'écart des revenus entre les Francophones et les Anglophones plus en plus, on retrouve de Francophones à la tête d'entreprises. Les Franco-Québécois représentent maintenant 80 pour cent de la main-d'oeuvre, par rapport à 75,4 en 1961.

Mais ces changements inquiètent et rassurent tout à la fois M. Raynauld. D'une part, les Francophones sont aujourd'hui les maîtres de leur destin, d'autre part, certains Anglophones ont préféré partir, emportant avec eux leurs capitaux et leur contribution au monde des affaires. À son avis, la Charte de la langue française — et ses parentes la Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec (Loi 63) — ont partie, contribué à ces avancées.

Somme toute, les commissaires étaient d'avis que les efforts déployés en vue d'introduire la réforme linguistique dans les institutions fédérales méritent une note « au-dessus de la moyenne ». Toutefois, l'opinion d'un commissaire voulant que le « bilinguisme dans la fonction publique soit irréversible » a été accueillie froidement, plusieurs estimant qu'un effort soutenu s'imposait, surtout en ce qui a trait à la langue de travail.

Les districts

bilingues

Pour la Commission, la notion des districts bilingues était l'un des éléments clés de sa vision d'un Canada où les deux collectivités de langues officielles pourraient vivre comme des partenaires égaux. Ses recommandations à ce sujet ont été reprises dans les articles 12 à 18 de la Loi sur les langues officielles. Aucun district n'ayant été désigné bilingue, et le destin même du concept semblant incertain, nous avons demandé aux commissaires de nous faire part de leurs impressions.

À l'exception de M. Frith, qui a insisté sur le problème politique apparemment insurmontable que pose la création de ces districts et exprimé l'avis que cela pourrait donner à penser aux habitants des régions unilingues qu'ils n'ont plus à s'en faire, tous les commissaires regrettaient qu'on n'ait pas donné suite à cette recommandation. Plusieurs ont tenu à rappeler que cette notion était le volet central d'un schéma directeur visant à concrétiser le principe d'égalité, que d'aucuns auraient souhaité voir intégré à une nouvelle manière de concevoir, constitutionnellement parlant, le Canada en tant qu'Etat fédéral.

Développant ce thème, Mme Laing a affirmé que ces districts, tels que conçus par la Commission, garantiraient des services bilingues tant sur la scène fédérale, provinciale et municipale que dans les commissions scolaires, indépendamment des champs de compétence, idée qu'un des commissaires a

esprit, M. Gagnon a noté que la « révolution au sens sociologique du terme » qui avait ébranlé la fonction publique fédérale s'était échelonnée non pas sur vingt ans, mais sur dix. Même si le programme n'est pas parfait, les fonctionnaires ainsi que de nombreuses autres personnes reconnaissent que le public a le droit d'être servi en français ou en anglais, à son gré.

Par son commentaire caustique sur le programme de formation en langue seconde, M. Marchand s'est fait l'écho d'autres critiques « un geste spectaculaire mais pas toujours nécessairement pratique ». À son avis, le secteur où on a gagné le plus de terrain est celui de la représentation des Francophones aux échelons supérieurs de la fonction publique. Il y a vingt ans, en effet, les Anglophones y étaient « massivement majoritaires ».

Selon M. Rudnyckyj, le programme est une initiative plus ou moins heureuse. Il a cependant déploré le fait que la Charte n'ait pas de dispositions plus vigoureuses visant les minorités ethniques du pays.

et les aspirations des
s ». À ce sujet, M. Duntou
e de formation linguistique
ans une large mesure, fon-
a publicité faite à certaines
tivités qui ont été prises
voir nu à la réforme. En
agit d'une réforme ins-
nelle du type « deux pas en
un pas en arrière ».

pelant la situation qui pré-
l y a vingt ans, M. Lacoste a
é que le changement le plus
est que, à l'heure actuelle,
çais est la principale langue
ail au Québec. Il a dit
er qu'on n'ait jamais donné
ux recommandations de la
mission sur la création
s de travail francophones; il
« d'échec » l'effort visant à
u français l'une des langues
vail au sein de la fonction
ue à l'extérieur du Québec
s la région de la Capitale

th, plus positif, a attribué les
s accomplis à la promulga-
e la Loi sur les langues officiel-
aux initiatives de deux
llents commissaires aux lan-
officielles ». Dans le même

LE MANDAT DE LA COMMISSION

l'essentiel du mandat confié à la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme:

« faire enquête et rapport sur l'état présent du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme au Canada et recommander les mesures à prendre pour que la Confédération canadienne se développe d'après le principe d'égalité entre les deux peuples qui l'ont fondée, compte tenu de l'apport des autres groupes ethniques à l'enrichissement culturel du Canada, ainsi que les mesures à prendre pour sauvegarder cet apport; . . . »

fallu huit ans à la Commission pour accomplir sa lourde tâche. Son Rapport sept volumes portait sur des sujets clés aussi variés que les langues officielles, l'éducation, le monde du travail, l'apport culturel des autres groupes ethniques, l'immigration, le Canada; élaboré un vaste programme de recherches dans des dizaines de secteurs inédits; étudié les compétences respectives du fédéral, des autorités provinciales et municipales, de même que des commissions scolaires; analysé des statistiques démographiques et économiques. Un compte rendu détaillé, riche et agréable à lire de la richesse et de la pluralité linguistiques et culturelles du Canada, tel a été le résultat de ses travaux. Ses conclusions demeurent un point de repère pour les décideurs qui cherchent une solution à ces questions essentielles pour les Canadiens.

linguistiques, Jaroslav Rudny
a qualifié le conflit de
« semi-résolu ».

Tous ont convenu que la
Commission « avait tempéré
débat » (pour citer Davidson
Dunton) et, à certains égards
sensibilisé les Canadiens à de
problèmes que nombre d'enti-
avaient ignorés, mal compris
ou choisi de résoudre par le
recours à des moyens politi-
ment inadmissibles. La crise
des années soixante a, dans
large mesure, été surmontée
selon certains, le Canada y a
vécu), mais l'aveuglement de
décennies passées ne doit pas
faire place à la satisfaction be-
qui serait tout aussi dangere-
comme le faisait remarquer
commissaire : « Le malade ve-
mieux, mais il n'est pas
complètement rétabli ».

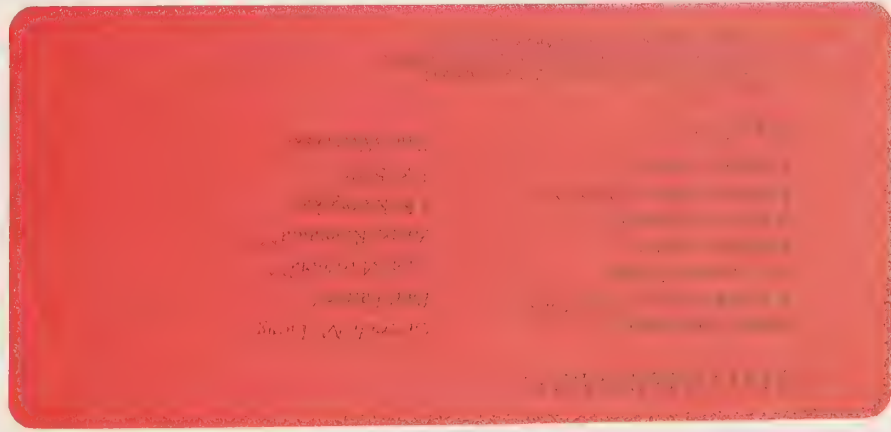
La politique linguistique fédérale

Délaissant la politique, nous av-
demandé aux commissaires d'ap-
l'effet de la Loi sur les langues
les, la Charte canadienne des
libertés et le programme fédéral
langues officielles.

Ils ont coté ces initiatives de
« passables » à « bonnes ». L
sur les langues officielles avait
résisté au passage du temps
s'était révélée un instrument
réforme suffisamment souple

Plusieurs, toutefois, ont parti-
certaines mesures d'appli-
la Loi au sein de la fonction
que en termes beaucoup mo-
élogieux. Mme Laing a déplo-
le problème des répercussions
demeure et des efforts soutenus
devront être faits pour consolider
les acquis. Notant qu'au Manitoba
d'autres groupes ethniques accor-
daient maintenant leur appui aux
Francophones qui luttent pour la

reconnaissance de leurs droits
sentiments, les besoins, les
« n'avaient aucun respect po-
bureaucratiques qui, quel-
langue seconde étaient des
gramme de formation massi-
de postes bilingues et le pro-
soulignant que la création en
façon dont on avait procédé
Plusieurs, toutefois, ont parti-



Paul Lacoste ont tous mentionné
que dans son introduction géné-
rale la Commission avait précisé
que les recommandations visant
les questions politiques et cons-
titutionnelles — causes sous-
jacentes à la crise — seraient
incluses dans le rapport final. Mais
la mort d'André Laurendeau n'a
pas permis de mener ce projet à
terme. Les commissaires s'étant

La Loi sur les langues officielles a bien résisté au passage du temps et s'est révélée un instrument de réforme suffisamment souple.

consacrés corps et âme aux recher-
ches linguistico-culturelles, le dos-
sier constitutionnel a été subse-
quemment confié à la Commission
de l'unité canadienne.

Jean Marchand s'est souvent du
« sentiment d'aliénation » qu'il
avait partagé avec d'autres Fran-
cophones de la capitale fédérale
des années cinquante et soixante.
M. Marchand et André Raynauld
sont d'avis que la crise actuelle est
« différente, mais non terminée »,
le problème des répercussions
demeure et des efforts soutenus
devront être faits pour consolider
les acquis. Notant qu'au Manitoba
d'autres groupes ethniques accor-
daient maintenant leur appui aux
Francophones qui luttent pour la

Canada. Soulignant que la
Commission avait affirmé que la
crise se produisait sans que le
« Canada en soit toujours con-
scient », Davidson Dunton s'est
rappelé que les Canadiens avaient
été manifestement pris au
dépourvu par les événements
d'octobre 1970, le dossier du
français dans l'air de 1976 et, plus
récemment, par la question du
bilinguisme officiel au Manitoba.
Cependant, a-t-il ajouté, ces évé-
nements, indéniablement sérieux,
n'étaient pas, et ne sont toujours
pas, du même ordre que la vio-
lence qui couvait — et à l'occasion
éclatait — au début des années
soixante.

Dans la mesure où un
nationalisme démocratique légi-
time a remplacé les actes d'anar-
chie, Jean-Louis Gagnon et
Royce Frith s'entendent pour
dire que le Canada a survécu à la
crise. Commentant ces mani-
festations de violence, M. Frith fai-
sait également remarquer que le
Canada n'avait pour ainsi dire
aucune expérience des solutions
politiques applicables dans de tels
cas.

Getrude Laing pour sa part
préfère parler de « survie ». Les
réformes introduites ultérieu-
ment par le gouvernement sont
venues à bout des problèmes les
plus criants des années soixante;
aujourd'hui, il convient de parler
de malaise profond plutôt que de
crise, car le « fossé entre les cul-
tures est beaucoup plus profond
que celui entre les langues ».

Mme Laing, Paul Wyczynski et

at échaudé ou lion qui dort

vingt ans, la Commission B. B. amorçait une enquête
allait jeter les bases de la réforme linguistique au Canada.
s le cadre de cet article, Langue et société a demandé à
membres de la Commission d'évaluer les progrès accomplis
s la mise en œuvre du modèle qu'ils avaient proposé.

LES STRONG

Charles Strong a fait successivement carrière comme professeur d'université, fonctionnaire et, plus récemment, rédacteur, traducteur et conseiller linguistique indépendant. Associé au programme fédéral des langues officielles depuis plus de dix ans, il prépare un livre sur la réforme linguistique au Canada.

a création, il y a vingt ans, de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme a sans doute été l'événement le plus marquant de l'histoire linguistique du Canada.

mission ayant été formée à une époque où de s remous socio-politiques secouaient le Québec particulier, ses membres « s'attendaient bien à se er en présence de tensions et conflits ». Ils ont conclu cependant que la situation était plus grave e le croyait la majorité, et que le « Canada saït, sans toujours en être conscient, la crise pale de son histoire ».

conclusion maîtresse, énoncée dans le bulte du rapport préliminaire publié en 1965, saït que la Commission aborderait les questions coculturelles à l'intérieur d'un cadre élargi. rnement aux objectifs implicites de son vaste at, rédigé en termes très généraux, mais eusement choisis, elle a pris le parti de déborder ontières à la fois artificielles et rigides des ps de compétence qui caractérisent le système que canadien. « Bilinguisme et biculturalisme », epe d'égalité », « peuples fondateurs » et es groupes ethniques » ainsi que d'autres mots u mandat n'étaient pas des questions pouvant ébatues d'un point de vue strictement fédéral vincial, ou dans une perspective ne tenant pas

La Commission a donc entendu des dépositions, lancé un important programme de recherches et organisé nombre de rencontres privées et publiques avec des groupes et particuliers de toutes conditions sociales intéressés par la langue et la culture. Les volumes constituant son Rapport renferment une discussion franche de ses conclusions ainsi que des recommandations aux autorités visées quant aux réformes à mettre en œuvre.

À l'automne de 1983, neuf membres de la Commission acceptaient d'évaluer les progrès accomplis dans la mise en œuvre du modèle de réforme linguistique qu'ils avaient proposé. Compte tenu de l'ampleur du Rapport, nous avons limité nos discussions à six dossiers clés : la crise, la politique linguistique fédérale, les districts bilingues, les minorités de langue officielle, les minorités ethniques et la sensibilisation du public. Ce qui suit est une synthèse des principaux points soulevés par les commissaires au cours des entretiens.

La crise

Le Canada a-t-il survécu à la crise que la Commission avait diagnostiquée dans son rapport préliminaire et, si tel était le cas, dans quelle mesure ?

Tous les commissaires ont répondu à cette question par un oui prudent, beaucoup faisant valoir que les tensions d'alors n'étaient pas de même nature et n'avaient pas la même gravité que les problèmes d'unité nationale qui secouent présentement le

compte de la portée sociale, psychologique et économique du problème. La Commission n'avait-elle pas souligné : « Il n'y a pas qu'un seul secteur de la vie canadienne qui soit battu en brèche; l'essentiel est menacé, c'est-à-dire la volonté de vivre ensemble... »

La Commission a donc entendu des dépositions, lancé un important programme de recherches et organisé nombre de rencontres privées et publiques avec des groupes et particuliers de toutes conditions sociales intéressés par la langue et la culture. Les volumes constituant son Rapport renferment une discussion franche de ses conclusions ainsi que des recommandations aux autorités visées quant aux réformes à mettre en œuvre.

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Note de la rédaction

La création, en 1963, de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme a donné le branle à une réforme linguistique qui a profondément marqué la société canadienne et nombre de ses institutions au cours des vingt dernières années. L'auteur de l'article de tête, Charles Strong, s'est entretenu avec neuf membres de la Commission, leur demandant d'apprécier tant les progrès accomplis que les difficultés rencontrées.

Retraçant d'un autre point de vue l'histoire linguistique de la dernière décennie, Robert Bourbeau dégage les tendances des transferts linguistiques entre les Francophones, les Anglophones et les Allophones du Canada depuis 1971. S'appuyant sur les données du dernier recensement, il va au-delà de l'analyse purement statistique pour cerner les causes et les effets de cette évolution.

Mettant de côté politique, sociologie et statistique, Philip Stratford brosse allègrement un tableau de l'histoire de la traduction au Canada suivi d'un survol de la traduction littéraire — pont entre nos deux grandes cultures. Selon l'auteur, sa construction est achevée, il n'y manque plus qu'une « circulation plus intense dans les deux sens ».

Comme le montre le dernier article, les problèmes linguistiques du Canada sont mineurs par rapport à ceux de certains pays. Le professeur C.M.B. Brann décrit l'incroyable complexité linguistique du Nigeria, où 80 millions d'habitants s'ex-priment en quelque 400 langues.

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LANGUE
et société

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Max Yalden. Elle a pour objet d'alimenter la
réflexion et de servir de tribune pour l'examen
des grandes questions linguistiques qui se
posent au Canada et à l'étranger.

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ANGLIC

et société

Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme

Vingt ans après, neuf commissaires
font un tour d'horizon

Charles Strong

La traduction littéraire:
deux solitudes se font signe

Philip Stratford

Les voies de la mobilité linguistique
à la lumière du recensement de 1981

Robert Bourbeau

Le Nigéria:
pays aux 400 langues

Conrad Brann

Lettres à la rédaction

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SPECIAL ISSUE

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Winter 1984

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with the country's language duality



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The opinions expressed by contributors are their own, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Commissioner.

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COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL
COMMISSAIRE
AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES



THE FRENCH IMMERSION PHENOMENON

A special issue with
Dr H.H. (David) Stern
as guest editor

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French immersion ... a Canadian experience

Language and Society has explored a wide range of issues since its inception in 1979. As a journal dedicated to informing our readers of the variety and richness of linguistic experience, we have tried to follow as eclectic a policy as possible.

At the same time, we recognize that there are some developments on the language scene whose importance and complexity cannot be adequately covered in a single article, or even two or three. French immersion in Canada is a striking example, and this special issue of *Language and Society* is therefore given entirely to a subject that may well be the most important educational development in the linguistic history of our country over the last twenty years or so.

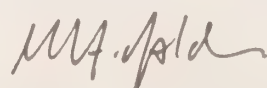
We are fortunate to have Dr. H.H. Stern, formerly Director of the Modern Language Centre of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, as special editor of this issue. Dr. Stern is an internationally recognized expert in the field of second-language teaching and an authority on French immersion and he has been able to bring together a remarkable collection of thirteen original articles which look at the immersion experience from virtually every significant point of view.

For some of us who are involved with language policy and bilingualism on a daily basis may be inclined to assume that what French immersion is all about is common knowledge to almost all Canadians. Despite its remarkable growth it is still available only to a relatively small number of students and

remains a mystery to many people who are not directly involved with language education. We hope that this special issue, by reaching persons other than professionals and parents who are directly involved, will help to fill the information gap.

French immersion is a Canadian success story of the first order, and researchers have come from many countries to have a closer look and to see whether it can be duplicated elsewhere. As well as being a remarkable pedagogical adventure, the growth of immersion has been an object lesson in social change. Praise is due not only to interested parents and organizations like Canadian Parents for French, but also to teachers, school trustees, and professionals in the ministries of education who have had the foresight and courage to move so far and so fast to revolutionize the teaching of French as a second language. Some legitimate questions remain, to be sure, and Dr. Stern has given ample space in the following pages to those who have doubts about the programme, whether as a method of teaching French or a way of reducing the distance between our two major linguistic communities. But one thing is certain: whatever one's personal reaction, the linguistic climate in Canada has been profoundly altered by the immersion revolution.

It is a fascinating subject of potentially great significance to Canadians. I very much hope, as a result, that our readers will find that this special issue has been helpful in demystifying the subject and bringing to a wider public the findings of a number of people who have been intimately involved with the programme.



Maxwell Yalden

A bold approach to second-language teaching is producing a new generation of English-speaking youngsters across Canada who are remarkably fluent in French. This special issue examines the concept of immersion through the eyes of parents, teachers, administrators, researchers and others.

The immersion phenomenon

H.H. STERN



H.H. (David) Stern, professor emeritus in the Department of Curriculum of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto, is a Killam Research Fellow. The founding director of the Modern Language Centre of OISE, a position he held from 1968-81, he now works as a freelance language consultant, author and lecturer.

This entire issue of *Language and Society* is devoted to a single topic: French immersion and its influence in Canadian education. No one interested in language policy, language education, and bilingualism in Canada can afford to ignore this unique form of bilingual schooling which has made such a powerful impact on the language scene and the sociopolitical climate in Canada. While immersion education has been a characteristically Canadian response to a uniquely Canadian language situation, its lessons are not confined to Canada. It has implications for other bilingual settings and for second-language pedagogy in general anywhere in the world.

"Immersion" has become a household word for many families and many educators in Canada. But to a number of readers of *Language and Society* it may be far less familiar, and it is therefore appropriate to explain briefly what is meant by immersion.¹

French immersion is a phenomenon of English-speaking educational systems in Canada. It represents a determined attempt on the part of Anglophones to overcome inveterate difficulties and inhibitions to learn French as a second language. Immersion classes are therefore intended for children whose home language is English (and, in some instances, e.g. in the case of immigrants, a third language) and who, with the consent of their parents, are willing to undergo a large part of their schooling through the medium of French. A French-

immersion class is not primarily a language class. It is a class in which subjects other than French, such as mathematics, history, art, or physical education, are presented in French. French immersion is teaching *in* French, not teaching *of* French. The intention is that the new language is to be learnt by use while learning something else and not by formal language instruction. Several articles in this issue explain and discuss how, why, and how well immersion works.

The immersion teacher is usually a native-French speaker or has a near-native command. He/she provides all the instruction in French but is conscious of the fact that the pupils are non-Francophones. The teacher attempts to coax his/her class gradually and gently into the use of French by example and encouragement. Thus, typically in a kindergarten or grade 1 immersion class, the teacher is the only one who speaks French at first; the children continue to use English until gradually they too begin to use French with the teacher and increasingly with one another. In so-called *full immersion*, all instruction — except of course English as a subject, where and when it occurs — is entirely in French for one whole school year or, frequently, for two or even three years. Beyond these full-immersion years, education gradually becomes increasingly bilingual. The figure 1 on page 50 (Lapkin-Swain, this issue) illustrates three different typical immersion patterns. The overall effect is therefore one of bilingual education. In so-called *partial immersion* the proportions of instruction in French and instruction in English are more evenly balanced from the outset.

Immersion is most frequently offered from the earliest years of schooling in kindergarten or grade 1 or 2, as so-called *early immersion*. If immersion is offered in later years of schooling instead, say, from grade 4, it is described as *delayed immersion* or as *middle* or *intermediate immersion*. If it is offered in grades 6, 7, or later, it is called *late immersion*.

middle or late immersion is usually preceded by some years of conventional French instruction.

Immersion classes are voluntary; they are offered in a school district as an alternative option to the regular English-based school programme. They are usually set up as a stream in an English-medium school. In some cases, so called *immersion centres* have been established in which the immersion effort is not confined to the class itself but the whole school environment is one of French immersion.

French immersion began very gradually in 1965 as an experiment in a single school in the vicinity of Montreal, the St. Lambert Elementary School, at the initiative of an active parents' group (see page 48), and from there, over the next decade, spread across Canada so that in the present year, it is estimated around 100,000 children are in one or another of the different immersion programmes.² The table on page 7 will give an idea of the phenomenal growth and spread of French immersion across Canada.

It should be pointed out that, simultaneously, more conventional methods of teaching French as one of several subjects — usually referred to as *core French* — have also spread. In fact, the vast majority of children learn French in core-French classes in elementary and secondary schools, and not in immersion programmes. One of the criticisms that has been made of immersion is that it has introduced an element of social elitism into Canadian schools, a criticism that is also referred to in a number of the articles in this issue.³

Some school systems have introduced a kind of halfway-house compromise between immersion and, so-called *extended French*, in which one subject other than core French is taught in French and added to the regular core-French course, thus offering an opportunity for greater exposure to French in an immersion-like situation. Core French has suffered — perhaps unfairly — in public esteem when

compared with immersion. Recently, the question has been raised whether core French could not be strengthened by immersion-type activities in order to provide all students with some of the benefits of the more successful immersion approach. The present issue of *Language and Society*, however, is only concerned with immersion and not the other options of French instruction in Anglophone Canada.⁴

At this point it is also worth mentioning that Francophone educators, as a rule, have not chosen the immersion route in the teaching of English as a second language in Francophone schools. The language issues for Francophone education do not offer an exact parallel to those in Anglophone schooling. These issues, which are no less important than those we deal with in this number, are only mentioned in two papers; not surprisingly, one of them deals with immersion schooling in the bilingual province of New Brunswick, and the other is the concluding article of the issue from Quebec. But in the context of the topic we are focussing on here, the complexity of language education for Francophones can regrettably not be given all the attention it requires.

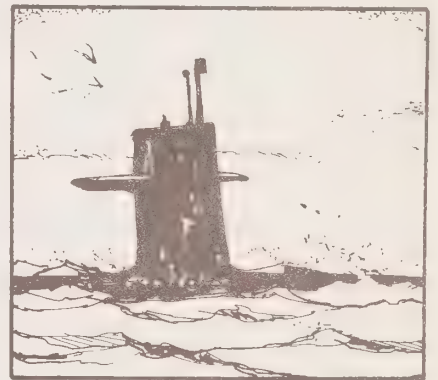
Over the two decades of immersion education much experience has been gathered on the merits as well as on the problems of this form of bilingual schooling. Immersion has also been the subject of a great deal of research from its early beginning to the present day. It is probably one of the most thoroughly investigated educational innovations.⁵

The articles in this issue of *Language and Society* reflect the experience of parents, teachers, administrators, researchers, and others who have been in contact with the immersion question for many years. This collection of papers, therefore, represents a stocktaking and at the same time a questioning on where to go from here.

Judith Gibson, a Vancouver parent, looks at immersion from the point of view of a mother whose children are in immersion. Claire Mian writes

about her experience as an immersion high school teacher in a Toronto suburb, while André Obadia, the first president of the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers, considers the special problems of teaching and teacher training for immersion. Russell McGillivray writes about immersion from the point of view of a highly experienced educational administrator who has been involved in immersion education for many years.

The impact of immersion on language teaching at the university level is considered by Marjorie Bingham Wesche. Dr. Wesche also describes a promising immersion-type experiment involving Francophone students learning



From partial . . . to full immersion

English as well as Anglophone students learning French.

The gradual spread of immersion to other languages is indicated in the next two articles: Ellen Adiv, a research officer of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, describes double immersion in a trilingual situation in a Montreal school. In Edmonton, immersion has been applied to the bilingualism of minority children in schools in which one language is English and the other language German, Ukrainian, Hebrew, Chinese, or Arabic, as we will read in an article by James Jones, the Supervisor of Second Languages of the Edmonton Public Schools.

Social and political implications of immersion present themselves in different guises in the different

contexts of this vast country. The case study by Viviane Edwards, the Co-ordinator for Second Language Services in the New Brunswick Department of Education, illustrates legal, social and educational consequences of immersion in the officially bilingual province of New Brunswick.

Leaving aside the concluding article by Dominique Clift, the four remaining papers are contributions by distinguished university scholars who have observed, studied, and thought about the immersion phenomenon. Gilles Bibeau, counteracting the tendency to shower praise — perhaps somewhat uncritically — on the immersion approach, raises issues and asks searching questions which cannot be ignored. Some of the points he makes are in fact addressed by the two subsequent papers on research. Sharon Lapkin and Merrill Swain, who for many years have been among the foremost researchers on immersion and who

have recently published a review of ten years of immersion research in Ontario,⁶ have summarized their main research findings and suggest new research questions. Their contribution also includes interesting comments on immersion by immersion students themselves. A critical question that is often raised and also echoed in Gilles Bibeau's paper is whether the level of proficiency reached by immersion students is adequate. The article by Birgit Harley on how well children learn French in an immersion programme is a searching study of the French proficiency of some of the immersion children which attempts to be fair and at the same time realistic. Stephen Krashen, a leading American applied linguist, who recently spent a sabbatical term at the University of Ottawa and looked at immersion at close quarters, offers an international perspective and a theoretical appreciation of immersion and its significance for language-teaching theory and practice.

In the concluding paper, Dominique Clift, a Quebec journalist and observer of the Canadian scene, reflects on immersion in the context of cultural pluralism and the tensions of regionalism versus centralization that characterize the sociopolitical scene in Canada today.

In short, the set of articles in this number should enable readers to obtain an overview of the current state of affairs in French immersion and to gain a better understanding of its achievements, possibilities, and problems.

NOTES

1. For an earlier account of French immersion in *Language and Society*, see H.H. Stern, "Immersion Schools and Language Learning", 5: 3-6, 1981.
2. The beginnings, early developments, and first research studies of immersion are described in W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker, *Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1972; see particularly Appendix A: "Parents as Change Agents in Education: The St. Lambert Experiment" by O. Melikoff. The growth of immersion a few years later, is reviewed by H.H. Stern, "French Immersion in Canada: Achievements and Directions", in *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 34:836-54, May 1978. For a recent overview of immersion across Canada, see a special issue on immersion of *Dialogue*, 14 (M 1983), the Newsletter on the Teaching of English and French as Second Languages, published by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada.
3. The social impact of immersion in one part of Canada, i.e. Northern Ontario, was recently studied by G.E. Burns and P. Olson, *Implementation and Politics in French Immersion*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1982.
4. The relative merits and shortcomings of core French, extended French, and French immersion have frequently been debated during the last years or so. An extensive research study on the subject was carried out in the mid-seventies; see H.H. Stern, M. Swain, R.D. McLean, R.J. Friedman, B. Harley, and S. Lapkin, *Three Approaches to Teaching French*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1976. See also B. Harley (ed.), "Alternative Programmes for Teaching French as a Second Language in the Schools: the Carleton and Ottawa School Boards." Special issue of *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 3,2 (Nov. 1976). Core French and English in Canada is the subject of a recent issue of *Dialogue* (vol. no. 1, Nov. 1983).
5. For comprehensive reviews on immersion research, see Lambert and Tucker, *op.cit.*; M. Swain and S. Lapkin, *Evaluating Bilingual Education: A Canadian Case Study*. Clevedon, Avon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters, 1982; and F. Genesee, "Bilingual Education of Majority Language Children: The Immersion Experiment in Review", in *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 4:1-40, 1983.
6. See the title of their work in Note 5.

Elementary and secondary student enrolment in French immersion programmes, 1982-83

Province	School population ^a	Students in immersion	%
Newfoundland	142,394	819 ^b	0.6
Prince Edward Island	25,203	1,644	6.5
Nova Scotia	174,505	869	0.5
New Brunswick	99,684	8,759 ^b	8.8
Quebec	136,429 ^b	17,472	12.8
Ontario	1,694,528	53,982	3.2
Manitoba	194,287	7,580	3.9
Saskatchewan	200,643	3,287 ^b	1.6
Alberta	440,174	12,122 ^d	2.8
British Columbia	498,836	7,756	1.6
Yukon	4,524	128 ^b	2.8
Northwest Territories	12,760	102	0.8
DND Schools (Europe) ^c	2,687	408	15.2
Total	3,626,654	114,928	3.2

^a Excludes pupils enrolled in French-language schools

^b Figures provided by Department of Education

^c Students in DND (Department of National Defence) immersion classes in Canada are included in provincial enrolments

^d Estimate (80% of students of schools where French is the language of instruction)

French immersion programmes

French Immersion Enrolment, Grades in Which Offered and Number of Schools Where Offered, by Province^a 1976-77, 1978-79, 1980-81 and 1982-83.

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of Schools
ATLANTIC PROVINCES	1976-77	56	K and 1	1
	1978-79	193	K to 4; 6 to 8	5
	1980-81	392	K to 5; 7 and 8	5
	1982-83	819 ^b	K to 10	10
NEW BRUNSWICK	1976-77	304	1 to 3; 7	6
	1978-79	820	1 to 5, 7 to 9	13
	1980-81	1,280	1 to 11	14
	1982-83	1,644	1 to 12	16
NEW SCOTIA	1976-77	46	P, 6 and 7	2
	1978-79	363	P to 8	10
	1980-81	590	P to 7	12
	1982-83	869	P to 12	15
NEW BRUNSWICK	1976-77	2,504	K to 8	32
	1978-79	3,763	K to 9	35
	1980-81	5,532	K to 12	47
	1982-83	8,759 ^b	K to 12	81
QUEBEC ^c	1976-77	d	d	d
	1978-79	d	d	d
	1980-81	18,000	K to 11	d
	1982-83	17,472 ^b	K to 11	d
MANITOBA	1976-77	12,363	K to 8	156
	1978-79	15,042	K to 8	160 ^b
	1980-81	17,119	K to 8	180 ^b
	1982-83	53,982	K to 13	359
SASKATCHEWAN	1976-77	1,290	K to 8	14
	1978-79	2,521	K to 10	21
	1980-81	4,286	K to 12	32
	1982-83	7,580	K to 12	50
ALBERTA	1976-77	338	K to 8	2
	1978-79	1,208	K to 12	13
	1980-81	1,603	K to 12	14
	1982-83	3,287 ^b	K to 12	30
BRITISH COLUMBIA	1976-77	862	K to 7	10
	1978-79	2,094	K to 10	24
	1980-81	4,368	K to 12	45
	1982-83	7,756	K to 10	72
CANADA	1976-77	17,763		233 ^e
	1978-79	26,004		281 ^e
	1980-81	53,170		335 ^e
	1982-83	102,168		633 ^e

Alberta is excluded since it makes no distinction between programmes designed for Francophones and French immersion programmes for Anglophones.

Figures provided by the Department of Education.

In other provinces, French immersion programmes are designed for students whose mother tongue is not French.

Figures available.

Figures not include Quebec.

Satisfied with the progress of her two children in immersion, a B.C. mother still sees a need for parents as well as educators to be vigilant. French immersion has still a long way to go.

For my kids, it's French without tears

JUDY GIBSON



Along with having two children in immersion classes, **Judy Gibson** is a founding member and former president of the B.C. Chapter of Canadian Parents for French (CPF). From 1978 to 1981, she was an active member of the CPF Board of Directors. As well, she has written articles on core and immersion-French programmes for a number of the organization's publications.



fter seven years, having children in early French immersion has become a way of life. All four of us have adjusted, just as other families organize their lives around music lessons and recitals or 5 a.m. hockey practice.

Living in Port Coquitlam, B.C., my husband and I first heard about immersion from an enthusiastic neighbour. She explained that the students learn French much as they acquire their first language, by hearing and using it during normal day-to-day activities; they use French, she said, for all their school subjects from kindergarten through grade 2, for all subjects but English Language Arts in grade 3, and for about half the subjects in grades 4 through 12. This seemed a far more natural and less painful way to learn a second language than the old half-hour-a-day which had left us both with some knowledge of French grammar but unable to carry on the simplest of conversations.

"Mom, I want to learn French songs."

When our daughter, Erin, asked to go to the school where she could "learn French songs like my friend Julia, because I already know the way *we* sing them," we began seriously to consider enrolling her in immersion. At a public information meeting we heard about the consistently positive findings of cross-Canada research and learned of our school district's many years' experience. Reassured, we decided to give it a try. Knowing a second language, particularly at no cost to any other aspect of their education, could only be an asset for our children.

Whether they eventually used it at work, while travelling or just to have access to a broader range of information and literature, Erin and her younger brother, Garth, would have acquired a useful skill. We also hoped that intensive exposure to a second culture would stimulate an interest in the world beyond their community and tolerance and understanding of others. If we couldn't afford to travel, then bringing a little of the world to them would have to do.

Parent-motivating factors

Many factors motivate parents to enrol their children in early-French immersion. The most obvious is a desire, for whatever reason, to have their child become proficient in French, but this is rarely the only consideration. Some parents feel that a five-year-old who is already reading will not be challenged in a regular English kindergarten. Others believe that kindergarten will be boring after two years of preschool. Many are convinced today's high school graduates do not acquire adequate language arts and study skills. Unwilling or unable to send their children to private schools, they take advantage of a programme, offered in the public school system, which should, by its very nature, emphasize these aspects of education. A few families would rather their children learned their own heritage language, perhaps German or Japanese. If this isn't available, then French will do: knowing any second language is worthwhile, and their success might encourage them to study a third or fourth later on.

Kindergarten is often looked upon as a trial period. After all, a student can be switched to the English programme at the end of that year with little or no harm done.

However, by March, an hour in the classroom is usually enough to convince the most cynical parent of the value of immersion. Indeed, it may be a humbling experience, as it was for my husband. Although the students were

ously responding to the teacher fully and appropriately, sometimes in English, sometimes in beautifully accented French, *he* had understood a word she said. No matter what their original expectations, by the end of the first year most all parents just want their children to continue their rapid and seemingly effortless acquisition of French.

own children had this opportunity because we were in the right place at the right time. Two years earlier, in 1974/75, the closest French-immersion school was 20 km away, in the same school district but in a different municipality. At that time only six B.C. schools in three regions (Vancouver, Victoria, and



Erin and Garth

atlam) offered immersion, and it was as scarce in every other region. Since we probably hadn't heard about the programme from neighbours or friends, we hadn't paid any attention to the catchy information sheet provided (sometimes on the counter, sometimes only if one knew to ask the principal for it) on kindergarten orientation day. Erin and Garth would be bilingual by default.

French immersion classes in Canada—started at the suggestion and insistence of parents, not as an experiment initiated by educators—in the

mid-1960s. The programme continues to grow and spread, due in no small part to the efforts of parents who are members of an organization called Canadian Parents for French.

Founded in March 1977, by 35 parents from across Canada, Canadian Parents for French (CPF) is a voluntary association of over 6500 families working in every corner of the country to support and improve French second-language learning opportunities, including core French, extended French, all types of immersion, and extracurricular activities.

CPF works at the national, provincial, and local levels to ensure that the best possible programmes are available. Despite the phenomenal success of French immersion, many school boards are still unwilling to implement it. But now, through CPF, families have easy access to a vast pool of information and experience. Conferences, workshops, and manuals provide parents (and educators) with research results, statistics, practical how-to information, and much-needed moral support.

The word on immersion is spreading

Our family learned about immersion by chance. Nowadays, several years later, our local library and recreation centre advertise story hours, craft classes, even floor hockey in French, offered at the request and with the assistance of our CPF chapter. "Experienced" immersion parents speak at meetings organized by co-op preschools and the school district. Information on immersion is distributed through preschools, clinics, the Welcome Wagon and others. Articles about French immersion are written for the local paper. Rare is the parent of our community who is not aware of the programme's existence. Across Canada, people of all backgrounds are now hearing about French immersion through the efforts of CPF volunteers.

We enrolled Erin in immersion on the basis of a brief summary of research, the recommendation of a neighbour, and a gut feeling that she would

benefit rather than suffer. Now, before making this decision, parents can read CPF's *So You Want Your Child to Learn French!* Having enrolled their child in French immersion, they can obtain a pamphlet on *How To Be an Immersion Parent*. Newsletters keep them up-to-date with news, research results, ideas and resources, and extracurricular enrichment activities. And when a family moves, it can use the CPF *Immersion Registry* to find a new school.

Of course, the increasing demand for French immersion is due to its success. It's still a matter of satisfied parents telling others. The existence of a national support group like Canadian Parents for French has simply sped up the process, so that today many thousands more families are able to make an informed choice—and the choice is there for them to make.

Immersion is not for all parents

The decision to enrol Erin and Garth in French immersion *has* affected our lives. For instance, the immersion school is more than 3 km from home. When Garth was in kindergarten, I had to drive back and forth three times each day. Next September Erin will have to take two buses to reach the closest junior secondary school which offers continuing immersion. However, I know of parents who have been driving up to fifteen times as far, day after day, year after year, because they are committed to having their children learn French. I know others who have had three children in three different schools.

Participation in before-and after-school activities is limited by transportation complications. However, my children have lunch with their schoolmates and enjoy the noon-hour programmes. At Guides and soccer they meet children from their own neighbourhood. Already they have friends throughout the city—friends not just because they live nearby, but because of shared interest. All of this increases both chauffeuring and the size of birthday parties: immersion is not for the lazy, or insecure parent! Having a six-year-

old patiently, but firmly, correct your pronunciation every time you attempt to show off your high school French can be disheartening. Assisting with homework is sometimes a problem: math is math, but my French grammar gave out in grade 2. And it's a most peculiar sensation to have a teacher translate, for your benefit, a conversation between herself and your child.

We make an effort to expose Erin and Garth to French outside of school. They have attended summer day camps, films, children's plays and "Francofête". We encourage them to read French books, but with only moderate success since they began reading in English (a matter of weeks after they began reading in French), as the vocabulary in English books is so much more familiar. However, both children quickly learned that I was more tolerant of TV if it was tuned to cartoons or *Battlestar Galactica* in French.

Many immersion parents are motivated to take French lessons. Their child's success rekindles a desire to learn a second language, or they want to help with homework. Certainly more and more Anglophones who would not otherwise do so are interacting with Francophones and attending French cultural events (often with their children interpreting). The net result is enrichment for the whole family.

Having siblings in the regular English programme doesn't seem to cause any unusual family rivalry or conflict. Often these children are inspired to enroll in late immersion.

Conflict in the schoolyard is also far less than might be expected. Schools which house both the immersion and English programmes (known as "dual-track" schools) usually make an effort to integrate the two groups through joint participation in assemblies, field trips, and clubs. Many principals recognize the opportunity to promote cooperation and understanding between two "different" groups. The French immersion students themselves make a real effort to foster harmony: Erin says they don't

speak French at recess because that would be impolite in front of someone who wouldn't understand. If she and her classmates are called "French fries", they just call their taunters "English muffins" and everyone laughs.

When immersion secondary students and graduates are asked whether they are pleased to have been in immersion, they consistently state that they would do it again and would recommend French immersion to others. These comments reinforce many parents' concerns about the future of the programme.

Issues which *must* be addressed include:

But names



- identifying specific, measurable objectives for French immersion, as a basis for both research and decision-making;
- determining the optimal conditions for language learning, including teaching methods, the number and choice of subjects to be taught in French, and school setting (dual-track or all-immersion);
- developing a sufficient number of well-trained teachers;
- ensuring that both enrichment and remedial help are available;
- eliminating line-ups and registration lotteries, and other forms of enrolment limitation where immersion is not as freely available as it should be;
- providing an adequate variety of high school subjects in French;
- persuading universities to offer some courses in French;
- insisting that the federal and

- provincial governments make long-term commitments to the support of immersion; and
- offering our children, especially those in grades 6 to 12, more opportunities for interaction with Francophones through exchange and other interesting and stimulating extracurricular activities.

Today the threat to French immersion is its phenomenal success. The very real danger is that parents and educators are so impressed with what has been accomplished that we will lose both our vigilance and our zeal. We must insist that the quality and quantity of instruction in French be maintained and even enhanced.



... will never hurt me

thus not allowing small compromises for the sake of expediency which would gradually undermine the programme. Groups such as Canadian Parents for French must continue their active support, warning of the very real dangers of complacency. The high standards which we now expect of immersion continue, our grandchildren can also receive the gift of a second language.

What about my children? Erin, 12, wants to study Spanish and use all three languages as a flight attendant or tour guide. Garth, 9, plans to become a computer programmer, and thinks he might develop programmes for use in immersion classrooms. A more immediate goal for both is to save enough to take their parents to Quebec, where there will no doubt be excellent escorts and interpreters.

Lawrence Park Collegiate prepared its immersion "package" with extra care; and while staffing remains an ongoing problem area, the growing pains are part of its history, and the programme is firmly established.

"first" for a Toronto high school

CLAIRE MIAN



Born in Egypt of Italian parents, **Claire Mian** learned French, Italian and English as a child. A graduate of McGill and London universities, she taught French and history in Montreal before joining the staff of Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute in 1975. She has also been a lecturer in the French second-language programmes at the University of Toronto and at York.

At present there is only one secondary school in Toronto which has a French-immersion programme, Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute (henceforth referred to as "Lawrence Park") in the north end of the city. It is the follow-up to the early-immersion programme, started at the local elementary school in 1971 as a result of parents' pressure on the Toronto Board of Education. As a middle-class, predominantly "Anglo-American" area, Lawrence Park might, at first glance, appear an unlikely theatre for the introduction of such a programme; but, in fact, it is precisely this mixed citizenry which saw the benefits of bilingualism. Indeed, it learned from the experience in Ottawa and other French-speaking schools that the process of acquiring the second language had to start early and intensively. The parents' motivation was a mixture of political and personal factors, including an awareness that the future job market in Canada might soon require bilingualism. In addition, there was a strong feeling that becoming bilingual was a step towards preserving Canadian unity, and that it would lead to valuable personal enrichment. The programme that was established was open to all the children of the community without any screening process.

What was the elementary school background of our immersion students? In the first three years, the students' programme was conducted entirely in French; in grade 4, 15 minutes a day of English Language Arts were introduced, in grade 5, 60 minutes, and from grades 6 to 8,

the proportion of English was gradually raised to 50 per cent of the school day. At the time of entering secondary school, the students could be said to have the following skills:

- strong oral ability enabling them to understand the language in a variety of subject areas;
- the ability to speak freely and without hesitation, although sometimes inaccurately;
- the ability to understand a quite complex written text relating to a wide variety of subjects and to read short stories and novels of a moderate degree of difficulty;
- the ability to write compositions, make notes and summaries (although with language errors);
- a knowledge of some cultural aspects of France and French Canada, and a sensitivity to Francophone people.

The students' motivation was extremely high making them wonderful material for teachers, though their energy and creativity could be exhausting in the classroom! As listening and speaking had been the skills most emphasized in elementary school, their most striking ability was in oral French. Our job at the secondary level was clearly to expand their reading and writing skills, and to push their total ability forward to full bilingualism by the time of their graduation.

Planning the programme

Lawrence Park prepared its immersion "package" quite carefully. Four criteria determined the subjects to be taught in French: the wishes of the students and their parents as expressed in surveys and open meetings; the results of research; the models observed in the Ottawa-Carleton school systems; and the staffing capabilities of the school. The students and parents of the first immersion group were quite insistent about having as much French as possible, and research backed their opinion completely. However, practical experience in the Ottawa area had

taught administrators that even though families initially wanted almost all subjects to be taught in French, eventually students were reluctant to take more than three or four subjects in French per year, and as few as two in senior grades. Staffing considerations were, and continue to be, most difficult to predict and control.

Although immersion was new to Lawrence Park, special French programmes were not. An extended French programme, which could be described as a late partial immersion, had been introduced four years earlier, thus establishing the precedent that areas of the school other than the Modern Languages Department were to be involved in the teaching of French. Ministry descriptions of extended French require that only one *other* subject be taught in French, while descriptions of immersion mention a 50/50 balance between the two languages. Clearly the need to offer four courses in French at each grade level would have a profound effect on the structure of an English secondary school.

Subjects taught and options offered

The immersion programme was set up as follows: in grade 9, students were to take Français (French), Histoire (History), Mathématiques (Mathematics), with Art as an option. Of the first group, 75 per cent did, in fact, take all four subjects. A fifth option, Éducation physique et Hygiène (Physical and Health Education) was added in 1982. In grade 10, students were to take Français, Histoire or Géographie (Geography), Mathématiques and, in 1983, the option of Éducation physique et Hygiène was added. In grade 11, the subjects were to be Français, Histoire or Politique (Politics), Mathématiques or Physique (Physics); in grade 12, Français, Histoire and Mathématiques or Chimie (Chemistry). In grade 13, Français and Histoire would be offered, but it was not felt that either could be made compulsory at this senior level. This "package" structure was new to the secondary level, and

even though it conformed to expressed student desires and to the linguistic requirements of the programme, it had drawbacks which will be pointed out later. At the end of grade 12, the students were to receive a Certificate of Bilingualism issued by the Toronto Board of Education affirming that they had completed 12 credits in courses taught in French of the 27 required to earn the Ontario Secondary School Graduation Diploma. This idea of bestowing on the student a symbol of his/her achievement was again adopted from Ottawa.

The Français and Sciences sociales (Social Science) courses in the programme were designated "enriched" in recognition of the quantity and sophistication of the work expected of the students. In Mathématiques, the students qualified for an enriched class only if justified by their mathematical (rather than their linguistic) abilities. In Art and Éducation physique et Hygiène, it was not felt that the work done required a special designation. Another feature of the programme was that in the optional subjects and in the senior social sciences, immersion students were blended with extended-French students. Although this is not ideal from the language point of view, it does resolve the administrative problem of small classes, it mixes the two groups socially, and it has proved to have a generally beneficial effect on the achievement of extended-French students.

Course writing, funding and staffing were the main challenges in building and expanding the immersion programme. There were no Ministry guidelines for Français taught in immersion courses. Teachers at Lawrence Park did research in Ottawa, Montreal and at the École secondaire Étienne-Brûlé in North York; they spent much time observing their future students in grades 7 and 8, and talking to their teachers and to Toronto Board consultants. Finally, with the concession of additional free periods during the school day and with short-term summer writing contracts, they used the gathered input together with their

own creativity to design suitable courses.

The Français course in an immersion programme is divided into several components: Language and Grammar, Literature, Culture, Audio-Visual and Independent Reading. About two-thirds of classroom time is devoted to the first three, while the other components often take place outside the classroom and in conjunction with other courses and activities. These include the formation of a French conversation and film club, excursions to French theatre and restaurants, participation in all forms of school-year and summer exchanges with Quebec, France and Switzerland, and the use of a *moniteur/monitrice* to provide students with additional small conversation classes. The distinctive feature of the Français course is that it employs essentially a first-language approach. English is never used, and the difficulty of the novels read and essays written is comparable to the English language and literature course of the equivalent grade. Students and teachers in the programme address each other in French regardless of where they meet, whether inside or outside the school.

For the development of Histoire and other social-science courses, Ministry guidelines did exist, but the challenge was to find written and audio-visual material which both respected the guidelines and suited the level of French of the students. The availability of Histoire textbooks written in French has increased dramatically in the past 2 or 3 years, and the need for teachers to write their own material has correspondingly decreased. But because of the extremely rapid rate of publication in the field of French materials and because of our increased experience, revisions are constantly necessary in all courses.

An expensive enterprise

This need, added to the considerable start-up costs of the programme, make immersion an expensive enterprise. Four years of exerting pressure on the school board to fund the

ded French programme had relatively generous funds, especially for starting new classes. A long-term, flexible formula was evolved this year as the first immersion class entered grade 12. A stumbling block had been the notion of a "class". To the Board, it was merely a group of about 30 students. To the school, it was this group of 30 students multiplied by the number of subjects they studied, each of which needed its supply of material and audio-visual material. An equally crucial demand for funds came from the Library and Resource Centre which provided students with the material necessary for course research and for relaxation.

Staffing is an ongoing concern. Two basic questions that need to be addressed are whether the teachers need to be Francophone and whether they need to be specialists in their subject. Ideally, the answer to both would be "Yes", but the situation in Toronto often does not allow for this. The solution at Lawrence Park has been to decide that only the teachers of French courses must be Francophone; for teachers of other subjects, specialization accompanied by "near-fluency" is the priority. In the first year of the programme, the teachers of Français, Art and Music were already at the school, the first two having been previously hired to teach in the French immersion programme, and the third having learned French independently and before joining the immersion programme. The Mathematics teacher joined the programme through the internal-transfer procedures of the Toronto Board.

In the following two or three years, more individuals joined the programme so that 12 teachers of a total of 75 are now involved in immersion, though only two teach exclusively in French. These teachers were either already on staff or were hired when openings occurred due to retirements or promotions. The immersion staff is now a multinational group of individuals from Quebec, New Brunswick,

Ontario, Egypt, France, Greece and Italy; 50 per cent are Francophone. There is no doubt that the establishment of the French immersion programme, superimposed on the existing extended-French programme altered the nature of the school. The reaction of the staff not directly involved was one of guarded tolerance. The major reservations expressed were fear for jobs, and worry that small classes and one-class options in the immersion programme would crowd English options into fewer timetable slots and larger classes. Other frequent comments included the opinion that immersion is elitist, and that, in some cases, the learning of subject content would be sacrificed to the learning of French grammar. Job security was



Some of the subjects taught in French

certainly the most pressing concern. The school administration gave repeated assurances that expansion would occur as much as possible as job openings were created, but, as everyone knew, one could not count on normal movement occurring in the areas where it was needed by the programme. There is no easy solution to this problem, but careful and sensitive long-range planning, including retraining of staff with an interest in upgrading their French, has so far kept staffing disruptions to an absolute minimum.

Timetabling the total school programme was an equally valid concern. With about 150 subjects on the school calendar, manoeuvring room for the timetabler became scarce. The immersion student whose package required that he/she

be slotted into three to five options (many of which were only taught once in the school day) lost flexibility in being programmed for his/her other subjects. This inflexibility naturally affected students in the regular English programme. The concession of .5 of a teacher above the Board's staffing formula helped to mitigate this problem, but hardly eliminated it. In addition to the intricate juggling of classes, there was a new vocabulary and set of rules concerning prerequisites to be learned by the Administration, Counselling Department and secretaries of the school. Partly to offset this problem, a coordinator of French programmes was appointed to facilitate all relations among the Administration, the various departments offering courses in French and the students.

The accusation of elitism is difficult to counter, and it is, for the time being, probably true. On the other hand, one can only point to the phenomenal growth of immersion programmes in all socioeconomic regions of the city and province so that this accusation will, in due course, be less and less justified. Finally, the fear that courses taught in French would not teach subject matter effectively was slight; and it was easily dispelled as courses were developed by specialists under the supervision of department heads and following prescribed guidelines. Moreover, common examinations for immersion and non-immersion students made it clear that in immersion classes, French was only the language of instruction, not the subject of every course in the programme.

The concerns of the staff involved in the programme were somewhat different. We worried about the relationship of formal grammar to literature and culture in the Français courses, and about the relationship between the Français course as a whole and the other subjects. Long, sometimes painful discussions took place regarding the choice of novels at each grade level: how to find texts with suitable language together with relevant and stimulating themes, how to balance French and French-Canadian literature, modern and

classical literature. Why did students dislike *Eugénie Grandet* in grade 9 but enjoy *Le Cid* in grade 11? In addition, the persistence of some errors, often quite elementary, is the object of continuing concern, especially in the students' written work. Articles from critics who claim that immersion programmes teach students to masquerade the French language in the name of "functional" bilingualism seem to us to be exaggerated, but it would be foolish to claim that we have found the formula to produce both spontaneity and total correctness of expression. The most thorny problem, to which we have not yet found a satisfactory solution, is that of evaluation. For internal purposes, methods of evaluation are consistent with the aims, content and methods of the course, and marks are intelligible to students and their parents. But how can these marks be made intelligible for external purposes, that is, for example, for admission to universities? We are not happy with the suggestion that we arbitrarily raise the marks of immersion students by 10 or 15 per cent, yet we are assured that our anecdotal report on the nature of the immersion course is virtually ignored by university admission offices. Are students therefore being in a sense penalized for taking a more challenging course? Interestingly, Canadian Parents for French, devoted a recent Ontario conference to the subject of "Bilingual University Education for Anglo-Ontarians". Only when universities establish their own immersion programmes will the level of achievement of secondary immersion graduates be recognized.

Immersion staff also ask themselves whether there are enough courses taught in French and whether they are the right ones. For instance, is there enough language content in the Art and Physical Education courses? Observation indicates that we have so far managed to keep these courses enjoyable while injecting more formal language content than in their English equivalents. Should Mathematics and Science be taught in French when the international language of technical subjects is increasingly English? Again, so far,

our observation indicates a high degree of transferability between English and French terminology, but students themselves show a reluctance to take these subjects in French in grades 11 and 12. These and other questions will require a review of the programme as the first class nears graduation.

Heavy workload for teachers

As professionals, immersion teachers found heavy workload to be a source of concern. The number of courses and exams to prepare is, on the whole, higher than that of the average teacher. Visitors come to the school frequently, and we receive many requests for course outlines and materials from other schools and Boards. Interest and, at times, pressure from parents is also great as their sons and daughters are in an experimental programme, and they understandably wish to be assured that progress is satisfactory.

But these are growing pains, and they are more than balanced by the sheer exhilaration of being involved in something which is good and which works. The students are able to speak French freely, if not completely correctly, and reactions of native speakers during trips to Quebec or reactions of visitors serve to confirm our own positive judgments of our students' French proficiency. Their eagerness to perfect their skills and to stand by a commitment made at the age of five is admirable. The drop-out rate between grades 9 and 10 is nil, and very small thereafter.

Student achievement in tests, exams, winning of prizes and awards is above average in both English and French subjects. In extracurricular sports and other activities, the participation of immersion students is spirited and successful. In every sense they are full members of the Lawrence Park community, but in certain areas of the school with certain teachers and friends, they live in a French atmosphere.

The benefits to the school resulting from the programme are beginning


to be evident. In a time of declining enrolments, immersion students constitute valuable clientele of a high calibre. The federal and provincial grants to the school have allowed Lawrence Park to build an impressive collection of French language books and audio-visual material for the use not only of immersion students but of all language students. In fact, the French film collection at the Toronto Board has also increased as a direct result of the existence of the immersion programme. In addition, immersion teaching methods which emphasize the fact that every subject teacher is a teacher of language, whether it is English or French, can have a beneficial spill-over effect on all departments in the school.

As the pioneer group of immersion students prepares to receive the Certificate of Bilingualism in the spring of 1984, the beginning phase of the immersion programme at the high school level is coming to an end. The second phase, that of consolidation, is already beginning. It will include a thorough review of the programme involving students, teachers and parents in an effort to evaluate the successes and failures of the past four years. The university and career plans of our graduates will be watched with great curiosity as will the plans of the universities themselves, and these will be used as guidelines to modify and improve the nature of the programme. Numerical growth at the elementary level and the amount of interest that continues to follow these programmes both within and outside the world of education lead us to assume that immersion programmes are here to stay, and that our challenge is to enhance their effectiveness. For the time being, one can undoubtedly affirm that immersion programmes are achieving their main goal: young people from an exclusively Anglophone background are emerging from their secondary studies competent to speak both our official languages. One can hope that bilingualism will not only enrich their personal lives, but will allow them to make an important contribution to the sense of national unity which Canadians are pursuing.

*h informed parents as their staunchest allies, Canada's
 immersion teachers are looking to our universities
 set up courses that recognize immersion education
 a specialisation in its own right.*

he teachers, key to the success story

ANDRÉ OBADIA



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The teaching profession is no sinecure. Anyone who has spent six or seven hours a day teaching a class of thirty school-children, not to mention looking after their social and emotional needs, is left with no illusions that the task is simple. However, some teachers rise to the challenge better than others and never lose their drive and enthusiasm. They are known as "immersion teachers", a term that is becoming increasingly well known across Canada.

French immersion, a relatively new method for teaching French to Anglophone children, has been the subject of a great deal of discussion over the past twenty years. In light of many studies of the remarkable results obtained through this method, it is time we examined in more detail the role played by the teachers themselves. These teachers have largely remained on the sidelines of the socio-political and administrative upheavals that accompanied (and still accompany) the early years of the programme, and of the enormous euphoria of parents enthused with the positive results of this type of education.

Aware of the responsibilities with which they were entrusted, teachers bent to the winds of change and stood firm. By and by while some of the most eminent Canadian teachers conducted their studies from coast to coast. Today, little research is being done on the needs, problems, responsibilities and success of the teachers themselves.

However, since the early days of immersion, the success of the programme has rested mainly on the teacher. Even if the first generation of children who began kindergarten in French without knowing a single word of the language were perhaps confused, they were certainly not alone. Well aware of the challenges and risks posed by this completely new and perhaps unique approach to education, the teachers themselves felt even more "immersed".

Those same teachers soon became the focal point of emotional and worried Anglophone parents and of condescending but somewhat incredulous administrators. They were put in front of classes without receiving any precise pedagogical directives or specialized training.

Since they were themselves usually bilingual, the teachers knew deep down that the objective being sought was achievable. Their main concern was the groups of children they had to teach. They knew the experiment could succeed because they felt it in their bones.

The search for the right approach

But how should they proceed? What tools would they use? Should they rely on the programmes and manuals of the French schools in Quebec, or on those of core French classes in which Anglophone children spent only between 15 and 30 minutes a day learning French? The first approach appeared too difficult, especially for the early part of the year; the second was too rigid and too monotonous to be used throughout the school year. There was only one solution, that was discovered by the veterans of this period and, perhaps to a lesser degree, by those teaching immersion today.¹ They had to sit down at their desks with a pot of coffee and spend many hours establishing goals and objectives, a programme for the year and the classes for the day. These unknown pioneers burned a great deal of midnight oil.

School boards equipped with a coordinator or counsellor moved heaven and earth to try to make the teachers' work a little easier. School boards in Montreal and Ottawa-Carleton in particular carried out a phenomenal amount of work, feverishly researching and writing to produce a complete curriculum outline. Thanks to additional funding from the Department of the Secretary of State, hastily assembled courses of study began to see the light of day. A great deal of progress has been made since those first years; instead of a few sheets of paper, the boards today proudly display volumes of 500 and 1500 pages supplemented with original teaching material.

After prudently waiting to see which way the wind was blowing, publishing houses began to show an interest in the growth of bilingualism, a typically Canadian phenomenon at least in primary and secondary schools. The professional journals began to advertise publications (books and textbooks) that could be used in immersion classes. Increasingly, the publications that focussed on immersion classes had to draw inspiration directly from the experience of this type of schooling

instead of borrowing ideas from materials designed for Francophone students. It became increasingly apparent that the language needs and difficulties for Francophones and immersion classes were quite different.

Today, French immersion teachers are supported in their efforts by better informed and more organized parents, many of whom are members of an association known as Canadian Parents for French (CPF). (See Gibson article, this issue). Such parents are deeply involved in their children's education and give one another invaluable support. Similarly, the immersion teachers themselves founded the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers (CAIT), which today has 1200 members. Provincial associations of the CAIT have been established and this will undoubtedly help improve communications between members. One need only attend the annual meetings of the CPF or the CAIT to be aware of the commitment, drive and optimism of participants. The first tentative years are now in the past and teachers are no longer on their own. The progress has been enormous over a mere twenty year period. This success

story is largely due to the efforts of teachers who, in the early days, had no specialized training, no teaching materials, nothing. Imagine what could be done if everything were available!

Will teachers and parents lose some of their enthusiasm over the years and, if so, will this have an impact on students? An answer to this question is difficult to predict. What is certain, however, is that strong support is being given to this method, for what there is an increasing number of active practitioners in small towns

From a sociological standpoint, it is interesting to see the impact of immersion on families. Some parents begin to take French courses, visit areas in which French is spoken and grow closer to Francophones. The points were revealed by a study conducted in Canada.²

Profile of the immersion teacher

Who are these key players, where do they come from and what training have they received? The majority of French immersion teachers are French-Canadians; some are Francophones from Europe, Africa or other

Programme at Simon Fraser University for teachers of French as a second language

Immersion classes or classes for Francophones		Elementary	Core French Secondary
401 Observation and preliminary teaching (2 months)	Most of the time spent in immersion or mother-tongue French classes	Most of the time spent in English classes, with observation of some French classes	Most of the time spent in French classes
402 Courses (2 months)	3 courses in French 1 course in English	1 course in French 2 courses in English	1 course in French 2 courses in English
405 Practice teaching (4 months)	All in French	Increased teaching of French classes	Most of the time spent in French classes
404 (4 months)	2 courses in French 2 courses in English	1 course in French 3 courses in English	1 course in French 3 courses in English

tries; and, increasingly, we find Anglophones from Canada and other countries using this learning method. Overall, these figures are a reflection of Canada's linguistic diversity.

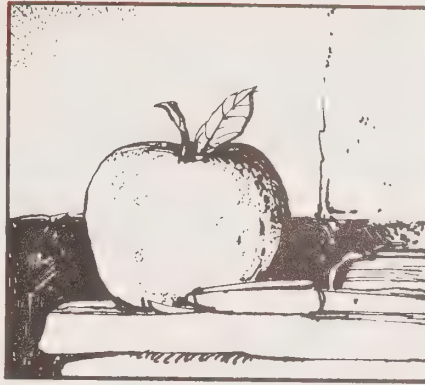
A recent study² revealed the following breakdown of immersion teachers in Canada: 73 per cent Anglophone, 20 per cent Allophone, 5 per cent Allophone per cent claiming equal fluency in both official languages. The greatest concentration of immersion teachers is found in British Columbia (40 per cent) and Ontario (38 per cent); the smallest concentration is in Quebec (3 per cent) and Saskatchewan (5 per cent).

Based on data from questionnaires, the study also revealed that 44 per cent of all immersion teachers have taken their own training in French, 28 per cent in English and 27 per cent in both languages.

Immersion positions, which are today in short supply, continue to attract bilingual candidates who, because of their language skills, have better chances of finding a position.

Teachers surveyed in this study had an average of 1.9 university degrees or teaching certificates and an average of 12.5 years of experience. This is significantly less than the national average which is 12.5 years (Statistics Canada 1981-1982). Given that immersion is a recent phenomenon in Canada, we might expect less experience; however, the programme appears to attract more experienced teachers who have taught in other fields.

When compared with the average age of teachers in elementary and secondary schools, immersion teachers are younger. Fourteen per cent are 30 years of age or under, as compared to 10 per cent nationally for the same age group (Statistics Canada, 1982). Sixty-four per cent are 35 years of age or under, as compared to 45 per cent for the teaching profession as a whole.



Immersion teachers like apples too

The majority (69 per cent) teach all day in French to pupils who began immersion either between kindergarten and grade 3 (81 per cent), or between grades 4 and 6 (10 per cent) or in grades 7 or 8 (8 per cent).

The methods used to train immersion teachers are still tentative. Clearly it is not enough simply to have mastered the French language. If we accept the definition that "immersion is a means of educating a child mainly in a language other than his mother tongue"⁴, we see that these are not the usual "foreign-language" classes, but an approach to education that also gives attention to the child's physical, cognitive and emotional development. We therefore need a fully-rounded educator, a teacher who has received both general and specialized training and who is not simply a language teacher.

Core French and French immersion teachers

It is important to make a distinction between the role of the teachers of core French and the very different responsibilities of the immersion teachers.

In 15- to 30-minute daily periods, the former try to teach the rudiments of the language to seven or eight classes, in other words to approximately 300 pupils a day. Their purpose is to teach them to communicate orally and, to a lesser degree, to read and write the language. They try to create situations in which the pupil is asked to use a relatively limited number of structures and as functional a vocabu-

lary as possible. The rhythm of the lesson and the motivation and attention of pupils have to be maintained at all times. Variety is a key element and teachers are constantly the focal point of such classes. They must be careful how they use language, and their vocabulary must remain within the scope of the pupils'. They need imagination, a sense of humour and a great deal of patience; and, of course, they must be realistic about the language objectives they can attain.

The situation of elementary immersion teachers is quite different. (See the Mian article in this issue for secondary school immersion.) First, they work with only about 30 pupils for the entire day. Their objective goes beyond teaching the French language and includes such subjects as science, mathematics, history, geography and so on. The second language becomes the natural vehicle of communication for the entire day and for all activities. Pupils very quickly realize they can manipulate another language without too much difficulty and that they are expanding and improving their knowledge from day to day in a real context.

The language enables them to learn algebraic equations, the history of Confederation, the principle of communicating vessels and the geography of Canada. It becomes a working tool based on subject content rather than on language. Both the student and the teacher make progress. The student learns to master the language while the teacher gradually forgets that he is speaking French to Anglophones. The linguistic results obtained in an immersion class are more tangible and therefore more satisfying and encouraging for the teacher and pupil than those obtained in a traditional core French class.

Training

Most immersion teachers are graduates of French or English faculties of education which train their students to teach in the child's mother tongue. Additional courses on second language teaching (French or English) are usually given during this traditional period of training.

A study (see note 4) on the training of immersion teachers has revealed that 36 per cent of faculties of education already offer one or more specialized courses for immersion teachers and that, particularly west of Ontario, 16 per cent intend to follow suit over the next five years. However, the time devoted to immersion as compared to traditional training courses varies from 9 per cent to 67 per cent, positive proof that much still needs to be done and that overall organization is lacking.

The time spent on practice teaching also varies, student teachers spending from one week to six months in immersion classes. These practice teaching periods may be part of the traditional classic training year or may be taken as additional periods. The number of student teachers planning to teach immersion in Canada rose from 428 in 1979 to 790 in 1982, an increase of 84.6 per cent. Fifty-six per cent of faculties of education forecast a rise in enrolment and 50 per cent are planning to increase the number of professors responsible for such training.

The length of the training period, the number and content of courses and the proliferation of student teachers all reflect a gap that is, paradoxically, the result of delays and perhaps surprise on the part of faculties and ministries of education responsible for teacher training and the granting of teaching certificates.

According to the study cited above (see note 2), immersion teachers found that courses dealing with

methodology, techniques and practice teaching were "the most valuable and most useful". Immersion teaching and methodology were also the most popular choices for in-service programmes. More specifically, they would like to learn more about activity methods, remedial teaching, and the teaching of oral expression and reading skills. From a list of 33 subjects, computers rank 14th and linguistics only 29th!

Training French teachers: a unique approach at Simon Fraser

The training programme for teachers of French as a second language (immersion or core) at the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University is based on a model that is unique in Canada. The originality of the approach is as much in the structure of the staff, which goes back to the creation of the university in 1965, as in the way the twelve months of professional training are organized.

The staff is made up of:

- *university professors* whose role is similar to that of professors at any other university;
- *faculty associates*, seconded from their school board for one or two years. These teachers take on teaching tasks of a primarily practical and support nature related to the student teacher at the primary and secondary level. Each associate is responsible for about a dozen students;
- *school associates*, each of whom takes one or two trainees in his or her class.

The training of the student teacher,

which is at the heart of this trio, takes place in a climate of continuous exchange between theory and practice, a dynamic cycle form which all four participants benefit.

The twelve months of training

The year is divided overall into six months of course work and six months of practice teaching (see the table on the previous page).

Course 401: In September, after a week of orientation at the Faculty of Education, student teachers are placed in a classroom situation for a period of about two months. This is true "immersion" experience, a term which is in fact frequently used during this period.

These first two months spent in the classroom allow student teachers to determine if teaching is really their vocation, and, once they return to university, enables them to relate their courses to a real situation they have recently experienced.

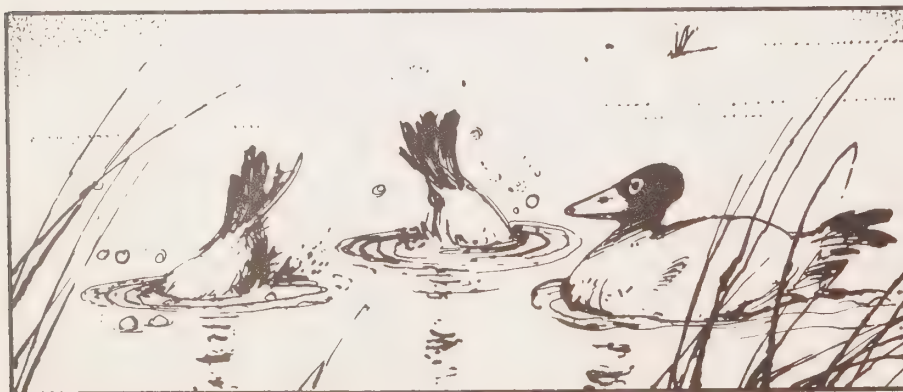
French immersion trainees also have the opportunity to spend about 25 per cent of their time in English classes.

Course 402: The students then take a series of five courses, two of which are in French and deal with the basic elements of general education, special education and psychology.

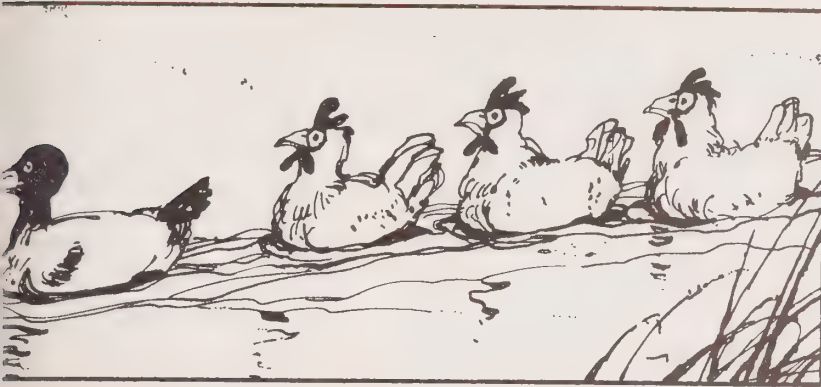
Course 405: Four months of practice teaching. Students, under the supervision of the faculty associate and the school associate, teach for four months in a French immersion class or, if they prefer, in a French class for Francophones (see table on page 16).

Course 404: Back to the university this course consists of a further four-month period of academic study.

By the end of their year of training, student teachers have spent approximately 80 per cent of their time in French-language education courses dealing with immersion and in practice teaching in French immersion



Be sure to quack twice before diving



can't become a duck without immersing yourself

most of the time is spent on French-language education courses.

Age criteria: Any student wishing to enrol in immersion must pass an oral test. Only those who demonstrate a very solid mastery of French language, equivalent to that of a native speaker, and who pass a written test, are accepted into the programme. Candidates wishing to take core French must also take a placement test.

The type of training is somewhat different from that of most universities where courses and practice sessions for immersion supplement additional training. At Simon Fraser University, such training is a small parcel of the student's year.

Need for immersion

Soon, we shall have to evaluate all these efforts and adapt the new concept of "immersion" which some trainers of

language teachers still have difficulty in understanding.

In light of existing research and experience, specialists are increasingly convinced that pedagogical preparation for immersion should be part of a formal training programme and not be conducted on a piecemeal, ad hoc basis. It should have its own structure, philosophy and pedagogy like any traditional training for English or French schools. French immersion, as we know it in Canada, is a very effective technique which has proven its worth and, in terms of teacher training, should now be given its letters of credential.

Although immersion is not, of course, the only method for making pupils bilingual, it does appear to correspond to the wishes of parents and the objectives of educators. It also satisfies the pupils themselves. Whether they begin in kindergarten or grade 7, they are clearly proud of their accomplishments and grateful

to their parents for having provided them with an opportunity to master their mother tongue like any other Anglophone of their age and to handle with ease the other official language of Canada.

Like the sculptor who has rough-hewn his rock, refinements are now required. Although we have not yet seen the full impact of this programme, its early results suggest that it can help contribute to a more harmonious society in Canada.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Study programmes are gradually moving from the elementary to the secondary school level. At the latter level, the question becomes more complex because the type and content of subjects offered in French to immersion students tend to vary from one province to another. In addition to French, history and geography are the most commonly taught subjects. It is hoped that the imminent creation of a Canadian Language Information Network will help communications and provide a better sharing of information between the various school boards (See "Canadian Language Information Networks/ Réseau canadien d'information linguistique" in *Contact, Revue canadienne destinée aux professeurs de français*, 2-1, February 1983). See also Mian, this issue.
2. Obadia, André, Robert Roy, Brian Saunders, Rhoda Tafler, and Florence Wilton. *Etude nationale sur la formation et le perfectionnement du professeur d'immersion française*. Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers, November 1983.
3. This definition was proposed in my article entitled "Programme d'immersion: croissance phénoménale et pénible", published in *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 37-2, January 1981, pp. 269-282. This article also contains a discussion of the arguments commonly used to oppose the creation of immersion classes.
4. See one of the first studies on the training of immersion teachers in Canada: *A survey of teacher training in French immersion in Canada*, Diane Coulombe, Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, 1983.



Born in 1947, Timothy Elliott is presently enjoying an extended childhood. He studied at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and at l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Montréal and is currently living in Hudson, Québec attended by a wife, a cat, and a 900 lb

pony. He worries constantly about the arithmetical progression of family weights and avoids offers of elephants seeking good homes. Mr. Elliott has freelanced extensively, but recently has begun to seriously exhibit his personal work and expects to be able to support his family by the time death sets in

As an increasing number of immersion students graduate from high school, Canadian universities are coming under pressure to respond to this educational phenomenon. Some are beginning to do so.

A promising experiment at Ottawa University

MARJORIE BINGHAM WESCHE



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French immersion is here to stay in Canadian education and there are at least three ways in which this major educational innovation relates to Canadian universities.

Most obviously, an increasing number of Anglophone students with considerable functional ability in French will be entering Canadian universities and most will wish to maintain and further develop their second-language skills. Some of these students will choose to attend French-language or bilingual institutions, opting for a goal of fluent bilingualism and, in some cases, integration into a Francophone milieu.¹ Most, however, will not have this option due to cost and distance, and they may prefer to continue their education in Anglophone institutions for reasons of subject-area specialization and cultural identity.

Thus the pressure from immersion as well as from core French students is increasing — as evidenced by recent surveys at Carleton University and by the Calgary branch of Canadian Parents for French² for English-language universities to offer more varied, more advanced and more "real-life" opportunities to learn French, including courses given in the French language in particular disciplines to supplement the traditional literature programmes. Universities are only at the very beginning stages of responding to these demands.³

The second influence on universities is focussed on faculties of education, and the training of French-language

teachers for immersion-teaching situations. Institutions in many parts of the country are already feeling intense pressure to provide special training programmes from those already in the field as well as those enrolled in undergraduate programmes. Immersion teaching requires both a high level of French proficiency — preferably that of a native speaker, and preparation to teach the relevant subject matter to second-language speakers. Teachers with native or near-native proficiency in French are not available in sufficient numbers to meet the needs of some regions of the country, and even those who are need special training for the appropriate grade level and to teach effectively to less-than-proficient speakers of the classroom language. Traditional training programmes for second-language teachers are generally not equipped to meet these new demands. Some interesting new programmes are currently being developed, however.⁴

The third influence on universities is neither so immediate nor so apparent as the first two, but it may well prove to be the most important in the long run. It has to do with the implications of an immersion approach for second-language instruction in universities. Can the immersion model be applied to university language teaching? Can it be success be replicated with older students? Can language be learned through subject-matter teaching in the second language when the subject matter is complex and highly specialized? Will there be gains in language proficiency? Only a limited part of a student's course work can be taken in the second language?

The remainder of this article will deal with this third issue, first examining the essential characteristics of an immersion approach, then describing some recent experiments which suggest that the principles underlying immersion instruction can indeed be usefully adopted by the universities in the context of their traditional academic programmes.

have the Canadian immersion programmes, one of the most thoroughly researched educational innovations in recent years, generally revealed successful second-language acquisition at no significant long-term cost and perhaps some advantage to the development of other abilities? What characteristics of immersion lead to successful acquisition of the second language?

One rationale for the initial immersion experiments was the belief that second-language acquisition should begin at the earliest possible age, within the so-called "critical" period for language development. Intensive exposure to the second language via interaction with a highly proficient (native) speaker over an extended period of time was also considered essential. The second language would ideally be the medium through which other activities could be carried out and other subjects learned, rather than being the focus of instruction.

The pioneer St. Lambert programme and those modelled after it involved full-time schooling in French-speaking teachers beginning in kindergarten, with introduction of English as a school subject after several years. While some French "language teaching" is available, the emphasis is on teaching regular school curriculum, so that pupils learn French "incidentally" while concentrating on mathematics, art and other subjects.

A characteristic of immersion is a strong initial emphasis on listening and a sheltered environment in which all pupils share the same level of minimal proficiency in the second language but are not expected to compete academically with monolingual children. They also share the second language as a common language for interaction and mutual emotional support. In communicating subject matter through French to less-than-proficient speakers, the immersion teacher, to be understood, has to make a number of linguistic and linguistic adjustments. From what would be the norm

for presentations to native-speaker pupils of the same age. Over time, as pupils improve their French skills, teacher presentations become more like those for native-speakers. In the initial stages, however, adjustments range from careful structuring of classroom routines to heavy use of gestures and reliance on the immediate context to communicate meaning, coupled with simplified and repetitive language use⁵. Thus the immersion-language teaching situation ideally provides what Krashen calls "comprehensible input" (understood messages delivered in the second language at a level slightly above the learner's current proficiency level) from a native-speaker model in a supportive, emotional environment). (See Krashen, this issue.)

A further aspect of successful immersion programmes has been that they have generally involved children whose primary language is that of the surrounding community, which ensures the ongoing development of this language as they continue to use it in their life outside the classroom.⁶

A wide variety of immersion formats have been tried and evaluated, including programmes for adolescents as well as for children at the kindergarten level, varying proportions of time devoted to the first and second language, different socioeconomic characteristics of communities from which pupils are drawn, and a variety of languages taught. The results have been highly consistent. Immersion students acquire second-language skills to a substantially higher level than in other school programmes, their first-language and subject-matter skills do not suffer measurably in the long term, and their attitudes toward the second language and culture are generally more positive than those of similar students in other kinds of second-language programmes.

Essential conditions for progress

Of all characteristics, which are the essential ones? Second-language acquisition theory suggests that,

while an early start and both intensive and extensive exposure to the second language may help determine the ultimate level of proficiency, the *essential* conditions for progress in language acquisition are the following (see Krashen, this issue, for further discussion):

- exposure to and interaction in the second language with a native speaker in a situation in which the second language is the vehicle of communication rather than the object of study, and
- (initially) a sheltered situation in which the native speaker makes the necessary adjustments of speech and activity in order to get across the message to the non-proficient speakers. Emphasis for the learner is on receptive skills — somewhat paralleling the initial "listening period" of infants learning their mother tongue, where comprehension ability precedes recognizable speech production by some months.

The adjustments made by native speakers are thought to aid language acquisition in at least two ways. First, they establish positive affect as learners successfully understand what is said, decreasing anxiety and building self-confidence, and ensuring the learners' greater openness to input in the second language. By providing a model of the target language which is correct, but redundant, simplified, and limited in certain ways, they aid the learner to discover and internalize the basic patterns of sound, word-formation, grammar and discourse structure of the language, as well as the appropriate non-verbal gestures.

It is precisely this "sheltered" aspect of immersion which has recently been criticized as limiting second-language development to a "classroom" dialect for immersion students, including the "fossilization" of certain grammatical errors.⁷ It is important to note that if exposure to the second language continues to be limited to a sheltered situation — as in later immersion years where students still may have only their teacher, written pedagogical materials and their less-than-fluent peers as

models—they may at some stage reach a plateau in the development of their production skills. To become fluent and native-like in a variety of uses of the target language, “submersion” into the relevant aspects of the second-language community will, at some point, be essential. Nevertheless, a substantial body of research also indicates that an environment which provides comprehensible input is a necessary condition of language acquisition, and that to be comprehensible at the early stages, linguistic input must be altered from native-speaker norms. Immersion programmes should be viewed as an initial stage, providing the supportive environment and comprehensible language needed by beginners and intermediates who, when they are more proficient and can no longer benefit in their linguistic development from the sheltered environment, can “graduate” to submersion situations and continue to progress.

Immersion at the university

The question for universities is whether a language teaching approach with the above elements can work with older students. While one can cite examples in which subject matter is taught via second languages to university students (the most obvious being advanced literature courses for second-language majors in universities and training programmes for language teachers), little research has been done on whether, and how much, these courses lead to gains in second-language proficiency. To date, only a handful of studies have documented proficiency gains coupled with mastery of subject matter by older learners. These include a five-month training course for Francophone English teachers in Quebec in which all instruction was in English⁸ and a sheltered workshop programme for immigrants to Quebec in which job-related training and survival skills were taught in the French language.⁹

A related study with adolescent learners was done in the bilingual high school programme of the Ottawa Board of Education in which English-speaking students took half

their regular subject-matter courses in French in grades 9-11. These students, like those in the two programmes cited earlier, made satisfactory progress in the subject matter while achieving measurable gains in French proficiency.¹⁰ These three programmes, however, while dealing with students older than those in early and late immersion, still all involved relatively intensive exposure to the second language over an extended period.

University of Ottawa programme

An experimental programme in subject-matter language teaching, begun at the University of Ottawa in 1982,¹¹ differs from the other programmes discussed in that it involves less than 40 hours of instruction. Its purpose is to provide a format in which students at intermediate-proficiency levels, both in French or English as a second language, can make the transition from the second-language classroom to regular subject-matter courses offered to native speakers of their second language at this bilingual university. In this programme a group of Anglophone students and another group of Francophone students take the second semester of Introduction to Psychology/Introduction à la psychologie in sheltered sections of the regular course in which enrolment is limited to second-language speakers. Taught by regular psychology professors for whom the language of instruction is the first language, these two groups cover the same material as the regular classes and take the same final exam (presented bilingually to all students enrolled in the course). Pedagogical adjustments made to accommodate students' limited second-language skills include more reliance on written outlines, emphasis on students' receptive language skills (listening and reading), and weekly short-answer quizzes on the psychology content instead of a research paper. Each psychology professor is aided by a French and an English language teacher who provide approximately 15 minutes of instruction in each 1½ hour (bi-weekly) class period. This language instruction part of the psychology classes includes no explicit

grammar teaching but is rather geared toward helping students to read and take lecture notes more effectively, clarifying points made in the lectures, and allowing students an opportunity to express their ideas in a relaxed atmosphere.¹²

In addition, analysis of video-taped presentations by the same psychology professors to both the sheltered sections and to regular first-language sections reveals that many linguistic adjustments are unconsciously made by the professors in their presentations to the sheltered groups. For example, lecture discourse in the sheltered sections, while varying markedly from the regular sections between the Francophone and Anglophone psychology professors, is syntactically simpler and lexically more redundant, shows more explicit organization of ideas, and has many other features which distinguish it from their discourse to the native speakers.¹³

Subject-matter language teaching at the university level (and to a lesser extent at the high school level) appears to go beyond immersion models with younger pupils in the proportion of exposure it gives to native-speaker models. This is due to the nature of academic discourse. Essentially, in professor lectures, sometimes supplemented with films or visiting speakers, all the students listen. Substantial reading assignments of material written for native speakers is an important feature of such a course. During instruction by the language teacher, the University of Ottawa format is generally more classroom interaction, but the teacher still does most of the talking and thus remains the major source of input. While in the “university classroom register” students do not receive much practical interactive language use, they do receive a large proportion of native-speaker input and are less likely to be influenced by the non-native speech of peers than in school immersion programmes.

Extensive testing of the 45 experimental students and appropriate comparison classes at the beginning and end of the winter

ter dealt with three questions: e students learn as much ology subject matter as they uring the first semester, and as as students in their first- ge sections taught by the same sors? Did their French or n proficiency improve, and did ove as much as that of similar ts in regular language classes? ey gain in self-confidence in heir second language, and ey more likely to use it out of ssroom as a result of the ?

sults confirmed that the ts in the sheltered sections did in the psychology final exam urse grade as they had the first er and, on the whole, slightly han students in the regular rison groups. They gained cantly in second-language pro- y, again approximately as as students of similar pro- evels in well-taught, 45-hour s in English and French as l languages. In addition, unlike uage students, who showed nge, they reported a significant

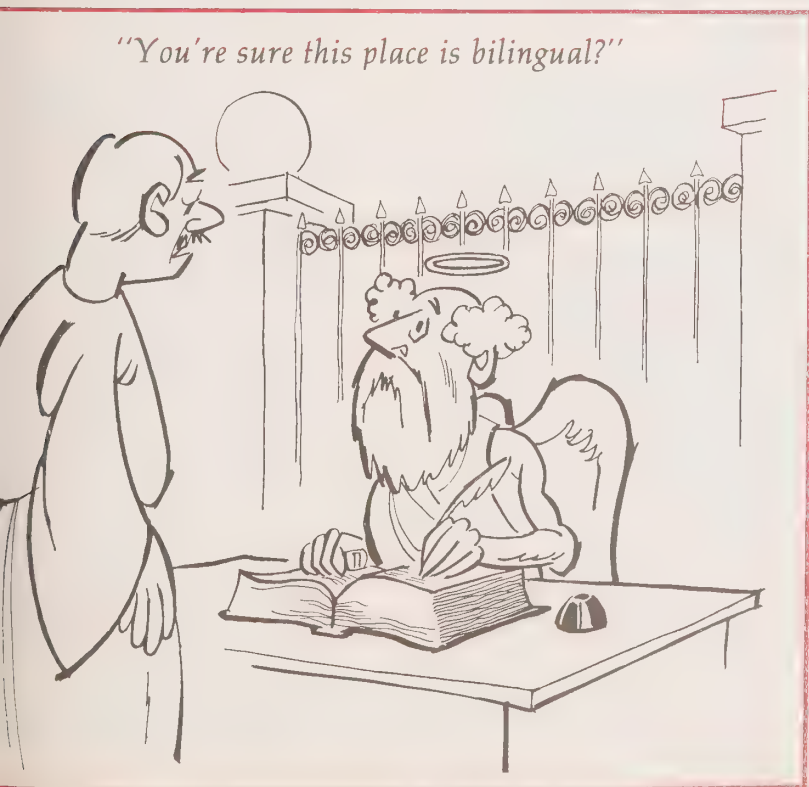
improvement in their own perception of their second-language proficiency and a significant decrease in their anxiety about using the second language in real-life situations. Those findings reflected increased self-confidence in second-language use. Student comments at the end of the course also indicated that most gained considerable satisfaction from "doing something real" in their second language and that they used the language out of class more than before.¹⁴ Thus the students in the sheltered classes essentially got "something for nothing". They mastered their regular subject matter, and at the same time they significantly improved their second-language proficiency and their self-confidence when using the language. This was achieved without formal grammar study and without extensive practice in language production. It appears then, that university courses can be so structured and presented as to expose students to their second language in a non-threatening context in which it is comprehensible, which requires them to concentrate on meaning

rather than form, and which leads to substantial improvement in their second-language skills.

As with immersion, further experimentation is needed with this format to determine the proficiency levels at which students can best benefit from such instruction, the academic subjects which lend themselves to it, how much language teaching should be included in the programme and for how long such "sheltering" is needed before students are able to compete in academic courses aimed at native speakers.¹⁵

It is also of interest to find out whether immersion and bilingual high school graduates will need transition courses of this kind or can go directly into programmes aimed at native speakers. Sheltered courses may in fact find their largest clientele among core-French graduates.

From an administrative point of view, such programmes obviously require goodwill and cooperation between university departments, as well as subject-matter professors fluent in the language of instruction who are willing to make the necessary adjustments in their teaching to accommodate second-language speakers. The positive results of this experiment are, however, sufficiently encouraging to suggest a format for other departments and universities wishing to teach second-language courses at advanced levels to students who are not language majors. In Canadian universities, these would include not only Canadians of the other official language, but also visa students who must normally carry on all their studies in a submersion situation in one of the official languages, often at a considerable linguistic disadvantage. A sheltered course at an early stage of their academic career might provide an important boost to the academic second-language skills of such students, as well as to their self-confidence in Canadian academia. It might also provide visa students with the opportunity to take a course—as in the humanities—which relies heavily on verbal skills. Such courses are often avoided by non-native speakers, who tend to



Shane. Reprinted with permission. The United Church Observer.

select subjects such as economics, the physical sciences and engineering—where charts and diagrams help them to understand verbal meaning and where content is more straightforward.¹⁶

For visa students, sheltered courses are clearly a transition to regular academic studies in the full target language milieu—an ideal sequence. Bilingual institutions which attract large numbers of Canadian students from both official-language groups can also offer second-language speakers the sequence of sheltered courses as a transition, followed by integration into regular courses for speakers of the other language. Most institutions, however, will have to rely on arrangements such as academic exchanges with universities of the other instructional language in order to provide Canadian students with a structured opportunity to advance from the sheltered second-language course into the “real world”. Nevertheless, the sheltered course offers a substantive advance over the second-language learning opportunities currently available to non-language majors in most Canadian universities.

Other formats which provide the same elements as sheltered courses are of course possible. A second programme of this type is described below.

UCLA “adjunct” courses

At the University of California in Los Angeles, a programme of subject-matter related instruction in English as a second language (ESL) has proven useful for freshman students from second-language backgrounds.¹⁷ It is part of a special summer programme for “high-risk” students. The programme provides immigrant students from a second-language background—who have carried out part or all their high school studies in English but still have academic language problems—with an opportunity to study a regular university subject together with a related course in English skills. Psychology, Political Science, History and Anthropology are offered along

with “adjunct” English courses for ESL and “at risk” native speakers in which all the reading and writing assignments are related to the respective subject-matter courses. With some 90 hours of instruction overall, and the availability of tutors in their residences to help with both language and subject-matter problems after class hours, students can make important gains in their academic English skills. Continual coordination is required between the subject-matter instructors and the language instructors, as well as between students and their respective tutors. The format is thus probably best suited to an intensive programme where regular planning meetings may be scheduled. The 1983 programme will be the first to undergo extensive evaluation; however, anecdotal evidence from instructors and students is very positive. It indicates that academically oriented language instruction focussed on a particular subject-matter course is more effective than more general ESL courses for university students, and suggests that students gain in language proficiency from their subject-matter courses in this supportive environment.

Conclusion

Canadian English-language universities have no choice but to respond to the various effects of the immersion phenomenon. Surely they will increase the scope and range of their course offerings in French to undergraduates. Surely the education-faculties will respond to the new needs presented by immersion teaching requirements. The degree to which English-language, French-language and bilingual universities will modify their current course offerings in all languages to benefit from what immersion tells us about effective second-language instruction remains to be seen. The innovative programmes described have provided a promising beginning.

I would like to thank the following persons for their help in the preparation of this article: Sally Andrews, Donna Brinton, Stephen Carey, Evelyn Hatch, Stephen Krashen, Kathryn Manzer, Doreen Ready, David Stern, Bernard Wilhelm and Janice Yalden.

NOTES

1. Bilingual Canadian universities with full undergraduate programmes in both languages include the University of Ottawa, Laurentian University at Sudbury and Glendon College, York University in Toronto, the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston (four-year engineering programme), as well as the University of Alberta which offers a full undergraduate programme in French at the Faculté St. Jean. The University of Regina's Bilingual Centre offers a bilingual B.A. and B.Ed. in which 60 per cent of the courses are given in English and 40 per cent in French. The B.Ed. includes a full year of study at a French-language university in Quebec. All of the above programmes serve both Francophone and Anglophone students.
2. See Yalden, Janice and Anne Donaldson. *French Studies in the Undergraduate Curriculum: A Needs Analysis*. Report submitted to the Language Programmes Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. Ottawa: Centre for Applied Language Studies, Carleton University, 1983. This report presents results of a survey of French-language needs of Carleton undergraduates, as perceived by samples of students, faculty members and local business people. Calgary Area Branch of the Canadian Parents for French (CPF) surveyed high school students and teachers of French and students at the University of Calgary on a number of issues with implications for French-language training and teacher training at the University of Calgary. The students surveyed in both studies were largely graduates of core French rather than immersion programmes because immersion graduates are only beginning to reach university age. A further organized effort to stimulate new programme development in French as a second language was the Ontario Canadian Parents for French-Glendon College conference on “Bilingual University Education for Anglo-Ontarians” held in September-October, 1983 at Glendon College, York University. See also, for additional information on current thoughts on languages and the university: Stern, H.H. “Language Teaching and the Universities in the 1980's”, in *The Canadian Modern Language Review* 37(2), 1981, pp. 212-225. Yalden, Janice. “Second Language at the Universities: A Look into the Future”, *The Canadian Modern Language Review* 35(3), pp. 431-442. Yalden, Max. “Bilingualism and Universities: A Time for Action”, in *Canadian Association of University Teachers Bulletin*, September, 1982, pp. 5, 8.
3. In addition to regular academic offerings in French language in the bilingual programme referred to in Note 1, other universities which have tried or which have concrete plans to subject-matter courses in French as a second language include the University of Toronto (philosophy, history, communications), the University of Calgary (history), St. Thomas More College of the University of Saskatchewan (sociology), Simon Fraser (linguistics, Canadian studies), the University of Prince Edward Island (Acadian studies), the University of New Brunswick (economics, history and sociology) and the University of Ottawa (psychology) (discussed in detail in this article). York University offers credit subject-matter courses for ESL students.
4. Teacher-training needs and offerings in the Western provinces are documented in the Calgary CPF needs survey, referred to in Note 2. The University of British Columbia has recently begun a new eight-month “French Immersion and Cadre” programme in its Faculty of

education intended for prospective teachers of primary, late and secondary French immersion, and French as a first language in a minority setting. In this programme all course work and at least part of the practica are carried out in the French language. For a study of progress on immersion-teacher training see also Obadia, this issue.

Research has identified a number of adjustments characteristic of native-speaker communication with foreigners including language students, such as slower and more clearly articulated speech, exaggerated intonation and gestures, less complex grammatical constructions, repetition of vocabulary and concepts, careful structuring of discourse, more dependence on reference to the immediate situational context, and doing more of the conversational work" (e.g. asking yes/no questions instead of those requiring an open-ended answer.)

Useful reviews of this literature may be found in Hatch, Evelyn. *Psycholinguistics: A Second Language Perspective*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1983 (chapter 9); and Krashen, Stephen. *Second-Language Acquisition and Second-Language Learning*. Oxford: Pergamon, 1981 (chapter 9).

While many individuals obviously do successfully acquire second languages in non-altered situations, very real questions remain about the efficiency of this approach at lower levels of language proficiency and its cost in terms of the emotional well-being of learners, as well as to cognitive and first language development in younger learners. On the latter point, Cummins, James, "The Cognitive Development of Children in Immersion Programmes", *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 34(5), 1978, pp. 856-883.

7. See for example: Connors, K., N. Ménard and R. Singh. "Testing Linguistic and Functional Competence in Immersion Programmes", Fourth LACUS Forum, in M. Paradis (ed.) *Aspects of Bilingualism*. Hornbeam Press, 1978, pp. 65-75. Harley, B. and M. Swain. "An analysis of the verb system by young learners of French", in *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin*, 3, 1978, pp. 35-79. See also Harley, this issue.
8. Buch, Georgette and Ivan DeBagheera. "An Immersion Programme for the Professional Improvement of Non-Native Teachers of ESL", in *On TESOL 78*, Washington: TESOL, 1979, pp. 106-117.
9. D'Anglejan, A., C. Renaud, R.-H. Arsenault and A.M. Lortie. "Difficultés d'apprentissage de la langue seconde chez l'immigrant adulte en situation scolaire. Québec: Centre international pour la recherche sur le bilinguisme, 1981.
10. Morrison, F., M. Walsh, C. Pawley and R. Bonyun. *Core French Proficiency: French Working Paper No. 133*. Ottawa: Research Centre, Ottawa Board of Education, 1980.
11. This ongoing project has received funding from the Department of the Secretary of State and the Ontario Ministry of Education in their jointly administered Special Projects Programme for official languages in education, as well as from the Committee on Teaching Resources and the Arts and Social Sciences faculties of the University of Ottawa. Participating professors and teachers include S. Burger, M. Chrétien, Dr. R. Clément, Dr. H.P. Edwards, Dr. M. Gingras, Dr. P. Hauptman, Dr. S. Krashen, M. Migneron and Dr. M. Wesche.
12. For details, see Burger, S., M. Chrétien, M. Gingras, P. Hauptman, and M. Migneron "Le rôle du professeur de langue dans un cours de matière académique en langue seconde" Unpublished manuscript, University of Ottawa, 1983.
13. This research is reported in Wesche, Marjorie Bingham and Doreen Ready. "Foreigner Talk Discourse in the University Classroom". Paper presented at the 10th University of Michigan Conference on Applied Linguistics, Ann Arbor, October, 1983. Forthcoming in Gass, S. and C. Madden (eds), title T.B.A., *Issues in second language*. Research series, Rowley Mass.: Newbury House.
14. A full report of this research is given in Edwards, H.P., M. Wesche, S. Krashen, R. Clément and B. Kruidenier. "Second Language Acquisition Through Subject-Matter Learning: A Study of Sheltered Psychology Classes at the University of Ottawa". Unpublished manuscript, University of Ottawa, 1983.
15. A full-year French section of *Introduction to Psychology* for second-language speakers is being offered at the University of Ottawa in 1983-84.
16. A full-year course in Canadian history which would offer sheltered tutorial sections for visa students in English as a second language in 1984-85 at the University of Ottawa is under consideration by the History Department and the Centre for Second Language Learning.
17. I am grateful to Donna Brinton and Evelyn Hatch for this information.

HOW FRENCH IMMERSION BEGAN

One of the most interesting aspects of the immersion movement has been how it came about. The impetus did not come from professional educators but from English-speaking parents' groups who had strong and positive feelings about bilingualism in Canada. Parents' groups have continued to play a major role in the advancement of French.

The immersion approach was first thought of and advocated by such a parents' group in St. Lambert in the Montreal area twenty years ago. They managed to persuade the Quebec Ministry of Education and a local school board to initiate an immersion — type experiment in one of the schools under its jurisdiction. In addition, this parents' group had the

unusual good sense — setting a very rare example in educational experiments — to demand research and evaluation of these experimental classes. It was furthermore fortunate that they found a receptive response to their demand for research in the psychology department of McGill University, where Professor W. Lambert and his colleagues took up this challenge and agreed to study the development of this experiment in the St. Lambert elementary school.

The encouraging research reports which began to come out of the St. Lambert studies from about 1969 influenced the spread of immersion. In Ontario, particularly in Ottawa, as the national capital, parents' groups and some school board trust-

ees pressed their school administrators to see to it that French be taught more effectively in the local schools and found in immersion the kind of solution they had been looking for. The school boards and the Ontario Ministry of Education, anxious to act responsibly and not to fall for another languages teaching bandwagon, invited or commissioned research studies from the Ottawa and Carleton universities and from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) in Toronto. Similar developments took place in other provinces across Canada from British Columbia to Prince Edward Island. Thus the pattern was set for a period of experimentation, expansion and research on immersion in several localities across Canada.

Setting up an immersion programme can cause problems of nightmarish proportions, and this administrator says that school boards deserve some credit for the way they have responded to the demand.

School systems make it work

W. RUSSELL MCGILLIVRAY



W. Russell McGillivray retired recently after 34 years as teacher, principal and superintendent in the Ontario school system. As a superintendent of the Carleton Board of Education, he was responsible for immersion programmes from the time of their inception in 1970. He holds degrees from the universities of Manitoba, Toronto and Alberta.

Educators are notoriously reluctant to change. Whether the change be one of programme (e.g. New Mathematics), of teaching strategies (as required in open schools), or of technology (e.g. the overhead projector), it seems to take years before it is generally accepted by teachers and common in most school systems, even though most educational innovations come from teachers themselves.

The extraordinarily rapid acceptance of immersion across Canada during the past fifteen years is an exception to the usual pattern. Its success is all the more amazing, given the problems that accompany it. Immersion requires a total revision of curricula, an almost total replacement or retraining of staff, major revisions in school attendance boundaries and, initially at least, fairly substantial additional expenditures. There are few guidelines for immersion prepared by ministries of education; teacher training programmes are inadequate, and there is little commercially produced material specifically for immersion. Moreover the pressure for this sweeping innovation came, not from educators, but from parents who were not prepared to give the educational establishment its usual period of grace to make changes, but demanded the programme at once, so that their children could benefit.

Clearly immersion has succeeded in spite of negative factors that should have assured its failure. That it has succeeded is very evident not only in its spread across

Canada, but also in the consistently positive results of research that has been carried out by world-renowned linguists and psychologists. Faced with these persuasive results and the strong pressure of interested parents, few administrators and boards are able to resist for long the push for immersion. Perhaps they may be given some sympathy, however, for not being overly enthusiastic about adding its related problems to those that already beset them: declining enrolment, redundant staff, decreasing revenues, more special education, and the computer bandwagon.

The decision to begin immersion is thus not an easy one, but for most Canadian school boards it is probably an inevitable one because of the continuing demand for better French programmes that will give children the obvious advantages of being bilingual. No matter how bitterly some parents oppose the programme and resist having it in their school, they will likely register their children for immersion to require boards to implement it.

The immersion centre

The programme should logically be located in the school serving the area in which the greatest number of interested parents reside. However, this may not always be the best choice. If that school is small, the English programme will quickly be in jeopardy; if it is full, and immersion pupils from other areas are permitted to attend, it will soon be overcrowded. Both situations will anger parents and staff, and immersion will be blamed.

Experience has shown that wherever immersion is implemented, it tends to be more popular than the English-medium programme, and boards should anticipate this. Even a large school will have problems encompassing the two programmes. Class size is never what it should be, in either programme; split grades are inevitable and are very difficult in the primary grades of

sion. Remedial, music and specialists are not usually of serving in both languages, the programme will be deprived of services. Budgets must be reduced, because French books are expensive. Supervision of programmes and staff in two languages is very difficult for some boards. In fact, the two programmes are not compatible, and co-exist with difficulty, particularly in schools covering classes from kindergarten to grade 6. The solution is administratively simple and politically difficult — separate the two programmes and create an immersion centre, offering only the immersion programme. In such a school, the staff, the programme, and the resources are all devoted to immersion. Formal class groupings and specialist teachers should be possible, immersion can be more complete, parents and staff are generally more positive about the learning environment.

Some of the displaced English-immersion children will, understandably, object to losing their continuity school to "those French" although clearly one programme had to be moved in order to obtain services and programmes. They will find it difficult to accept, however, that immersion is becoming a "regular" programme, and children in immersion should at least equal services and resources. If a board can justify creating a new school and can create it from the beginning as an immersion centre, or if a dying school is kept open by such a designation, opposition to the programme is reduced.

Opposition will be diminished also if a board is able to provide normal education for those children, whether on or English programme, and direct them to a school outside the community. If both programmes are considered as "regular", the same policies should apply to both.

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is
survey across Canada of

96 boards with immersion carried out by the Canadian Education Association (CEA) showed that one of the greatest difficulties facing boards opening immersion programmes is finding qualified staff. The term "qualified" should perhaps read "capable" since there are few special qualifications required to teach immersion classes in most provinces, but obviously a native-like capability in French is a must. At present hardly any full-time teacher-training programmes for immersion are available in Canada in spite of the obvious market for such graduates. (See Obadia and Wesche, this issue.)

Most boards looking for immersion teachers must choose between teachers trained to teach a core French

they are ready to try immersion. Francophone teachers in Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick, facing declining enrolments in the French systems, are willing to take the necessary summer courses to qualify them for immersion. These beginners will need the advice and assistance of experienced immersion teachers who can now be found in most parts of Canada. Many are available to present workshops, and some might be interested in serving as consultants for boards beginning a new immersion programme.

The other side of the personnel problem, and the more difficult one, concerns the incumbent staff who are not capable of teaching immersion and are therefore potentially redundant.

How far's the immersion centre?



second-language programme but with no experience or training in teaching other subjects in French, and Francophone teachers qualified to teach subjects in French but with no experience and limited training in second-language teaching. The basic requirement, of course, is that the teacher be flexible, imaginative, dedicated and interested in immersion and in addition, since the teacher must be a linguistic model for the pupils, be perfectly fluent in French.

Although teacher-training institutions have been slow to provide relevant training for immersion, many student teachers taking the French second-language option have achieved a high level of fluency through summer immersion bursary programmes or by spending a year studying in France or Quebec, and

dant. Some with aptitude and motivation may be capable of teaching core French, or even immersion, if suitable training can be provided. Principals, vice-principals and department heads should be given suitable language skills so that they can supervise programmes in French. Those unwilling or unable to take such training should not be responsible for immersion programmes. While language training should be of interest to personnel who might otherwise face dismissal, boards should also assume some responsibility for the costs of providing it, in order to try to retain valued staff members. A systematic analysis of the linguistic requirements of various positions should be done and language courses found that meet the ascertained needs. Administrators and English staff in immersion

schools can, if they wish, practise their French regularly with the understanding and assistance of Francophone staff and of the delighted pupils.

In spite of language training possibilities, however, some unilingual staff will not be capable of teaching in immersion and may have to be dismissed. Teachers' federations have tried to forestall this through collective agreements, but boards have to take the hard line that the system is there to serve the children, not to maintain jobs for teachers. If parents wish an immersion programme for their children, boards must find the necessary staff capable of providing it.

Programme challenges

According to the CEA survey, programme development and programme acquisition were the second most serious challenge faced by boards introducing immersion. For the pioneer immersion boards this was certainly the case, but thanks to their work and to the increasing awareness of commercial publishers, the situation is somewhat improved now. Any board wishing assistance with immersion programmes can readily obtain it by asking appropriate superintendents or French consultants of any of the major boards known to have them. Most large boards are willing to sell their curriculum documents and to permit other boards to use or adapt them. They also will usually permit experienced teachers or consultants to present workshops or give short courses to help beginning boards get started.

This assistance, however, will not remove the requirement for continuing in-service and for some programme adaptation at the local level. Boards beginning immersion will require a French consultant or coordinator who can coordinate programme and other in-service activities and can advise principals and superintendents about programmes that may be totally new and perhaps incomprehensible to them. Boards have to develop their own objectives

and standards in the absence of guidelines from provincial ministries of education, and their immersion teachers will be constantly developing and revising programmes.

Immersion programmes present unique challenges to curriculum writers. In the early grades, concepts and skills must be imparted to pupils who have very little knowledge of French structure and syntax and a limited vocabulary in which to express these concepts. Books and material prepared for Francophone pupils are too difficult, and straight translations of English programmes almost equally so. Resource material readily available in English is frequently not published in French, or if it is, must be simplified. By grades 4 or 5 some of the books and materials used in the French schools may be suitable, but immersion teachers are marvellous simplifiers, translators, and borrowers. The fact that immersion pupils are able to cover the same concepts in mathematics or environmental studies as English-programme pupils attests to their success.

Programme costs

Additional programme costs, in-service needs, French language-training requirements, higher prices of texts and library books, perhaps additional transportation costs — all of these may seem very good reasons for boards already experiencing financial difficulties not to embark on immersion. Some of these additional costs are one-time start-up costs incurred each year until the programme has been established in all grades. In most provinces, some additional grants for French programmes may help to offset these and boards might consider the wisdom of identifying these grants to help explain to taxpayers and staff that in fact the immersion programme is not totally a net extra cost.

Once an immersion programme has been established in all grades in an immersion centre and, assuming that numbers are sufficient to establish normal class sizes, it is perhaps the least expensive second-language pro-

gramme. The major cost for any educational programme is the salary of the teachers, and clearly this is the same for immersion as for English classes. A daily core-French programme using additional specialist teachers to replace classroom teachers for a period each day is more expensive and, obviously, far less effective from the standpoint of the level of French capability attained.

Nonetheless, immersion programmes do cost more, at least initially, and, what is more important, they are *believed* to cost more by reluctant trustees, disgruntled red-dant teachers, and taxpayers who think that education taxes are already too high. Hopefully the new federal-provincial three-year agreement on funding of minority-language programmes may help to remove the financial objections. This not only increases the amount of money available to the provinces for minority-language programmes, it also requires that the provinces provide the federal government with specific information showing how federal payments are related to the additional costs incurred by the provinces for these programmes. Presumably boards will have to justify their need for the additional grants by isolating the actual additional costs of the programmes. If indeed there are net additional costs for immersion, at least trustees, staff, and taxpayers will be able to decide whether or not the programmes are worth the extra taxes. Parents of children in immersion have obviously already made their decisions!

The success of immersion, in spite of the problems and the *ad hoc* way in which it has been implemented, is clear evidence of the power of parents when they wish something for their children, the ability of the school establishment to change quickly if it has to, and the validity of the principles underlying immersion. It is well known that more learning takes place in school when interesting and challenging material is presented to motivated students by good teachers backed by supportive parents. In this case the second language is acquired while learning

thematics, environmental studies and other interesting and important things in a manner that the children can realize is different and important to their parents. The teachers, sense the importance of what they are doing, not simply being part of an interesting educational experiment, but helping to create a new Canadian, one who accepts bilingualism as a natural part of his life.

Administrators and school boards have been accused of dragging their feet when asked to begin immersion programmes. Considering the seriousness of the problems that immersion inevitably brings with it, parents might perhaps be a bit more realistic in their expectations. Nevertheless, most boards that have implemented immersion have succeeded in creating programmes, finding capable teachers, reorganizing their schools, and raising the necessary funds. They have had the courage to make difficult political decisions in the face of bitter opposition, and their decisions have been justified by the results of the programme, results attested to by extensive research and by the enthusiasm of pupils, parents and staff.

Parents forced immersion on school boards, and they deserve credit because they were right in so doing. School boards and administrators and teachers made it work in spite of the formidable difficulties involved and deserve some of the credit for the success of this revolutionary, home-in-Canada approach to bilingualism.

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Reflecting the cultural heritage of pupils and the French fact in Quebec, Montreal's Jewish Day Schools offer double immersion classes. Youngsters are well able to cope, and their English-language skills are not suffering.

An example of double immersion

ELLEN ADIV



A research officer with the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, **Ellen Adiv** specializes in second-language acquisition about which she has published a number of articles. At the moment she is engaged in a research project relating to the Jewish Day Schools in Canada. A graduate of McGill University, Dr. Adiv has taught there and at Bar-Ilan University in Israel.

In Montreal, the use of two second languages (French and Hebrew) as major media of instruction has led to the development of two types of double immersion programmes within the framework of the Jewish Day School system, and their function is twofold. First, they provide a means to become linguistically competent in the nation's two official languages and, second, they transmit the Jewish heritage through the active use of the ancestral language. From a religio-cultural perspective, double immersion is similar to many ethnically integrated school programmes, except for the fact that the teaching of Hebrew is not aimed at mother-tongue maintenance since most of the students are native-English speakers.

The first double immersion programme (hereafter, Type I programme) was initiated in 1971. Prior to that date, the Jewish Day Schools in Montreal had a basically bilingual English/Hebrew (or a trilingual English/Hebrew/Yiddish) programme. French was taught for one period a day (30-45 minutes of instructional time). However, by the early seventies, there was growing awareness among Jewish parents and school administrators that the amount of French instruction provided was insufficient to ensure that the younger generation would be able to function in an environment where the use of French as the language of work and business was being increasingly emphasized. In consequence, it was decided to establish an elementary school curriculum along the lines of the early French-immersion programme, with one major difference: the

Hebrew component of the Jewish Day School curriculum was to remain an integral part of the new programme.

The main features of this double immersion programme are: from kindergarten through grade 2, the curriculum taught entirely in French and Hebrew, with slightly more instructional time in French than in Hebrew. Reading and writing in both languages are introduced simultaneously in grade 1. Instruction in mother tongue English is introduced in grade 3 and, in some cases, grade 4. From grade 4 onwards, approximately 7 weekly hours are devoted to English, 14 to French and 11 to Hebrew.

As noted above, the French curriculum is similar to the one used in the early French-immersion programme. All secular content subjects are taught in French in grades 1 and 2, and some, such as science, continue to be taught in that language through grade 6. French literacy skills are developed in regular language arts classes, but formal grammar instruction is not started until grade 3. The textbooks and related materials used to teach these subjects are mostly those used in the Francophone schools in Montreal.

The curriculum is devoted to the study of Hebrew as well as to religious and culturally related subjects, such as prayer, Bible and Jewish history, all of which are taught in Hebrew. Here the materials are either texts used by native-Hebrew speakers in Israel or materials specially prepared for the teaching of Hebrew as a second language. As in the case of French, there is little formal language instruction in the lower elementary grades but the use of the language as a means of communication is stressed.

The Type I programme was initially introduced in only one of the Jewish Day Schools. A few years later it was extended to a second and, at present, a third school is considering switching to this type of programme.

The second type of double immersion programme (hereafter, Type II programme) is an extension of a partial immersion programme. Instruction in the mother tongue is started in kindergarten simultaneously with French and Hebrew. The amount of instructional time in each of the three languages is proportionally the same as that of the Type I programme in grades 4, 5 and 6. Here, some of the regular-content subjects, in particular mathematics, are taught in English throughout. In contrast to Type I double immersion programme, the Type II was not initiated by a specific group of people and at a specific point in time. Instead, it developed gradually as a result of the Quebec government's insistence that the Montreal Jewish Day Schools should

level of French proficiency. Moreover, by grade 5, the students' linguistic competence in French seems equal to that of grade 5 students in the all-French immersion programme (Genesee and Lambert, 1983).

The level of proficiency in Hebrew tends to be higher in the Type I than in the Type II programme. However, in both, the development of communicative competence in Hebrew is slower in French. This may be due to a number of factors. First, there is more instructional time in French than in Hebrew; second, students living in Montreal have ample opportunity to use French outside the classroom, whereas exposure to Hebrew remains, in most cases, a

English-language skills are initially less developed in the Type I than in the Type II programme. This difference disappears, however, once instruction in English is started in the Type I programme (grade 3 or grade 4). Furthermore, in the upper elementary grades, the students in both double immersion programmes perform as well on English language tests as students at the same grade levels in regular English schools in Montreal. In a similar vein, testing in mathematics reveals no significant differences between students in the two double immersion programmes and students in either the all-French immersion programme or the regular English schools.

These findings suggest that the double immersion programmes are an effective means for native-English speakers to acquire functional proficiency in two second languages and that even greatly reduced amounts of instruction in the mother tongue do not adversely affect either proficiency in that language or academic achievement in other subjects.

The results of the evaluations of the double immersion programmes contrast sharply with the linguistic and scholastic achievement noted in certain American school programmes aimed at preserving an ethnic group's cultural and linguistic heritage. It has been argued that the reason for this difference lies in the fact that the children in the Canadian immersion programmes come mostly from middle and upper-middle socio-economic class homes and that their mother tongue is the language of the majority population. Hence these children feel socially and linguistically secure.

Research into the effect of immersion programmes on students' perceptions of linguistic and cultural identity reveals that the French-immersion experience seems to promote a certain degree of linguistic affiliation with the concepts "Francophone" and "French Canadian". On the other hand, the Hebrew curriculum of the Jewish Day Schools appears to instill a stronger feeling of identification with the religious-cultural concept "Jew" than



can be learned as easily as two

increase the number of hours of each-language instruction. In consequence, the Type II programme encompasses a much larger number of schools than Type I and the content of its Hebrew curriculum is to vary across the schools according to different Jewish philosophies and orientations.

Conclusion Findings

In the case of the carefully monitored single-language immersion programme, Type I has been initiated at different grade levels, and the students' linguistic and academic achievement has been compared to that of students enrolled in a Type II programme with a similar Hebrew curriculum. The results show few consistent differences between the two programmes in the

classroom experience; finally, it is possible that the learning of French by native-English speakers is facilitated by the fact that the two languages share many structural and lexical features. While these factors may explain the comparatively more rapid development of certain French-language skills, it does not follow that the proficiency in Hebrew of students in the double immersion programmes suffers any setbacks in comparison to that of students in Jewish Day Schools elsewhere who receive little or no instruction in French. In fact, some recent research findings indicate that the level of proficiency in Hebrew of students in the Montreal double immersion programmes differs little from that of students in the Toronto Jewish Day Schools with similar Hebrew programmes who received no French instruction.

with the purely linguistic concept "Hebrew-speaking person".

Parental attitudes

At a time when school enrolments are steadily declining in the public sector, the Montreal Jewish Day Schools have maintained and, in some cases, expanded their student body. Parents' motivation for sending their children are generally based on commitment to the Hebrew portion of the programme. Feelings about the secular component are mixed. While conscious of the research findings, there is nevertheless concern among most parents that their own children may not be able to deal with material in content subjects which are taught predominantly in a second and as yet insufficiently mastered language. Moreover, although the value of becoming proficient in French is generally recognized, many parents fear that English instruction in the Jewish Day Schools may be further reduced, a factor which could explain why the Type I programme is implemented in only a small number of schools.

Linguistic and educational issues

A central concern in the implementation of immersion programmes has been their suitability for all intellectual levels of the student population. In general, there is a tendency to transfer students who do not succeed in immersion programmes to regular English schools, because it is felt that learning in a second language handicaps children who have either learning difficulties or emotional problems. Although there is some indication from research that suggests that these fears are, in most cases, unfounded in the single-language immersion programmes, the question remains wide open in the case of the double immersion programmes.

Here the problem is twofold. First, there are two second languages involved. This means that there is not only an additional linguistic system to be learned, but that the learner must develop skills to keep the two competing systems from intruding

upon each other. Second, there is the question of curriculum content. In order to cover both the secular and the Jewish studies curricula, students not only spend longer hours in the classroom than their peers in the single-language immersion programme, but also have to shoulder a much heavier load of homework.

How well do the schools cope with these problems? Apparently very well; there are practically no transfers to regular English schools and most students are accepted, without difficulty, by the high school of their choice. It can, of course, be argued that most of the students in the double immersion programmes are intellectually and socioeconomically advantaged children. Nevertheless, the doors of these schools are open to any child wishing to receive a Jewish education. In fact, one of the reasons for complying with the Quebec Government's demand to increase the number of hours of French instruction so drastically in the Type II programme was to ensure continuation of the grants the Jewish Day Schools have been receiving and which assure the availability of bursaries for children whose parents cannot afford the tuition fees. Although relatively few students fall into this category, there is no evidence that they are academically less successful than the other students in the double immersion programmes.

A second issue pertaining to the effectiveness of the double immersion programmes is the degree of second-language competence that immersion students develop in French and Hebrew. As noted earlier, the students' level of French proficiency seems to equal that of students at the same grade level in the all-French immersion programme, at least in the upper elementary grades. But exactly how proficient is that? Research findings in Quebec and Ontario suggest that immersion students reach native-like competence in comprehension skills (listening and reading) but not in production skills (speaking and writing). Detailed analysis of the verbal production of students in both the

single and the double immersion programmes reveals numerous grammatical errors in French many of which can be traced to interference from English. These findings are equally true for Hebrew in the double immersion programmes, and the vexing problem is the persistence of these errors from grade to grade (Adiv, 1980). It should be noted that the deviant speech patterns do not prevent the students from communicating effectively. Nevertheless, it seems desirable to find means which would enable immersion students to develop adequate grammatical skills in the target language(s). (See Harley this issue.)

On the other hand, since the problem of linguistic accuracy is common to the single as well as the double immersion programmes, it in no way diminishes the value of the latter as effective models of trilingual education. Although the implementation of these particular models may not be appropriate to all contexts where the maintenance of ethnic identity involves the learning of a third language, the double immersion programmes may provide useful guidelines for the development of other ethnically integrated school programmes in Canada.


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Edmonton offers a bilingual programme in five heritage languages in response to concern about the preservation of cultural origins. Students in these programmes perceive their ancestral tongue as important and valuable.

Multilingual approach reflects Canadian mosaic

JAMES F. JONES



A supervisor of second languages for the Edmonton Public Schools District since 1967, **James F. Jones** is responsible for curriculum development in French, German, Ukrainian, Latin, Spanish, Arabic and Chinese. He has a B. Ed. and a M. Ed. from the University of Alberta and has taught at the junior and senior high school levels.

While the Edmonton Public School District has a popular and expanding French immersion programme like many other Canadian school districts, what distinguishes Edmonton Public are the partial immersion or bilingual programmes in languages offered as alternative programmes to English-medium schooling. These programmes in Ukrainian, Hebrew, German, Chinese and Arabic are based here with a particular emphasis on the accompanying curriculum development. One of the ten school districts in Canada, Edmonton Public has a student population of 69,500 in 183 schools.

Part on the following page indicates the programmes and languages other than French offered in 1983-84 in Edmonton Public Schools. Included are the five special programmes, plus core second-language projects in Ukrainian, German, Spanish and Latin. The levels offered are depicted graphically.

Bilingual programmes share a number of common characteristics. They are optional and can be selected by parents as an alternative to the regular all-English programme. They aim at functional fluency in the second language and, unlike most American bilingual projects which teach non-English-speaking students as quickly as possible, are planned to continue instruction via the second language for as long as possible. They are designed to attract students of the ethnic origin related to

the second language and include students with a variety of backgrounds in the language ranging from no-prior-experience to daily use in the home. They offer one hundred per cent instruction in the second language in kindergarten and offer or plan to offer 50 per cent in the second language from grades 1 to 6.

All programmes offer the approved Alberta curriculum albeit part of it via a second language. Subjects generally taught in the second language are language arts and reading, social studies, art, music and physical education. The bilingual programmes permit late entry in grade 1, and thereafter only in special circumstances unless the student can demonstrate proficiency in the second language equal to that of students already in the programme.

Ukrainian

The oldest of the bilingual programmes offered by Edmonton Public Schools, the Ukrainian Bilingual Programme began in private kindergartens in January 1974. Beginning in September 1974, the Edmonton Public School District and the Edmonton Catholic School Board each assumed responsibility for kindergarten and grade 1 thus becoming the first publicly funded school districts in North America to undertake such a programme.

The programme encompasses five elementary schools, one junior high school (grades 7 to 9) and one senior high school (grades 10 to 12) in the Edmonton Public School District. The leading class is in grade 10 in 1983-84. Enrolments from grade K to 10 for 1982-83 were 382.

In elementary school, reading and writing are introduced initially in English in grade 1, leaving instruction in Ukrainian reading and writing to begin in grade 2. Approximately 25 per cent of instruction in grades 7 to 9 is in Ukrainian, including Ukrainian language arts and

reading, social studies, and a cultural option. Because of a small enrolment, the grade 10 programme is limited to one course —Ukrainian language and literature.

According to the results of a survey conducted between 1974 and 1979, 48 per cent of the parents spoke English only in the home, 5 per cent spoke Ukrainian only and 43 per cent spoke both English and Ukrainian. A total of 57 per cent of the mothers and 61 per cent of the fathers reported that they could understand and speak Ukrainian "fairly well" or "fluently", while a total of 32 per cent of the mothers and 18 per cent of the fathers reported that they could read and write Ukrainian "fairly well" or "fluently".

Hebrew

The Hebrew Bilingual Programme is offered at one school, Talmud Torah, which has been administered by Edmonton Public Schools since September, 1975. It is one of only two Hebrew-language schools in Canada which operate as an integral part of a Public School district rather than as a private institution. Prior to 1975, Talmud Torah had operated for more than 50 years as a private school.

Unlike other bilingual programmes offered by Edmonton Public Schools, the Hebrew kindergarten is privately operated by parents. Enrolments in grades 1 to 6 for 1982-83 were 205. Reading and writing are taught in both English and Hebrew beginning in grade 1 which introduces the additional difficulty of teaching students to read from right to left in Hebrew and from left to right in English. The Hebrew portion of the grades 1 to 6 programme includes Hebrew language arts and reading, social studies and Jewish history.

German

Begun at the kindergarten level in September 1978, the German Bilingual Programme was the first of its kind in Canada and the second in North America. The programme is currently offered in two elementary schools where the lead classes are in grade 5. Enrolments from K to 4 in 1982-83 were 178.

Reading and writing are introduced first in German in grade 1, leaving the English-language arts and reading programme to begin in February of the grade 1 year.

According to the results of a survey of the programme conducted between 1980 and 1983, 41 per cent of the parents spoke English only in the home, 12 per cent spoke German only and 43 per cent spoke both English and German. A high percentage of mothers and fathers reported that they could understand and speak German "fairly well" or "fluently", 83 per cent and 74 per cent respectively, while 78 per cent of the mothers and 68 per cent of the fathers reported that they could read and write German "fairly well" or "fluently".

Arabic

The Arabic Bilingual Programme began in 1982-83 as a private kindergarten operated by parents. Responsibility for kindergarten and grade 1 was assumed by Edmonton Public Schools effective September 1983, thus becoming the first programme of its kind in Canada. Approval was given by the Edmonton Public School Board to continue the programme through grade 6 subject to sufficient enrolment.

The programme is offered in one school and projected enrolment figures for 1983-84 as of June, 1983 were: kindergarten - 39, and grades 1 - 44.

Reading and writing are taught in both English and Arabic from the

Programmes in other languages in Edmonton public schools

Programme		Elementary	Junior High	Senior High
Ukrainian as a second language			7*, 8, 9 → 10*, 20, 30 20, 30	10*, 20, 30 20, 30
Bilingual English-Ukrainian	K*	1,2,3,4,5,6	7, 8, 9	10
German as a second language			7*, 8, 9 → 10*, 20, 30 20, 30	10*, 20, 30 20, 30
Bilingual English-German	K*	1,2,3,4,5		
Bilingual English-Hebrew		1,2,3,4,5,6		
Bilingual English-Chinese	K*	1		
Bilingual English-Arabic	K*	1		
Latin				10*, 20, 30
Spanish as a second language				10*, 20, 30

* Indicates entry points to the programme

ing of grade 1, with the same right and right to left challenge Hebrew.

Chinese Bilingual Programme
The Chinese Bilingual Programme began in 1982-83 as a private kindergarten operated by parents. Responsibility for kindergarten and grade 1 was assumed by Edmonton Public Schools in September 1983, when the programme was approved for grade 6 was approved for sufficient enrolment. This programme also is the first of its kind in Canada.

and in two schools, projected enrolments for the 1983-84 school year of June 1983 were: kindergarten – 58, and grade 1 – 43.

Because of the fact that most of the students speak Cantonese, a decision was made by the Chinese Parents' Kindergarten Association to teach in Mandarin rather than Cantonese. It is important that the written language be common to both dialects.

Reading and writing are taught in English and Chinese from the beginning of the grade 1 year. Students read Chinese from the top of the page beginning on the right side.

Overall, the Edmonton Public School Board has responded to requests from parents for these programmes. Although the motivations of parents may vary somewhat, they are usually concerned about the acquisition of the language which will be used in school and Saturday classes to achieve once the language is not spoken regularly in the home.

The bilingual programme provides adequate time for language acquisition, and it also provides a legitimacy for the language. If the school offers the programme, in the eyes of the student it is something important and valuable. It is undeniable that the multicultural mosaic encompasses a multitude of linguistic riches which will be lost unless they are recognized and encouraged by educational institutions.

One of the objectives of the Edmonton Public School Board is to provide educational experiences which will enhance the feeling of self-esteem in students. The bilingual programmes certainly do this by teaching a sense of identity and pride in students' origins.

Parents recognize that bilingual programmes are an additional type of educational experience because, in addition to the usual benefits of schooling in English, students can acquire fluency in a language other than English.

Getting started

Prior to 1971, the Alberta School Act did not permit instruction via a language other than English or French. Changes were made in 1971 as a result of negotiations by a group of interested members of the Ukrainian community led by Professor M. Lupul, currently director of the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies at University of Alberta, and P. Savaryn, lawyer and currently Chancellor of the University of Alberta. The School Act was amended to permit instruction in languages other than English or French for up to 50 per cent of the school day. A commitment was also made by the government to provide support for the preparation of curricular materials provided that there was a minimum of one hundred students enrolled per grade level in the particular language in the province.

Once the enabling legislation was in place, parents interested in a Ukrainian bilingual programme organized private kindergartens prior to asking the Edmonton Public and Catholic School Boards to assume responsibility. The approach of demonstrating sufficient numbers and determination to succeed was also used by Chinese and Arabic parents.

Accessibility

Within Edmonton Public Schools' administrative structure, responsibility for the accessibility of programmes, including location of bilingual programmes and transportation of students, lies with the Planning and Development Division.

In general, an attempt is made to locate the programmes in schools as close as possible to the residence of the largest number of programme students. In practice, this is frequently very difficult because these schools are already near capacity with all-English programme students. A further complication is the fact that the bilingual programme will attract students from outside the catchment area of a school, and that provisions must be made for growth as the programme advances through the grades.

All bilingual programmes, except Hebrew, are offered in dual-track or triple-track schools which include all-English programme classes, and in the case of triple-track schools, French-immersion classes as well. Parents tend to prefer the contact with all-English programme students and staff which such schools made possible. Furthermore, the School Board has a policy which requires that bilingual programmes be located in schools where the all-English programme is likely to be viable in the long term.

Since there are relatively few schools offering bilingual programmes in the Edmonton Public School District, transportation of students is a very important consideration. A committee called the Joint Transportation Committee, comprised of administrative personnel and representatives of the bilingual parent councils, works to provide the best possible bussing system for students not able to use public transportation. The current average cost to parents is \$27 per month per child, and an attempt is made to keep the time spent on the bus by a student to a maximum of one hour each way. Special transportation grants which are available from Alberta Education are applied to keep the monthly charge as low as possible.

Expectations and involvement of parents

Parents expect that their children will achieve at an appropriate level in English and other academic subjects, such as mathematics. In addition, they look for progress towards

fluency in the second language and a knowledge and appreciation of the culture of that language group.

Parents also expect to be informed, and many wish to be involved in support of the programme. This may occur individually, as a committee member at the school level, or as a member of a parent council at the district level. Parents assist in providing additional experiences in the language, as well as in the area of transportation, curriculum development and recruitment of students.

The Ukrainian Bilingual Association, a district level parent council, has organized summer language camps, and with the assistance of a federal grant, has hired a full-time facilitator to recruit students. The German, Hebrew and Arabic parent councils have all contributed to local curriculum development by paying for the development of some of the materials or by contributing materials. All district councils participated in the organization and realization of a Bilingual Education Week in March 1983. Originally proposed by the Ukrainian Bilingual Association, the aims of the week were to increase public awareness of the advantages of bilingual education programmes in the Edmonton area. The councils plan to make this week an annual event.

Administrative and political support

Parents have had the benefit of the support of senior administration and trustees of the School Board whose leadership and farsightedness have resulted in the most extensive offering of second-language immersion programmes in Canada. The encouragement of the provincial government through enabling legislation and funding has demonstrated commitment and vision.

At the school level, the support of principals and assistant principals has been vital to the success of the programmes. In addition, acceptance and support by all-English programme teachers as well as para-professional staff, especially school secretaries, have been important. Because good teachers are vital to the

success of any educational programme, a great deal of importance is attached to the recruitment and hiring of teachers for the bilingual programmes. Recruitment—sometimes on a national level—and initial screening are carried out by the Personnel Department. Candidates are sought who have all the attributes of good teachers plus proficiency in both English and the second language and who are eligible for certification as teachers in Alberta.

In order to determine second-language proficiency, candidates are interviewed by Second Languages Services consultants, or where the language skills are not possessed by the staff by a committee consisting of a teacher already on staff and one or two parent representatives. Criteria used to evaluate language efficiency include correctness, richness and fluency.

Principals then interview those candidates recommended by the Personnel Department and make their selections to suit the needs of their school.

Experience has shown that after two years the programme becomes known locally, and future teachers prepare themselves accordingly to teach in the programme. The Hebrew Bilingual Programme is an exception, and recruitment in Israel has continued to be necessary.

Curriculum materials

There is an obvious need for teaching and learning materials in the second language, including a guide for kindergarten teachers as well as materials for language arts and reading, social studies, art, music and physical education in grades 1 to 6.

Commercial materials are purchased where possible. For example, readers for the German, Chinese and Arabic programmes have been purchased from West Germany, California and Jordan respectively. For Ukrainian, the Edmonton Ukrainian Business and Professional Club obtained federal funding and worked jointly with Alberta Education to produce a series

of readers. It is frequently difficult to use texts intended for native speakers because of the high level of oral language background which is assumed by the authors. In addition, in the case of Ukrainian and Chinese special attention must be paid to ideological references in the materials which would be inappropriate for Canadian students.

In view of the difficulty in obtaining suitable commercial materials, much local development must occur. Because of the minimum enrolment of one hundred students required by Alberta Education, Ukrainian is the only bilingual programme for which the provincial government has contributed substantially to curriculum development. Both a Ukrainian consultant and a Ukrainian learning resources officer organize the preparation and review of materials.

Even where readers are available commercially, statements of outcomes, including scope and sequence for the language programme by grade level, must be developed. Furthermore, it is unusual to find a total language-arts programme which includes all four language skills, so appropriate materials must be produced.

Very few commercial materials are available for social studies, because the programme is specific to Alberta. Teacher materials are frequently left in English, while student materials are translated or adapted. Although longer and hence more expensive, adaptation is often preferable in order to suit the students' linguistic skills and to make better use of reference materials available in the second language.

Art, music and physical education receive lower priority initially in curriculum development for bilingual programmes, because less teaching time is accorded to them and because they tend to be activity-oriented subjects in which students may not use much language. Except in Ukrainian, where Alberta Education guides exist, teachers use English guides from Alberta Education and Edmonton Public Schools. Glossaries

ns, which are provided to
rs as soon as time and resour-
mit, are important for
ian-born teachers who have
not had the opportunity to
other subjects in the second
ge at school or university, and
r those of non-Canadian origin
experience as students them-
in these subjects may not have
ed the techniques or content of
erta curriculum. Personnel
oth the Canadian Institute For
s in Ukrainian at the University
rta and the German language
of Alberta Education have
ed glossaries of Ukrainian and
n terms in physical education
nonton Public Schools.

aring to develop the materials,
d must be specified and a
made to the Curriculum
for inclusion in its budget.
uent to budget approval, the
development can begin using
e curriculum writers, most of
write and teach during the
year, or project writers who
ainly during the holidays in
d August.

teachers are provided to free
me teachers to prepare small
to provide input to curricu-
ters. In 1983-84, half-time
um writers are working in
an, German, Chinese and
while a Hebrew writer is
30 per cent of the time. In
, provision has been made for
llustrators and a calligrapher.

er of administrators and
e people, including the
Curriculum, Supervisor
um Development, the
sor Second Languages, the
um Editor, Second Language
ants and appropriate subject
ervisors, are involved in the
The curriculum writers meet
with the Supervisor Second
ges to plan and review pro-
e work of project writers is
ly coordinated by the
ate Second Language
ant. The Supervisor
um Development is respon-
budgeting, project outlines,
e of personnel, printing,

warehousing and cataloguing for
internal and external sales. The
Curriculum Editor assists writers
with proofreading, standardizing
format, some illustrations and
copyright observation. Once a unit
has been typed and approved by the
Curriculum Branch it is field tested,
revised the following year and
reprinted in its final form.

The development time line typically
has 40-50 per cent of the materials
necessary for the lead grade ready in
September of the implementation
year. The balance of the materials is
developed during that year in addi-
tion to the initial 40-50 per cent
required for the following year.

The absence of professional binding
and colour are two weaknesses
related to locally developed materials.
With respect to commercial materials,
there is a scarcity of appropriate
supportive learning resources,
including supplementary readers,
films, tapes, charts, maps and kits.

Recruitment of students

Recruitment of students occurs at
both the school and district levels and
involves both parents and educators.
By far the most effective recruitment
occurs on a testimonial basis with
parents talking to parents.

With the assistance of the
Communications Branch, advertise-
ments are placed in city newspapers
in April, pamphlets are distributed to
all students in kindergarten, and
detailed brochures are supplied to all
school counsellors in the district and
to all programme schools.

District-level parent councils
distribute an Edmonton Public
Schools' second-language pro-
grammes poster, and frequently their
own poster to many locations in the
city, including businesses, libraries,
health clinics, religious institutions
and offices of professionals. In addi-
tion, a Bilingual Education Week
includes media exposure, shopping
mall displays and school open
houses.

Although there is a need for

co-curricular activities to support and
complement the in-class programme,
the relatively small number of stu-
dents is a limiting factor. Nonethe-
less, a number of activities have been
organized successfully for Ukrainian
programme students including a
Ukrainian Story Theatre presenta-
tion, visits to the school by
St. Nicholas at Ukrainian Christmas,
the summer day camp operated by
the parents' council, and a parent-
organized grade 6 graduation
ceremony.

Professional development

A good deal of professional
development is required of pro-
gramme teachers because most have
not had an opportunity to study
second language teaching techniques
during their teacher training. In
addition, teachers in new pro-
grammes need to be able to meet
regularly to discuss problems and
successes and to learn about the
materials they are using.

Even for experienced teachers, it is
essential that the professional devel-
opment programme stress the pri-
macy and importance of the spoken
language.

Professional development includes
teacher intervisitation, in-service ses-
sions during and after school hours,
summer courses and professional
conferences. The Supervisor Second
Languages and his consultants are
responsible for organizing a
district-level in-service programme.

While it is clear that responsibility for
programmes in Edmonton Public
Schools rests with the school princi-
pals, there is a real need to coordinate
curriculum development, profes-
sional and programme development,
recruitment of teachers and students,
and liaison with parents at the district
level, as well as to provide advice and
assistance to programme principals
and teachers with respect to imple-
mentation of the programmes. This is
accomplished by various people in-
cluding the Supervisor Second
Languages, a full-time Ukrainian
consultant, a half-time German con-
sultant, and representatives of the

Curriculum Branch, the Communications Branch, the Programme Development Branch and the Personnel Department.

Although the largest cost item of most educational programmes is the teacher, and although this cost is the same whether the teaching occurs in English or in a second language, it is evident that there are additional expenses related to bilingual programmes, particularly in the initial years. Local curriculum development, commercial learning resources including library books in the second language, resource personnel, recruitment of students and staff, and overhead for the operation of the bussing system are all additional cost items. Furthermore, in order to recognize the additional expenses related to such alternative programmes, including the administration of what amounts to two schools within a school, special professional and paraprofessional staffing requirements, additional parent communication needs, and noon lunch-room supervision, Edmonton Public Schools provide an additional multiple-programme grant to schools for the purpose.

Alberta Education has recognized the additional cost factor in such programmes and provides annual grants in support of them. Included are language-programme grants, reading material grants for elementary students, and transportation grants. In

1983, language-programme grants were \$110 per pupil and reading material grants were \$3.40 per pupil.

Formal evaluations have been conducted on the Ukrainian and German programmes, the former with 80 per cent Alberta Education funding from 1974 to 1979 and the latter with 50 per cent Alberta Education funding from 1980 to 1983. Both evaluations compared programme students with matched controls in the all-English programme in English reading and mathematics. Achievement in Ukrainian and German was measured, and the perceptions of parents, teachers and principals were obtained. In general, programme students achieved as well as their controls in English reading and mathematics. In addition they demonstrated an increasing proficiency in the second language. Parents and personnel reported a high level of satisfaction with the programmes.

Future plans

Decisions must be made with respect to a programme beyond grade 6 for all languages except Ukrainian, which is already at the grade 10 level. The Programme Development Branch will survey parents and identify suitable secondary schools if parental response is positive. A committee of parents is currently working with administrative personnel to explore the possibility of

establishing a Hebrew programme grades 10 to 12.

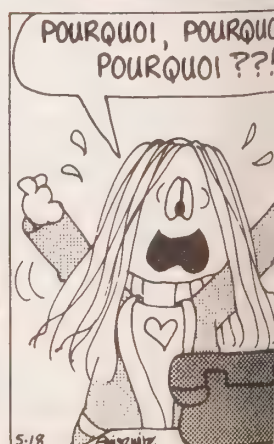
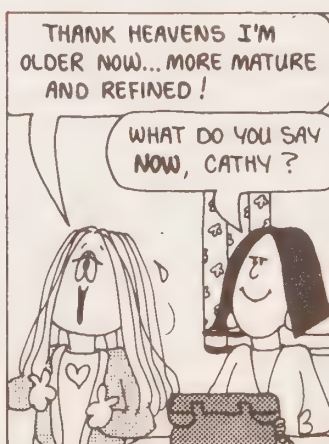
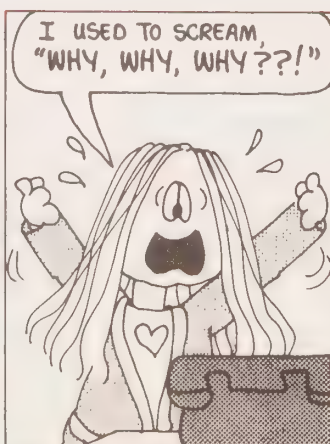
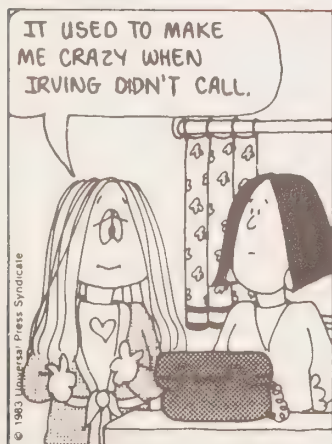
Formal evaluation of the Chinese, Arabic and Hebrew programmes should begin in 1984-85 and extend over a period of three years. Some consideration should be given to a follow-up evaluation of the Ukrainian and German programmes in secondary grades.

Despite some anxiety that the foundations for a modern-day Tower of Babel have been laid, no new language groups are on the horizon. Nevertheless, School Board policy with respect to the initiation of such programmes needs to be reviewed. Quite apart from the success of the programmes in English and second language achievement and the positive response of parents is the spirit of cooperation which prevails among the district-level parent councils as they work on projects of mutual interest. It is an example of the Canadian cultural mosaic at its best and bodes well for the future.

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cathy




by **Cathy Gulsew**

*case study of Canada's only officially bilingual province
discusses social and political implications of French
immersion. The author looks at the question both from an
Anglophone and a Francophone perspective.*

The quest for linguistic equality in New Brunswick

NE EDWARDS



Viviane Edwards has taught French as a second language at various levels in the New Brunswick school system as well as at the provincial Teachers' College in Fredericton. Since 1975, she has been Coordinator of Second Language Services for the Province. She joined the Department of Education in 1972 as a consultant in second languages.

On September 30, 1982, in the Court of Queen's Bench of New Brunswick, Judge Guy Richard heard the first testimony in a most unusual case. La Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick Inc. Association des Conseillers Scolaires Francophones Nouveau-Brunswick had accused the English Minority School Board No. 50 of Grand Falls, N.B., of acting contrary to and in violation of the Schools Act as well as of the Official Languages of New Brunswick Act. The Minority Board was charged with offering a French immersion programme to Francophone students which in effect drew students away from the French Majority School District No. 32. District 50, on the other hand, defended the charge arguing that the programme at issue was not a first-language French programme but a French-immersion programme designed for English-language students. They further argued that they had no way of determining reliably whether a student was Anglophone or Francophone and that they therefore had no basis upon which to refuse a student admittance to the school.

Grand Falls is a small community in northwestern New Brunswick. Its location, close to the United States border and close to Quebec, has moulded its population into a unique English blend which is both vibrant and complex. Most of the families have one parent from each language group and although one language usually dominates the household there are families in which both languages are accorded to have equal status. At the trial, some experts

who had been called as witnesses stated that this was not possible while others said it was.

The bilingual school district

Until the end of June 1981, the Grand Falls area had only one school district. This system was considered as bilingual: instruction was provided to Anglophones and Francophones either in their respective mother tongue or partly in one language and partly in the other. On June 18, 1981 the Schools Act was amended to provide for school districts to be organized on the basis of one or the other of the official languages of New Brunswick. It also provided for the establishment of minority school boards to look after the rights of small minorities within a larger linguistic community of the other official language. These amendments were seen as a means of guaranteeing the rights of both official-language groups, but for some families they were not enough.

The small group of bilinguals was caught in the middle of an identity crisis and was forced to decide whether their children were French or English.

The introduction of immersion classes

Before the establishment of District 50, many of the parents of English-speaking students had asked for French-immersion classes. Because of the size of the district and the availability of French instruction in the French schools of the then bilingual District 32, these parents had been permitted to enrol their children in the French schools. Then came the unilingual districts and the minority boards. Parents of English children formerly enrolled in the French schools suddenly wanted their children enrolled in the English schools with the same right to French immersion as other English school districts in the province. This did not present a problem to the Board of School District 50 as it had planned to offer a full slate of options in French, including immersion. This

opened the door not only to English-speaking students seeking an immersion experience but to bilinguals and Francophones who for various reasons wanted their children in the District 50 schools. For many Francophones, however, who had long seen the bilingual school as the instrument of assimilation, this was unacceptable.

The trial, which lasted twelve days, heard testimony from a long list of well-known experts as well as from parents. The judge's ruling, presented in a 73-page decision, stated quite clearly that each school board must determine whether a child seeking admission to its regular programme has a sufficient knowledge of the first language (of English in the case of District No. 50, or of French in the case of District No. 32). The court upheld the right of parents to choose either the English or French system of education for a child. In sum, if a child has sufficient capacity in English to follow the regular English programme, that child has a right to choose the English system. However, if that child already has a "practical knowledge" of French, the Board must refuse him or her admission to the French immersion programme. In the final analysis, the significance of the trial is that it provided the first official recognition of the concept that separate unilingual schools are essential for the linguistic survival of the Francophone minority in New Brunswick.

In a province where Finns, Fergusons and Youngs can be unilingual French, the Grand Falls decision will undoubtedly have some effect on other school districts. Within days after the decision was handed down, copies of the ruling were distributed by the New Brunswick Department of Education to all English School Districts in the province. It is possible that the same dynamics which produced the Grand Falls situation could develop in the other bilingual areas of the province where immersion is offered.

New Brunswick is officially a bilingual province. What this means is detailed in the Official Languages

of New Brunswick Act. In education, it means equality of services for both language groups. Currently the Minister of Education is Francophone; there are two deputy ministers, each having a primary responsibility for one official language group. Educational services are offered equally to both language groups under the direction of two assistant deputy ministers; one Francophone, one Anglophone. Separate branches for each language group offer services in Programme Development and Implementation, Special Education, Pupil Personnel Service and Evaluation. School districts are organized along language lines with English and French school districts.

At the provincial level, French-immersion programmes fall under the direction of the English Educational Services Division since they are intended for Anglophone students. Immersion programmes are developed by staff assigned to the Programme Development and Implementation Branch (English) with the assistance of the usual curriculum committee made up of immersion teachers. The Branch develops programmes in all subject areas: Mathematics, Sciences, Social Studies, Health Education, etc., and parallels the curriculum for the English schools in all subjects other than Language Arts.

As in other Canadian provinces, French immersion is fairly new in New Brunswick having been introduced in the two largest English districts in the late nineteen sixties. Statistics for 1982-83 show the total number of students enrolled in immersion programmes as 8,759, approximately 10 per cent of the English-speaking student population. Immersion is available in 17 of the 26 English school districts and is offered from grade 1 to grade 12. (In September 1983, immersion became available in 20 of the 26 English school districts.) Riverview High School in District 15 graduated its first immersion students in June 1982, and Fredericton High School in District 26 will graduate its first in 1985.

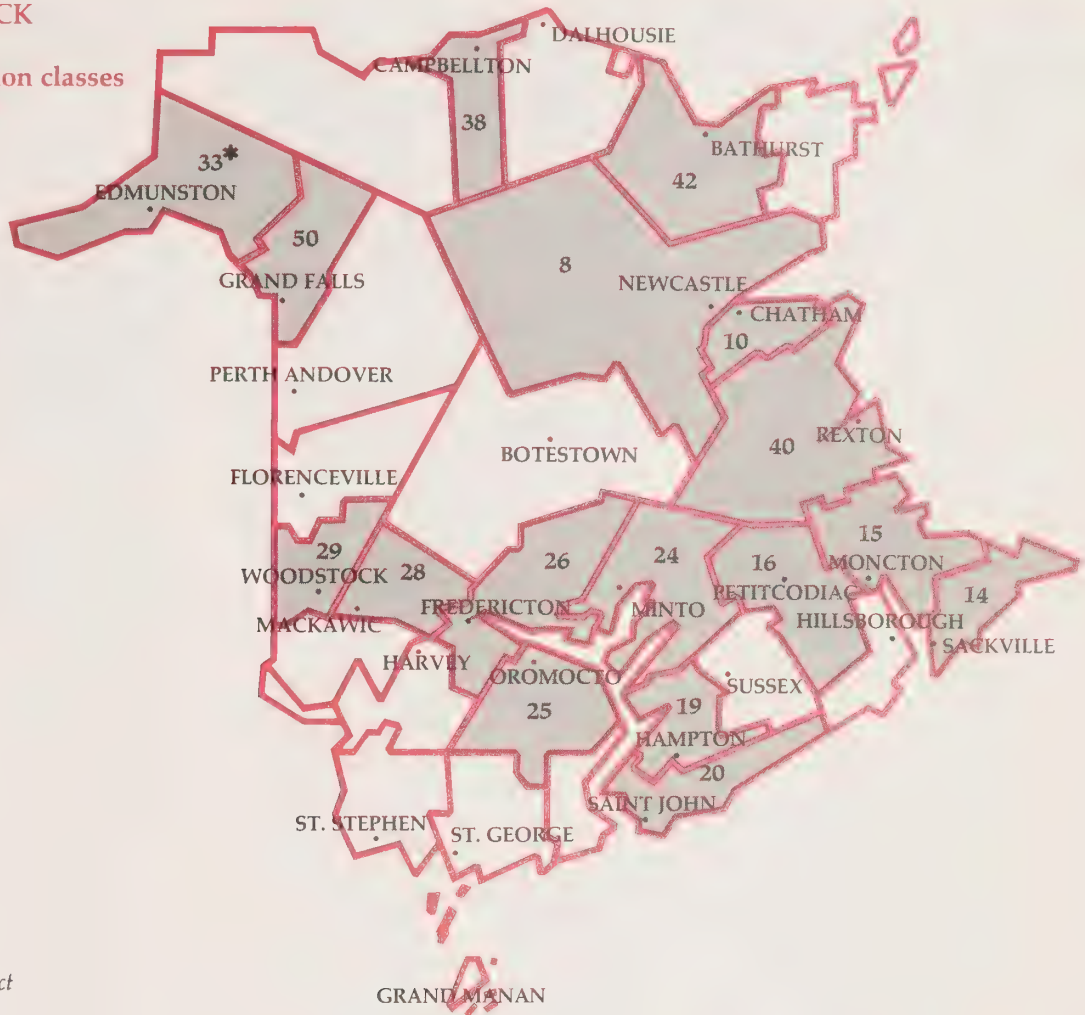
The statistics in the table opposite show that more than half of the province's French-immersion students are in Districts 15 and 26, the areas of greater Moncton and Fredericton respectively. Indeed the latest statistics indicate that in Moncton 31 per cent and in Fredericton 20 per cent of their respective student populations are enrolled in immersion. Several of the districts offering immersion have fewer than 4000 students with District 50 having the fewest with 100 students. Provincially, numbers in French immersion are increasing yearly. In the past three years the total number of students in French immersion has increased by 98.6 per cent.

Staffing is the major concern

For the larger districts as well as for the smallest, the issue of most concern is staffing. Jack MacKinnon, the Executive Director of the New Brunswick Teachers' Association, wrote, "It is not untrue to state that each early-immersion class means the loss of an English-speaking teaching position. In this school year there are 269.5 immersion teachers, of whom approximately 90 per cent are mother-tongue French. These are simple facts." He added, "Why are English-speaking teachers so concerned about French immersion? Would the concern be great if we were not facing declining enrolment and restraints? Probably not!"

The concern over job security is not unique to New Brunswick but it is an identified problem associated with French immersion in school boards across Canada. The Canadian Education Association in the report of its research on immersion, *French Immersion and School Boards: Issues and Effects* came to a similar conclusion. "One effect of French immersion is that it has received a great deal of publicity is its effect on the positions of Anglophone teachers. The popularity of this programme is often such that French teachers are hired while the number of unilingual English teachers remains the same or decreases. From our survey com-

NEW-BRUNSWICK
Elementary
French immersion classes
1977 to 1982-83



French-language district

District	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83
1	—	26	26	26	52	74	150
2	51	60	34	58	90	66	141
3	93	129	147	176	217	276	357
4	1079	1415	1683	1946	2510	3101	3624
5	84	108	146	171	189	251	322
6	—	—	30	62	117	218	391
7	212	249	228	284	332	415	580
8	86	105	131	124	121	118	155
9	—	—	—	—	—	60	132
10	661	896	1059	1218	1392	1657	1907
11	—	—	—	—	—	—	41
12	—	—	—	—	33	75	126
13*	—	—	—	—	—	20	32
14	77	112	147	157	194	236	295
15	—	—	—	—	27	45	61
16	130	148	145	189	226	448	378
17	—	—	—	—	—	71	67
Total	2473	3248	3776	4411	5500	7131	8759

ments, a persistent current of teacher apprehension was evident. Obviously, the most frightening consequence of immersion for a regular programme teacher is the possibility of losing his or her job."

For parents and for those working closely with the French immersion programmes the problem is also related to staff selection. There is genuine concern that with the growth of immersion, the continuing problem of declining enrolment, and the prospect of further restraints placed on budgets, boards may relax their standards for French immersion teachers and gradually employ staff with limited competency in French rather than resort to lay-offs.

In New Brunswick, with a French population of over 30 per cent, difficulties in finding qualified staff are limited to a few of the smaller districts. Nonetheless, in an attempt to ease the strain on school boards, the Department of Education has implemented a three-year pilot programme designed to train English-speaking teachers to teach in the French language. This programme is now in its second year and the first nine teachers trained in the programme returned to their districts in September 1983.

Transition tensions

The changeover in a school's staff because of French immersion can cause tension and apprehension. One elementary school principal from the Moncton area indicated that for six years his school was in a state of tension and upheaval as the number of English classes decreased and the immersion programme gradually "took over" his school. Teachers who had been on staff for years were transferred during that period and replaced by young teachers often with only a few years' experience.

September was always the most difficult month bringing with it the responsibility of forming an educational team with teachers who felt threatened and depressed. The school is now stable with an established English as well as an immer-

sion programme. There have been no staff changes in recent years and with that kind of security restored to his staff the principal has an exciting team with whom to work. Staff-room chatter is back to normal although much of it is in French. There is cooperation and pride in the school and its students.

Because of the Province's status as officially bilingual and the nature of its population, much importance is associated with becoming bilingual. This is true both at the policy-making level and among much of the general population and its many organizations and groups. The immersion policy, for instance, is an example of the Province's thinking and its support for individuals who wish to become bilingual.

Some years ago there were the inevitable conflicts in some districts when parents requested an immersion programme and school board members felt that for various reasons they could not offer such an option. Their reasons were usually related to the size of the district, the cost, and the disruption to certain schools.

These conflicts are still possible but the provincial policy is such that it leaves little room for discussion or argument. If there is a sufficient number of pupils requesting immersion to form a class, the Board must offer it. Class size is determined by average class size in that district at that level. The policy recognizes two entry points, grade 1 and grade 7. The key word, of course, is "must".

This change in the policy came into effect in July 1982. The Province had had a policy in effect since 1977 but the only impact had been its statement on funding. Since all funding for education in New Brunswick comes from the central agency through a formula-budgeting system, a weighing factor was added for districts offering French immersion. In the past few years an attempt has been made to identify the additional cost of immersion. It appears that for some, the factor covers the additional cost while for others it falls far short of reaching that goal. It seems to be a

question of determining what cost attributable to immersion. There has been little agreement on this ques-

Political and social issues

The political and social issues related to immersion are varied, and affect not only the individuals directly involved but also others peripherally influenced by this programme. There is a general feeling that the regular school programme somehow suffers because of French immersion. "What effect does the siphoning off of so many students have on the existing English programme?"

This is the question asked by the New Brunswick Teachers' Association and by parents who fear that provincial funds diverted to the immersion programme could be better used if directed to the system as a whole. There is general concern that the brightest students select immersion and that the regular programme lacks the stimulation and motivation created by these "better" students.

Although results of provincial tests do not support this claim, teachers also express the same concern. It was one of the topics discussed at the annual meeting of the French Second Language Council in May 1983 where teachers suggested that educational objectives set a few years ago were now unrealistic since the students who would normally be the "leaders" of the class were following the immersion stream. That notion, coupled with the fact that most school boards have assigned their best second-language teachers to the immersion programme, would appear to paint a grim picture for the future of the children in the core programme in English schools.

In effect, immersion appears to have been the best thing to happen to French second-language instruction. In an attempt to provide a valid alternative, Government as well as school boards are trying to provide the best second-language programme possible. Students in New Brunswick are now guaranteed access to a minimum of 1200 hours of instruction in French during their public school

ers. Several projects make it possible for students to study French during the summer, and parents generally are beginning to see that immersion is not the only alternative available.

Immersion programme open to all students in N.B.

The question of elitism is a favorite theme. Because of the immersion programme in New Brunswick, virtually everyone has access to the programme, but there is undoubtedly a selection process at work and the parents opting for immersion are mostly from the better-educated families in the higher economic sector. The Commissioner of Official Languages, M.F. Yalden, in the 1981 Annual Report included an interesting comment pertaining to the question of elitism. "Some parents and teachers and specialists see a serious form of "elitism" in current immersion programmes, in part because of the access problems. . . . I am tempted to observe that this is increasingly used in contemporary circumstances to express disapproval when one cannot find anything else wrong. . . . The issue is whether the future of a programme in immersion French should be put in doubt because some youngsters are not benefiting from it, but not the solution at large."

One of the most disturbing issues related to bilingualism in New Brunswick in the 1980s is the increasing number of Francophone students graduating from high school with less than a basic competency in English. Although similar services are available to both language groups, the Province assigns a special budget to the programme for English as a second language (ESL), current results are not encouraging. The English programme is suffering from growing pains as did the programme for French as a second language (FSL) before the advent of immersion. It is only in the bilingual part of the province that students

are becoming bilingual. A survey conducted in 1982 showed that approximately 56 per cent of Francophone students could be classified as unilingual French. What are the alternatives available to the Francophone students who wish to learn English as a second language? There is no question of adopting an English immersion programme in the Francophone schools, at least not in the sense of the French-immersion model in Anglophone schools because it arouses the fear of loss of French and English assimilation of Francophones. But educators are faced with a real dilemma and a solution must be found.

Is there a relationship between this dilemma in the Francophone community and the success of the immersion programme for Anglophone students? Speaking at an ESL symposium in February 1982, Gilbert Finn, the Francophone president of the Université de Moncton, said:

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, the Anglophones of New Brunswick have discovered the value and importance of bilingualism, especially its economic impact. Believe me, they are very determined to have their children learn French. They realize their children must become bilingual to get key jobs and that bilingualism is an integral part of their future in this province.

And what are we Acadians going to do in light of this new development? Will our children be unilingual French? Will they again be prevented from occupying the positions to which we have aspired for so long and which, until recently, we believed we were capable of occupying without too much difficulty? Is it possible that we, who by force of circumstances have always been bilingual, will become unilingual? Is it possible that the Anglophones, until now

unilingual by choice, will be the bilingual Canadians of tomorrow and will thus continue to occupy the key positions where decisions are made that affect us individually and as a group? It is these positions we must fill if we want to make New Brunswick a province where there is truly equal opportunity for each and every citizen. (*Our translation*)

Conclusion

The implications of the immersion programme are many and varied. Will the product of the immersion programme, the leaders of tomorrow, have a broader view of their bilingual world? Will their concept of equality of opportunity for all be different from that of their parents? And what of New Brunswick's Francophones, does this represent perhaps one of their greatest challenges?

The past fifteen-year period has seen great strides taken on the road to a truly bilingual province. Unquestionably, immersion has been one of the success stories along this road, and the issues that it raises are both challenging and exciting. For the first time, a programme has been found which is making it possible for children to become bilingual. This accomplishment must never be jeopardized or overshadowed by the social or political issues. In the past, New Brunswick has reacted boldly and positively to the linguistic needs of the two language groups. It will no doubt continue to do so.

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Are the claims made for the success of French immersion exaggerated? The author suggests we should be much more critical and look for the solution to the language-training problem in an intensive apprenticeship. In his view, immersion is passé.

No easy road to bilingualism

GILLES BIBEAU



A widely published specialist on linguistic subjects, Professor **Gilles Bibeau** was responsible for the major study done in the 1970s for the federal government on language training in the public service. He teaches at the Faculty of Education Sciences at the University of Montreal, where he had previously been a professor in the Linguistics Department.

Created from a desire to provide a better option to the traditional methods of teaching French as a second language, the immersion approach required, from its outset, a theoretical base and supporting justification. Beyond the socio-political justification afforded by Anglophone parents in Quebec who wished their children to learn French, the system had to be built on solid psychological, linguistic and educational foundations. There could be no question of exposing children to intellectual and general development problems, of weakening their mother tongue skills or of causing difficulties in other academic subjects, not to mention the problems in social relationships and attitudes vis-à-vis the second-language and mother tongue community so often ascribed to the early acquisition of bilingual skills (see Bastien, 1938, for Canada; UNESCO, 1953, Weinreich 1953, Bibeau, 1982).

No such justification for immersion did in fact exist. A great deal of research that exists on attitudes and motivation, and on the relative advantages of bilingual and unilingual Canadians in terms of intelligence; however, these studies did not apply specifically to matters of development and did not represent adequate foundations on which to adopt a bilingual education system. In other words, no one was able to reassure parents and educators about the possible effects of early second-language instruction. Thus, the immersion approach had to be researched and evaluated. Since

firm evidence was lacking, various hypotheses were put forward instead: that immersion would not have negative effects on children's intellectual and general development, on the quality of their mother tongue skills or on their ability to learn other academic subjects; that immersion would not modify children's attitudes toward their own cultural community; and that immersion would improve attitudes toward the other language community. Still other hypotheses sparked research and evaluation: if it were true that the younger the child, the more quickly he learned in "natural" circumstances, then the same would be true at school where at least an effort should be made to have an environment similar to "natural circumstances"; that after a certain age (9-12 years), it was no longer possible to learn perfect pronunciation, delivery and rhythm in second language; that children learn without effort while adolescents and adults, more conscious of how they speak, must work harder at it; and that children can more easily be motivated by pedagogical techniques than adults.

After nearly twenty years of evaluation, what support there for these hypotheses and what questions should still be asked about immersion and the factors involved

Immersion and cognitive factors

It is widely held that the traditional view that early bilingualism has harmful effects on intellectual development has been completely refuted by the results of research and evaluation on modern bilingual education. This is not so, however. Although the formulation has been corrected and the older view has become more differentiated, it has not been substantially regulated. In fact, contemporary research clearly indicates that cognitive development is influenced and often hindered by early bilingualism, and that a number of affective problems arise from such early bilingualism. However

and detrimental effects have been found mainly among minority and underprivileged language groups. For majority or privileged groups, early bilingualism does not appear to produce such effects, the reasons for this should be so are largely of psychological and social nature.

Immersion experiments have been conducted with children of privileged majority groups; the children and parents have been mostly volunteers living in almost exclusively Anglophone neighbourhoods. Consequently, the positive evaluation results apply to groups different from and much more numerous than those traditionally evaluated, and thus do not modify traditional conclusions. All they show is the social difference, which is very important, and they demonstrate that there is no causal relationship between early bilingualism and intellectual problems.

These problems are the result of the overall situation in which most minority or under-privileged groups live.

Immersion and cognitive factors

A hypothesis relating to immersion was that the children's sense of belonging to their mother tongue group would not change and that they would always perceive themselves as full-fledged members of the Anglophone community. This has been largely discredited: the system itself, which provides bilingual education to the elementary academic sector and keeps children from contact with Francophones, was designed for this purpose.

A hypothesis that attitudes towards the French-language community would improve has been limited to only a very limited degree. Although a greater awareness of the French fact in Canada has been observed, there has been little motivation to establish closer relations with Francophones and the post-secondary studies in French-language institutions.

The first of these hypotheses has always appeared to me virtually to exclude the second because it separates language learning from learning about culture, thus providing immersion in the language but not in the culture. The language skills are acquired in an artificial environment. Such a limitation is inevitable when a foreign language is learned for purposes of occasional contacts with the target community, or purely for reading comprehension; however, in the case of French in Quebec, or Canada, one wonders if the emphasis placed on language is not in part neutralized by the lack of emphasis on culture in the anthropological sense of the term. How can knowledge of the second language be maintained if no contact is made with the other community and if there is little motivation to do so? Is immersion not subject to socio-cultural factors that limit much of its overall effectiveness?

Immersion and mastery of the second language

With legitimate but probably rather misplaced enthusiasm, the conclusion has often been drawn from evaluations that students of immersion have a mastery of French equal to that of Francophones. This is completely false. Just because young Anglophones in immersion have equivalent results in French tests as young Francophones, it does not follow that their overall language skills are equal. School tests measure skills learned in academic programmes but do not evaluate overall knowledge of the language. We need only examine a few independent studies conducted by linguists (Spilka, Connors) to realize that children in Canada's immersion schools have serious difficulties with French vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (See Harley, this issue).

From these analyses, which are rather more searching than end-of-term examinations, we may conclude that the experimental groups do not understand French well enough to complete the school questionnaires

to which they are accustomed and to communicate in what is called "functional" terms. However, when it comes to expressing themselves and demonstrating their knowledge in an active fashion, they hesitate, speak in incomplete sentences, produce stereotype utterances, avoid "difficult" structures by using overly complex sentences, have a strong foreign accent and make numerous errors in grammar and vocabulary. It may be claimed that their language skills are much more developed than those of students in traditional second-language classes, but that they cannot be said to have language skills similar, equivalent or comparable to the competence of Francophones of the same age.

Authentic pronunciation and delivery, the major linguistic goals of early bilingualism, are only partially satisfied through immersion. Although the best students do develop a certain facility with delivery, their ease with the language modeled on the teacher's own fluency, and usually falls far short of that of young Francophones. Immersion children have vast gaps in their knowledge of the vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation of modern Quebec French. In brief, is immersion not something of a test-tube experiment?

The deterioration of language skills at the age of eight or nine is a very important phenomenon that has been given too little attention in evaluations. Many children in early immersion are very successful in the first three years, but regress in the second language for reasons that seem related to their phase of social identification. This phase is widely recognized with respect to the mother tongue, but its effect on second-language learning and particularly on the linguistic setback that may result had not been anticipated. The problem has rarely been described or explained in evaluations of immersion and more precise information on this subject might be helpful for the planning of second-language programmes at the elementary school level.

The hypothesis that early immersion would have no effect on the quality of mother tongue skills appears to have been confirmed for majority and/or privileged groups enrolled in immersion. I repeat "appears to have been confirmed" because no exhaustive study has been conducted on this question; the partial studies conducted thus far have been based mainly on school examination results which, as already stated, are not appropriate for measuring overall language competence.

In my view, certain evaluation results are surprising and may suggest the existence of still unknown factors. In 1974, Swain stated that it appeared preferable for young Anglophones in immersion to be taught to read in French (their second language) rather than in English (their mother tongue). She had observed certain reading problems in both languages among children who had learned to read in English in similar circumstances. I find this a curious conclusion since children in immersion learn to read at the beginning of their bilingual education (in the first grade) and have not progressed enough to know the oral form of a number of words they have to read and use as reference points. Did these classes perhaps contain children whose mother tongue was not English, as is the case for a large number of children attending English schools? Does this perhaps confirm that, at this stage, classwork should be conducted in only one language and that working in both languages leads to confusion? Whatever the answer, this phenomenon deserves systematic study because of its importance and possible long-term effects.

Immersion and other academic subjects

Forecasts made with respect to other academic subjects have been confirmed: even if children have problems at the beginning of immersion, they usually catch up. Even so, this success rate is based on attainment tests and there is nothing to prove overall com-

petence in these subjects because, once again, such conclusions are only applicable to majority or privileged children.

Most of the results relating to minority and/or underprivileged children in various countries of the world (the United States, England, Ireland, Mexico, the Philippines, etc.) are rather negative. So negative in fact that greater store is being laid by the "balance effect" that offsets the positive against the negative factors of bilingual education. In Canada, the recent expansion of immersion to more disparate groups is beginning to confirm this finding.

Immersion and education

The main objective of immersion — to provide an alternative to traditional language teaching — has been easily achieved, but at what a price. The whole school programme had to be turned upside down, teachers and teaching manuals have been replaced, teachers speaking another language have been imposed on the children and the length of exposure to the second language was increased from 450 to 4500 hours. Schools have been subjected to a battery of studies and investigations by specialists, and immersion children have become "celebrities" in their neighbourhood as saviours of Canada's linguistic duality. It is time we asked ourselves if we could not have achieved the same linguistic objectives at a lower cost to the education systems.

Unfortunately, research on immersion does not provide the answer because immersion programmes did not contain hypotheses about educational factors as such (except perhaps with respect to comparing early and late immersion programmes). We have no significant data on teaching methods or materials, teachers and their relationships with children, the influence of immersion classes on other classes at the same school, what happens in the classroom, and so on. Moreover, we know little about alternative systems.

Immersion has clearly evolved over the years and has changed from its "pure" form (where the language itself was not taught), to a mixed state (in which teaching the language alternates with teaching other subjects in that language). It has undergone these changes without experimental or descriptive justification and without a change in name. Outside the immersion approach, work on intensive language teaching, work with reception classes for young immigrants (which focus exclusively on second language instruction), new developments in conventional teaching (i.e., the communicative approach) have taken place outside the immersion framework. These experimental approaches have in no way matched the systematic and complex evaluations of immersion programmes. Among the educational leaders in Canada, immersion has been the most constant concern of second-language education and has received the most generous research funds. However, two conclusions are now possible. They appear somewhat paradoxical when compared to the results of immersion evaluations: (1) the results of intensive teaching compare favourably with those of immersion; (2) an academic environment differs from a "natural" environment, where adults learn better and more quickly than adolescents and adolescents learn better and more quickly than younger children (except perhaps for pronunciation, but this exception cannot be applied to immersion since pronunciation is one of its major problems).

The general teaching methods used in immersion classes run counter to the most characteristic trends of modern pedagogy. Today's classroom methods are aimed at spontaneous expression, great individual freedom and satisfaction of children's needs; by contrast, immersion classes require children to express themselves in a language they do not know in order to meet the needs formulated by parents and educators. There is also the question of fair treatment for children, since those in immersion

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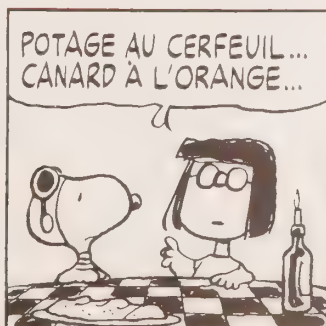
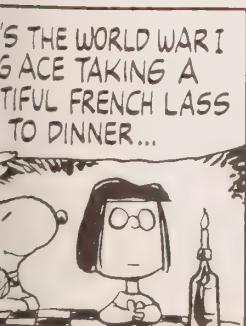
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techniques would be used that are
more easily adaptable to change
and applicable to a wider range of
people (perhaps to all Anglophone
school-age children). In such an
approach, pedagogical matters
would take top priority, and
linguistic issues would be of
secondary importance.

I believe that two conditions would
produce excellent results: (1) rough-
ly 1500 hours of active exposure to
the second language, and (2) a
period of intensive language
teaching/learning for roughly one-
third of the total time spent in the
classrooms (500 hours). Moreover,
in order to retain the acquired skills,
such teaching/learning should be
performed mainly at the secondary
school level, as near as possible to
the end of a child's schooling and
his eventual use of the language.
This would represent a revised and
improved version of conventional
forms of language teaching.

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Five major questions preoccupied immersion researchers throughout the '70s, so the authors went right to the source — the students — and confirmed their findings. They also describe current and future research directions.

Research update

SHARON LAPKIN and MERRILL SWAIN



Most of **Sharon Lapkin's** research has dealt with the evaluation of bilingual education programmes, the

development of proficiency tests and scoring procedures. An assistant professor with the Modern Language Centre of OISE, Dr Lapkin has served as a consultant to provincial departments of education and to the California Department of Education.



Professor **Merrill Swain's** research into bilingual education, development of bilingual proficiency, and

communicative aspects of language teaching and learning has been widely published. She is head of the Modern Language Centre of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

In the 1982-83 school year, enrolments in French immersion programmes numbered some 115,000 across Canada's ten provinces and two territories. This figure represents a dramatic increase since the first prototype programme was established less than twenty years ago when one experimental early immersion class was implemented in a Montreal-area school board. This "St. Lambert experiment" in bilingual education was well documented (e.g. Lambert and Tucker 1972), and the evaluation results suggested that immersion education offered a viable bilingual alternative to established unilingual school programmes. In the 70s, several different French immersion programmes were widely implemented throughout Canada.

During that decade, research on immersion education focussed mainly on educational outcomes because of the need to demonstrate that this was indeed a viable alternative programme. There was little research emphasis placed on social outcomes, administrative concerns or even instructional dimensions. In this article we review the main research questions and findings of the 70s, outline

several current lines of inquiry, and explore the implications of past and current research for future studies of immersion.

In the figure on page 50, three representative immersion-programme variants are illustrated. Early immersion programmes generally devote all instructional time in the first three years to teaching in the second language, French. In kindergarten, students are permitted to interact among themselves and with their teacher in their home language, English. The teacher speaks only French to the students, using mime and body language to get the message across as required. Building from the existing language, interests and skills of the students, the teacher introduces French vocabulary items and simple phrases initially for comprehension. The focus is on conveying content and responding to the substance of what the students are saying. Gradually, some time in grade 1 year, French becomes the working language of class. The formal study of English is deferred usually until grade 3, and by about grade 5, half the curriculum is taught in French, and half in English.

Although the instructional approach differs somewhat in programmes with a later starting grade (grades 5 and 7, the examples provided in the figure), it is based on the same principles: tolerance and appreciation of the home language, using the student's experience as a starting point for instruction, engaging in meaningful activities (e.g. field trips) in French, and focussing on comprehension skills in the initial stages of the programme.

In view of the radical nature of this approach to second-language education, parents and educators share several concerns which gave rise to the formulation of major research questions:

- Are students' first language (English) skills affected

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could be assessed longitudi-
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In this case, the English
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programme but could not be
(Lambert and Tucker 1972). For the
most part, however, the comparison
groups were drawn from the same
school where the immersion pro-
gramme was housed, or from a
nearby school where the socioeco-
nomic status and community charac-
teristics were similar to those of the
immersion group being tested. This
leaves open the possibility that the
students in the immersion pro-
gramme may have characteristics that
differentiate them from their compar-
ison groups, such as generally having
a greater motivation to learn French.
Under these conditions the only
reasonable approach to evaluating
programmes is to recognize that
students possessing these character-
istics constitute part of the very
nature of the programme itself, and
that the question which the evalua-
tion can answer is "How do students
in the immersion programme per-
form relative to students receiving
the usual educational programme?"

Data analysis. Most of the studies
have statistically compared the per-
formance of immersion groups with
that of their comparison groups using
analysis of variance or covariance,
with IQ being used as the covariant.
Thus differences in IQ which might
have existed between the groups
were controlled statistically. This
procedure has been used to com-
pensate for the non-random assign-
ment of students to their educational
programmes noted above.

Generalizability. The results from any
one study can be fairly confidently
generalized to the programme as a
whole in the particular school board.
Programmatic factors internal to the
school system such as the amount of
time devoted to instruction in the
second language, and community
factors external to the school system
such as the degree to which French is
used in the community, would
suggest that the results should not be
generalized beyond the particular
programme. However, at least in the
case of early total immersion, the
pattern of results has been so
consistent across programmes from
the different Canadian provinces that
the limited generalizability of each

individual study is outweighed by
the consistency of the collective
evidence.

The results

Writing in 1983 about the immersion
research of the 70s enables us to view
the results retrospectively¹, in the
way a strictly factual account of the
chronology of the research would
not. We now have access to the views
of the "guinea pigs" of the immersion
experiment who have graduated or
have had the experience of several
years in a programme. These views
correspond to a remarkable extent to
the substance of the research findings
and are used here to introduce the
results for each of the questions listed
earlier.²

First language (English) development

*"Based on my own experience, the French
immersion programme has had no adverse
effects on my English; in fact, I can now
recognize and compare similarities in the
two languages. In both English and
French I am getting very high marks."
Trevor Holmes, age 13, grade 8 early
immersion, Ontario*

*"I think that my knowledge of French has
a good influence on my English. In fact, I
do not see the need to spend so much time
on English grammar when one learns the
grammar of a foreign language. I think
my English would improve still more if I
was given the opportunity to learn
another foreign language also, such as
German or Spanish or Latin."
Suzie Clark, age 13, grade 8 late
immersion, Newfoundland*

Because the immersion programmes
place so much emphasis on curricular
instruction in French, there was
naturally a concern that the develop-
ment of first-language skills might be
negatively affected. This was thought
to be potentially most serious at the
primary level when literacy skills in
the first language would normally be
introduced.

To what extent were these fears
well-founded? The research evidence
on this issue suggests that for these
children, such fears have no basis in
fact. In part, this is because these
children are members of the dominant

linguistic and cultural majority of Canada and as a consequence, English pervades all of their out-of-school life.

The English achievement results for students in the early total-immersion programme indicate that, although initially behind students in unilingual English programmes in literacy skills, within a year of the introduction of an English Language Arts component into the curriculum, the immersion students perform equivalently on standardized tests of English achievement to students in the English-only programme. This is the case even if English is not introduced until grade 3 or grade 4. Furthermore, in some instances, after grade 4, the immersion students outperform their English-only programme peers in some aspects of measured English-language skills.

It seems clear that once literacy skills are well established in one language,

they transfer readily and rapidly to the other language. That this is so is supported by the results of middle- or late-immersion programmes where only in rare cases do immersion students perform below comparison students enrolled in the regular English programme. Where this occurs, it is short-lived, never persisting beyond the first year of immersion experience.

Second-language (French) development

"I think my French is good enough to read a French book, carry on a conversation with French-speaking people, write a simple short story, follow a movie in French, listen to the radio in French and make a speech in French."

Elaine Hounsell, age 14, grade 9 early immersion, New Brunswick

"At the present time I would be able to talk with a French-speaking person with difficulty, as long as the person spoke clearly and slowly and in proper French,

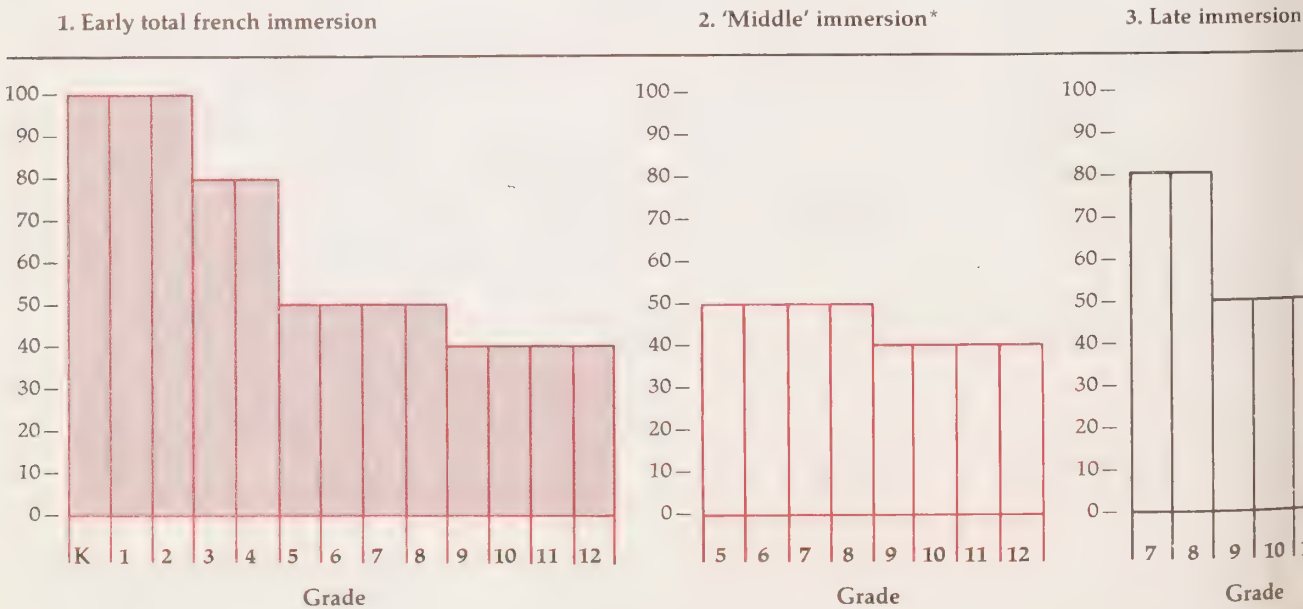
not slang."
Bob Brown, age 14, grade 8 late immersion, Newfoundland

These self-assessments represent two extremes found among the students we surveyed.² The fact that the more conservative self-assessment comes from a student late immersion reflects the perceptions of students from those two programme groups: early-immersion students tend to assess their skills more positively than do late-immersion students (Swain and Lapkin 1982:51). These two quotes are fully representative, and also reflect the French test results themselves, as we shall see.

In the initial year of the evaluation of early-immersion programmes, the French skills of immersion students were most often assessed in relation to those of students in core-French programmes, that is, programmes which French as a second language

IMMERSION PROGRAMME VARIANTS

Percentage of instructional time in French: three examples



*Prior to entering these programmes, students have had from one to several years of instruction in French as a second language in daily 20- to 40-minute classes.

action is provided in daily 20- to 30-minute periods. Since the development of listening skills is stressed in the early years, listening-comprehension tests were administered from kindergarten up to the end of grade 3. It was soon apparent that the tests were too difficult for the French students, whereas immersion students were obtaining perfect scores by grade 3. The high scores of the immersion students would be more usefully interpreted, it was felt, if they were considered in relation to the French language skills of native-French speaking students of the same age and grade level. This belief was reinforced by the results of administering standardized tests designed for Francophone students in Quebec: by grade 1 or 2, the immersion students were scoring as well as one-third of native-French speaking students in Montreal, and by grade 6, as well as one-half of the French-speaking comparison group.

In order to examine the second-language test results in terms of "receptive" skills of listening, reading, and the "productive" skills of speaking and writing. For immersion students, the receptive skills are clearly native-like by the end of elementary school. These skills can be affected by administrative arrangements for immersion programmes. In one study (Lapkin et al. 1981) we compared two alternative school settings: immersion centres, where only the immersion programme is housed in a particular school, and dual-track schools in which the immersion and regular French programmes co-exist. We found that the receptive skills of the immersion students were enhanced by studying in immersion centres where a greater amount of French is used in the school environment beyond the classroom.

Although no similar study has been taken with respect to productive language skills, it may be that immersion-centre students enjoy certain advantages over dual-track immersion students in speaking and writing in French. Regardless of the setting, however, it is clear

that the productive second-language skills of early-immersion students do not reach native-like levels. Immersion students have little difficulty in conveying meaning, but the way they express themselves is clearly different from the performance of native French-speaking peers. Immersion students make a favourable impression on native-speaker judges, however: their spoken French is assessed favourably by Francophone adults and children alike (Lepicq 1980).

Results from testing late-immersion students are less consistent. For example, in Ontario, late-immersion students continue to lag behind early-immersion students in all or most skill areas as late as grade 11 (i.e. after 5 or 6 years in the programme), while in Montreal there are no such differences noted at this level (Morrison 1982; Adiv 1980). This discrepancy can be explained by differences in the design of the Ontario and Quebec immersion programmes. In the case of the Ontario programmes, the early-immersion programme maintained a French to English ratio of 80:20 in grades 3 to 5 and 50:50 in grades 6 to 8, whereas the corresponding figures for the Montreal programme were 60:40 in grade 3 and 40:60 in grades 4 to 8. This means that the Ontario early-immersion students had considerably more in-school contact time in French than did the Montreal students, which could account for their superior second-language performance relative to late-immersion students. The results argue for the maximal allotment of time to the second language in the school curriculum in order to maintain and further develop immersion students' second-language skills. This is a need recognized by programme participants also. In commenting on the perceived disadvantages of immersion programmes, Trevor Holmes, a grade 8 student (quoted earlier) suggests that:

In my area not enough courses are being offered in French. I feel this is necessary to maintain a good command of the language. Another disadvantage is that students do not get much chance to use their language skills outside the classroom.

Both early- and late-immersion programmes are clearly leading to functional bilingualism by offering students the opportunity to acquire more advanced skills than can be accomplished in a core-French programme. One important advantage of the early-immersion alternative is that it serves a more heterogeneous student population by accommodating a wider range of personality types and cognitive styles (Swain in press). Further descriptive information on the second-language skills of students in both programmes is provided by Birgit Harley in this issue.

Academic achievement in other subjects

"I don't believe that immersion has any effect on subjects taken in French, except for a mildly adverse effect on your spelling in English (some words are similar in English and French and occasionally you spell a word the French way instead of the English way). I might add, however, that this problem is very easily overcome."

Rachel Baker, age 14, grade 9 early immersion, Alberta

As this comment suggests, immersion students are able to keep up in academic achievement with students taught in their first language. Over the years, the initial concern that the same academic content would prove too demanding for students taught through the medium of a second language has been allayed as a result of the research evidence.

Immersion students have been tested using standardized tests of mathematics (at all grade levels) and science (from about grade 5 on), and their performance has been compared to that of students in English-only programmes. As mentioned above, the tests were typically administered in English even though students were taught the subjects in French. The reason for this was straightforward: although parents wanted their children to learn French, they wanted to be assured that their children would be able to deal with mathematical and scientific concepts in English, the dominant language in North American society. Testing the

students in English seemed the best way to gauge their ability to do so.

The results associated with early total-immersion programmes consistently show that, whether in science or mathematics, the immersion students perform as well as their English-instructed comparison groups. For late-immersion students, some lags have been noted in the initial year or two of the programme. It may be that the second-language skills of these immersion students are not well developed enough to allow them to deal with relatively complex subjects taught to them in French. Once again, the design of the programme seems to have an effect on testing in this area: where late-immersion students have had some core-French instruction from kindergarten on, their achievement in subject areas such as science does not suffer, even temporarily.

IQ and academic success in immersion

"I don't think that studying in French has caused any mental confusion. Sometimes I get mixed up when I'm talking and my friends say it's because of my French, but I don't think it is. I just talk fast anyway!"
Pam Ayer, age 15, grade 9 early immersion, New Brunswick

"I believe that it helps (me) think more clearly as lately I have been doing very well in thinking out and explaining things (especially math and language arts)."
Warren Nishimura, age 11, grade 6 "middle" immersion, Alberta

There is a common misperception that immersion education is only for children of above-average intelligence. In fact, the studies that address the relationship of IQ to academic success in immersion suggest the opposite: any child can benefit from an immersion programme. For example, Genesee (1976) tested above- and below-average students in early- and late-immersion programmes. On "academic" tests of literacy-related skills, the expected pattern of performance emerged; that is, the above-average students scored better than the less able students. However, there was no similar stratification by IQ in the



Immersion at kindergarten

students' ability to communicate in French in interpersonal situations. The below-average students understood spoken French as well as the above-average students, and scored as well on oral production tests. Such studies suggest that IQ does not play a more significant role in the immersion programme than in the regular English programme as far as success in school is concerned. The below-average students are not any more at a disadvantage in an immersion programme than they would be in a regular English programme. Moreover, they enjoy the benefit of learning to understand and communicate in French.

Social and psychological effects

"... the early immersion experience seems to have reduced the social distance perceived between self and French-Canadians, especially French-Canadians who are bilingual."
Cziko, Lambert and Gutter (1979:26)

"During a Christmas holiday in his grade 2 year we visited a hotel north of Montreal. Seeing the first real snow of the winter he began pelting snowballs. A taxi driver outside the hotel gave him a verbal tongue-lashing in his best Québécois, and Daniel said, 'Wow, he was speaking REAL French!'"
Patricia Holland, parent of a grade 4 early immersion student, Nova Scotia

While the first comment, from researchers who conducted attitudinal surveys of French-immersion and regular English-programme students, suggests that the social gap between English- and French-

Canadians is being reduced, the second quote suggests that the French-Canadian reality remains remote for many immersion students. It is possible that the educational experience of the immersion students leads to a more sophisticated understanding of the social/cultural aspects of Canadian life. To investigate this question, grade 5 and 6 immersion students were asked to write a composition on the topic "Why I like (or do not like) being Canadian" (Swain 1980). Each composition was subjected to a content analysis and the substantive comments that had been written were identified and tabulated. Several interesting findings emerged. First, the immersion students' comments spanned a much broader perspective in that they gave, on average, two to three times as many reasons than the English comparison groups. Secondly, three times as many immersion students as English programme students commented specifically on the rich and varied cultural and/or linguistic composition of Canada. Thirdly, over 20 per cent of the immersion children, but none of the English-educated children, commented on the possibility in Canada of being able to speak more than one language. In general, most of the compositions written by non-immersion students focused on the natural beauty of Canada as opposed to the beauty of linguistic and cultural diversity which was as likely to be mentioned in the composition of immersion students.

The growth of immersion programmes has not yet been without its social tensions. As immersion programmes grow in size and number, certain sectors of the community feel threatened (Burns and Olson 1981). One sector is the English-speaking parents who want their children to attend, or continue to attend, the regular English programme in their neighbourhood school. They see the space in their neighbourhood school being swallowed up by increasing numbers of immersion students, and have formed "concerned parents" organizations to argue against the growth of immersion programmes. The t

created by the pro-immersion anti-immersion parents have been in communities across Canada, and have recently received wide press coverage.

Impact of immersion on the community has received relatively little research attention to date. As Canada's largest-scale educational experiment of this century, it is unrealistic to expect that its implementation would be unaccompanied by social repercussions. What is more surprising is the overwhelmingly positive reaction of immersion students and their parents to the programme alternative.

Present and future research directions

From social issues of the sort noted above, there remain important administrative and instructional questions to be investigated. These include how best to design programmes so that their positive effects are maximized, what instructional techniques lead to the most desirable outcomes, and what are the educational possibilities for encouraging increased contact between Canada's official-language groups.

One question relates to establishing realistic expectations and goals for immersion education. Clearly, immersion students should not be taken from secondary school with no like skills. Only recently has attention been directed at the quality of the French spoken and written by immersion students. The problem is that such descriptive research is time-consuming and expensive, and the first priority research of the 70s was to establish, through mainly quantitative means (group tests), the quality of the immersion alternative. But research projects involving mapping tests of the productive skills which are truly communicative are, based on a theoretical view that constitutes proficiency in a second language. The Government of Saskatchewan has provided the Saskatchewan Language Centre of the University of Regina with an Ontario Institute of Studies in Education (O.I.S.E.) contract funds to support such measures for grades 3,

6 and 9. These communicative language tests are being used on a wide scale, not only in Saskatchewan, but also in New Brunswick, and will provide detailed descriptions of the French speaking and writing skills of immersion students in relation to those of native speakers. These descriptive accounts, combined with systematic observation in the classroom, will allow us to identify areas of weakness and explore modifications in the curriculum and instructional approach to improve performance in these areas.

The social questions raised earlier suggest that increased contact between immersion students and Francophone peers is desirable. But the effects on educational outcomes are unknown. For example, many Francophone parents and educators fear that increased contact would hasten the assimilation of Francophone students, who already use English in the wider society. Two ongoing research projects will shed some light on this question. In one case, in Ontario, a "middle" immersion programme (beginning in grade 5) housed in a French-language school is being examined. Second, some immersion classes involved in the New Brunswick province-wide evaluation contain different proportions of native-French speaking students. Using the test data, along with background information on the students, we will examine the influence of different concentrations of native speakers on French test results. We also hope to assess whether the French of the native speakers in these classes has been

negatively affected by the presence of Anglophone immersion students.

In conclusion, the research and evaluation studies associated with French-immersion programmes have demonstrated that students from a majority-language group can be taught in a second language with no long-term negative effects on first-language development or on content learning, while at the same time becoming highly proficient in the target language. The challenge of the future lies now in identifying teaching strategies which combine to make both language learning and content learning effective, and to ensure that the bilingualism achieved helps to close the gap between Canada's two solitudes.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The research reported here is described in greater detail in Swain and Lapkin, 1982. A complete bibliography is also included in the book.
2. The quotations from students are taken from questionnaires distributed to representative students, and in some cases, parents from across Canada. The questionnaires were used as a means of eliciting views about immersion programmes from the participants in the context of preparing a booklet for immersion students aged 11-15 (see Lapkin, Swain and Argue, 1983).

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... in grade five



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*quality of French spoken by immersion children
been eulogized by some and criticized by others.
article undertakes a scrupulous diagnosis.*

How good is their French?

T HARLEY

Birgit Harley is currently coordinating a large-scale research project, established to investigate the development of bilingual proficiency in a variety of social contexts, and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Dr. Harley is a researcher in applied linguistics with the Modern Language Centre of OISE.

How proficient in French do immersion children actually become? The answer to this deceptively simple question depends, of course, on how we define what it means to be proficient in a language.

A number of current studies involving immersion programmes, researchers at the Modern Language Centre of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education have been working with a theoretical framework in which several components of language proficiency are distinguished. One of these components is called "grammatical competence". It includes knowledge of the rules of word and sentence formation in a language. A second component, termed "discourse competence", involves the ability to organize (i.e., produce and interpret) logically coherent discourse, or text. A third component, "sociolinguistic competence", refers to the ability to vary one's use of language in a socially appropriate manner depending, for example, on the topic being dealt with and the relative formality of a situation. Vocabulary knowledge is seen as falling into all three kinds of language competence. In addition to these three, there is a fourth, "strategic competence", which concerns the ability to cope, and to manage communication breakdown, when there are gaps in knowledge of a language with respect to the other components.

The identification of these various components of proficiency means that we may arrive at a rather different

estimate of how much French an immersion student has learned, depending on which component we are looking at. And even within components, our estimate of proficiency may vary according to the kinds of tasks we ask students to perform. For some kinds of language tasks, learners can rely at least partly on the context to interpret or express a message. For other tasks, where there is little or no contextual support available in the immediate situation, they must rely more heavily on their internalized knowledge of the language for successful performance. Typically, the academic paper-and-pencil tests of language that children receive at school tend to be "context-reduced" in this sense, while face-to-face conversations about the here-and-now are more likely to be "context-embedded".

The amount of contextual support available is only one of the important considerations to be taken into account in assessing immersion students' performance in French. We do not expect young children to perform as well as adolescents on reading and writing activities or complex problem-solving tasks, for example; and it is often observed that, even in a mother tongue, the receptive language skills of listening and reading tend to surpass the corresponding productive ones of speaking and writing.

Of course, in many real-life situations, such as conversation or answering a letter, receptive and productive skills are both involved. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the receptive/productive dichotomy is yet another dimension of language proficiency that is relevant to an assessment of how much French the immersion children learn.

In what follows, their French proficiency is described in relation to each of the four components of proficiency outlined above, while other dimensions of language proficiency are considered as they apply.

How does the French of immersion students stack up against the French of Francophones?

Here are some of the findings of a research study of the French of immersion students. This study also compared immersion French with the French of Francophones of the same age and similar background. For details, see Dr. Harley's article.

1. In grammatical usage grade 6 immersion students have difficulties that set them apart from native speakers of the same grade. In this example, 96 per cent of Francophones chose the right answer *depuis* (c), while 44 per cent of immersion students chose the wrong *pour* (b), a common error for English native speakers. On the other hand, 48 per cent of the immersion students did make the right choice.

Ils sont au Canada _____ déjà trois mois.

- a) *durant*
- b) *pour*
- c) *depuis*

2. In the following item over 90 per cent of the grade 6 immersion as well as native speaker students chose the correct answer *ont manqué* (a).

Puisqu'ils étaient malades, ils _____ l'école.

- a) *ont manqué*
- b) *manquent*
- c) *manqueraient*

3. An item which shows that both native speakers and immersion students sometimes have trouble over the same point of grammar in its written form. Only 45 per cent of immersion students and 44 per cent of native speakers chose the correct answer *éviter* (b).

Il faut _____ ce genre d'erreur.

- a) *évitez*
- b) *éviter*
- c) *évité*

4. Can immersion students recognize what style of French is appropriate in a given situation? In the following instance, about two thirds (66 per cent) of the immersion students chose item (c) which was considered most appropriate by the Francophones of the same age (87 per cent).

Dans une note écrite par un mari à sa femme

- (a) *Veuillez prendre note du rendez-vous avec M. Roy le mardi 27 juin.*
- (b) *Ceci est pour confirmer ton rendez-vous avec M. Roy mardi 27 juin au matin.*
- (c) *N'oublie pas que tu es supposé rencontrer M. Roy mardi matin.*

5. The following difficult item indicates the ability to understand a coherent text and to make the right choice of a sentence which makes sense of the passage. Immersion students in this example (as in the particular reading test overall) performed at the same level as native speakers of the same age. In this instance, 61 per cent of immersion students and 57 per cent of native speakers chose the correct answer (a).

Le diamantaire taille le diamant pour qu'il reflète la lumière. À son état naturel, le diamant n'est pas attrayant.

- a) *Sa beauté ne sera mise en évidence qu'après un long et minutieux travail.*
- b) *Ses éclats et ses scintillements attirent l'oeil.*
- c) *Les bons diamantaires ne sont pas rares.*

_____. C'est pour cette raison que l'on respecte un bon diamantaire.

maginary letter written in 15 minutes and without help by a grade 1 student following the French instructions written on the letter which the student must be able to read and interpret correctly. This student, who is fairly typical for his age, is able to do so. He makes more grammatical errors than a Francophone student of the same age would; but Dr. Harley's study shows that native speakers at this age do not write a grammatically faultless letter either. It is that the immersion student uses the familiar *tu* instead of the appropriate *vous* form in this letter to a relative stranger. In spite of these defects, we must recognize that this 11-year old Anglophone student has learnt enough French to undertake this task in the second language and to convey his meaning in writing; he presents his argument quite comprehensibly, coherently and persuasively.

Imagine-toi que ta famille loue une maison à la campagne pendant le mois d'août. Dans le garage, qui est barré, tu vois une belle bicyclette dix-vitesses.

Écris une lettre au propriétaire de la maison pour le convaincre de te donner la permission d'utiliser la bicyclette.

Sers-toi de l'espace ci-dessous :

Monsieur,
Je m'appelle Justin Cammy, un des enfants qui vivent dans ton maison pour le mois d'août. Aujourd'hui, j'ai rentré dans ton garage puis j'ai vu une belle bicyclette. Moi, je suis une personne très responsable et je voulais savoir si je pourrais utiliser ton vélo juste pour ce mois. Mon père a acheté d'insurable pour tout les choses dans ta grande maisons. Je sais que ce n'est pas honête d'utiliser une chose sans permission alors je t'écrit ce lettre. Merci pour ton opération.
Justin Cammy

Monsieur,
Je m'appelle Justin Cammy, un des enfants qui vivent dans ton maison pour le mois d'août. Aujourd'hui, j'ai rentré dans ton garage puis j'ai vu une belle bicyclette. Moi, je suis une personne très responsable et je voulais savoir si je pourrais utiliser ton vélo juste pour ce mois. Mon père a acheté d'assurance pour tout les choses dans ta grande maisons. Je sais que ce n'est pas honête d'utiliser une chose sans permission alors je t'écrit ce lettre. Merci pour ton opération.
Justin Cammy

Immersion students' competence in French grammar has been a major focus of most evaluations of their second-language proficiency. In part, this reflects the availability of language tests which, traditionally, have concentrated heavily on grammatical accuracy; as well, it reflects the long-standing view that some degree of grammatical competence is central to language proficiency. It is hard to imagine a high level of discourse competence without any grammatical competence, for example. Nor would we expect learners to become proficient in recognizing or producing socially appropriate language in a variety of situations without some basic knowledge of the grammatical resources of the language concerned. From the tests of various kinds that have been administered at different age levels, the following picture emerges.

Grade 1. As early as grade 1 of an early total-immersion programme beginning in kindergarten, children in an oral interview setting are clearly able to understand some major grammatical distinctions in French. For example, they can distinguish between present, past and future in the verbs that they hear. This is evident not only in what they say in response to the questions they are asked (where they may be relying on other clues to meaning for comprehension), but also from their ability to give English translation equivalents for decontextualized sentences such as: *Tu vas manger une pomme*; *Tu l'as mangée*; *Chez moi on aime beaucoup les pommes*. At least some grade 1 immersion children can also on occasion produce such basic tense distinctions when speaking to an interviewer, although they are unlikely to use them with any consistency. The children also show that they can understand and produce singular and plural noun phrases (*le garçon* versus *les garçons*) in the interview setting, but they rarely seem to notice gender distinctions (masculine versus feminine), nor are they likely to produce plural forms of verbs or any other more 'advanced' verb forms. Word order in French sentences is generally similar to English, and it is only where dif-

ferences occur that the grade 1 children tend to make errors of this kind. For example: *Il toujours va* 'He always goes' instead of *Il va toujours*.

Grades 5/6. Jumping to the grade 5/6 level, we find that early-immersion students have made great strides in grammatical competence although they still make a number of grammatical errors in speaking French which distinguish them from native speakers of their own age. To give some indication: when assessed on a conversational interview for their use of syntax (rules of sentence formation), prepositions and verbs (use of future forms, the *imparfait*, conditional, and *passé composé*), the average score for about 70 grade 6 immersion students was 81.3 per cent correct for syntax, 80.5 per cent correct for prepositions, and 57 per cent correct for the above-mentioned verb forms. In comparison, a small group of grade 6 native-French speakers who were also interviewed scored between 96 and 100 per cent in these three areas of grammatical competence. Clearly, verbs are a problematic area of French grammar for the immersion students. This does not come as any great surprise since, as pointed out by linguists, verbs are apt to be the most difficult part of the grammar of any language.

The same grade 6 immersion students were also assessed for grammatical competence on two other kinds of tests: written compositions and a multiple-choice grammar test. On the composition tasks, which involved telling stories and writing letters, the students were again scored for syntax, prepositions and verbs, and once again obtained scores lower than those of the native speakers. Although the oral and written tests were not directly comparable, the immersion students appeared, relative to native speakers, to be doing much better on verbs than in the interview at 85 per cent correct, not counting spelling errors such as *aller* for *allé*. Part of the reason for their better performance is doubtless that the use of the present tense was also included in the assessment of their compositions. When verb-spelling errors were counted, it was

found that the immersion students were no more likely to make such errors than were the native speakers.

On the multiple choice test, where the task was to select the correct grammatical form to fill the gap in a number of short decontextualized sentences, the immersion students (with an average of 60 per cent correct) were once again back below the native speakers, who themselves did not get perfect scores on this context-reduced test (on average, about 80 per cent correct).

In addition to verbs, gender is an area of French grammar where English-speaking learners characteristically have problems, and the immersion students appear to be no exception to this trend. In grade 5, interviews with a small group of immersion students showed them to be still making a number of errors of this kind, typically tending to overuse the masculine at the expense of feminine gender: for example, saying *mon maison* and *le glace* instead of *ma maison* and *la glace*.

Overall, our assessment of the grammatical competence of immersion students in grades 5 and 6 leads us to conclude that although they are able to produce and recognize many forms which are grammatically correct in French, they still make quite a number of errors which clearly distinguish them from native speakers of their own age. A striking characteristic of the errors made in speaking and writing is that they are often in relatively redundant areas of French grammar, such as making the verb agree with the subject and distinguishing the gender of inanimate nouns, where use of the correct form may not be essential to get the meaning across. Indeed, there is evidence that native speakers of French consider such grammatical errors to be relatively unimportant when judging the acceptability of grade 6 immersion speech. At the same time, the very redundancy of these forms may also mean that the immersion children can readily interpret the French that they hear and read without fully mastering such grammatical distinctions.

Grades 9/10. Such observations still apply to immersion students who have reached the high school level. In Ottawa, for example, "post-immersion" students in grade 10 were assessed for grammatical accuracy on an oral interview and a letter-writing task. The one hundred or so students that were tested came from two kinds of immersion programme: early total immersion beginning in kindergarten and late immersion beginning in grade 6 or

In the interview, a substantial proportion of the students in both programmes were still making a variety of errors in verbs as well as other areas of grammar, although overall, the early-immersion students did somewhat better on this oral test than the late-immersion students. While the form *lisent* (3rd person plural of the present tense of the verb *lire* "to read"), for example, was used correctly by only about half the students in each group, the conditional form of the verb *laver*, *je lavais* "I would wash", was expressed correctly by 83 per cent of the early-immersion students compared with only 14 per cent of the late-immersion students. In letter-writing, verbs again appeared to be a problem for the immersion students, representing the largest category of all writing errors made by both early- and late-immersion students.

Based on other oral interviews and writing tasks carried out by early-immersion students at the high school level, we can say impressively that their grammatical competence, especially in the written form, appears to have improved since the grade 6 level, but that the gains in some areas of spoken French do not seem to have been substantial. These impressions, of course, need to be confirmed by further detailed comparisons of what they can do at different age levels.

Discourse competence

One reason why there may have been a tapering off of grammatical development in the spoken French of immersion students is that they develop a high degree of discourse

competence which is quite
factory for their classroom needs.

at the grade 1 level, we find
ersion children able to interpret
ersational-interview questions
o respond in a manner that is
ly coherent in the context, if
ing in grammatical accuracy. The
xt-embedded nature of the
view setting is an important
deration here. The children can
necessary make use of non-
l communication strategies such
sture or mime to get their
ing across, and the interviewer
ssist by rephrasing questions
upplying needed items of
vocabulary.

gher grade levels we know that
immersion children have
oped sufficient discourse com-
ce in French to learn subjects
as mathematics and science
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e time they reach grade 6,
ersion students have been
ved to perform at native and
native levels on communicative
f French listening and reading
ehension respectively. These
tive' tests involve authentic
es of French-language use such
ed radio broadcasts, reproduc-
of newspaper articles,
isements, etc.

direct assessments of discourse
tence have been made at the
6 level for about 70 immersion
ts. These assessments also
a level of discourse com-
e that is close or identical to
native-French speakers,
ding on the nature of the task
performed. On a multiple-
test involving the selection of
rect sentence to fill the gap in a
paragraph, about 70 immer-
dents scored on a par with a
roup of native-French speak-
he same age. When they were
n their ability to retell the story
ovie coherently, and put

forward logical arguments in spoken
French, the immersion students
scored almost, but not quite, as high
as the native speakers. And in
writing stories and letters of persua-
sion, the immersion students' ability
to produce coherent discourse was
once again judged, on the basis of
detailed subscores, to be just as high
as that of the native speaker group.
The subscores were given, for
example, for the ability to identify
and refer to characters, objects and
locations clearly, and for the ability to
avoid breakdowns of coherence in
the temporal or logical sequence of
events or arguments. On such fea-
tures, both native speakers and
immersion students received an aver-
age rating of approximately 1.5 out of
a maximum score of 2.

Investigation of the French discourse
competence of older early and late
immersion students is currently
being directed to some communica-
tive oral and written tasks. Once
available, the results of this research
will provide us with an assessment of
the eventual discourse competence of
immersion students at the high
school level.

Sociolinguistic competence

The ability of immersion students to
vary their language in accordance
with the social demands of a situation
does not appear to be well-developed
by grade 6. When the same immer-
sion students who were assessed for
grammatical and discourse com-
petence were given oral and written
production tests of sociolinguistic
competence in French, they were
found to be performing at a much
lower level than native-French speak-
ers. For example, the immersion
students often failed to distinguish
between formal *vous* and informal *tu*
depending on the social status of the
person they were addressing, using
the familiar form, *tu*, for the most
part even when writing a formal
request letter to a stranger. While the
native speakers often used con-
ditional verb forms to express polite-
ness in a formal situation (e.g.
J'aimerais avoir des photos "I would like
some photos"), the immersion stu-
dents rarely did so, preferring the

more direct present tense instead.
Clearly, these sociolinguistic inade-
quacies can be related to some of the
grammatical problems the students
have, as well as to the fact that
immersion children's social interac-
tion with native-French speakers is in
general extremely limited. However,
the grade 6 immersion students
scored higher on a receptive multiple-
choice test, in which they were
required to select, from three options,
the appropriate sentence to match a
given social situation. The results on
this test suggest that they are better
able to recognize, than to produce,
socially appropriate language in
French.

Preliminary investigation of the
sociolinguistic competence of some
early-immersion students at the high
school level indicates that they still
tend to have problems in oral
production with the *tu/vous* distinc-
tion among others. In short, it seems
that the sociolinguistic competence of
early-immersion students remains
non-native-like into their high school
years. It remains to be seen how they
compare with late-immersion
students in this regard.

Strategic competence

In the communicative context of their
programme, immersion students
quickly develop strategies that enable
them to compensate for gaps in their
knowledge of French. If grade 1
children do not know an item of
vocabulary such as the verb *plonger*
"to dive", for example, they are apt to
try and circumvent the problem
rather than stop talking. For instance,
they may use gestures, try the
English word (perhaps with a French
pronunciation), or use a more general
related term such as *sauter* "to jump"
or a circumlocution such as *aller dans
l'eau* "go in the water". Indeed, one
way of looking at some of the
grammatical errors the immersion
students make is to view them as the
result of communication strategies.
In grade 5, for example, we find
immersion students using a variety of
verb forms instead of the conditional:
for example, using the present tense
together with the adverb *peut-être*
"perhaps", or using the more familiar

future construction *aller* + infinitive. These ways of expressing a hypothetical situation (such as what the children would do if they won the lottery) are obviously quite effective in getting the essential meaning across without having mastered conditional verb forms. Similarly, in the sociolinguistic domain, we find students overusing *s'il-vous-plaît* "please" in requests instead of the conditional forms used by native speakers.

The spontaneity with which young immersion children, despite their limited grammatical resources, endeavour to express themselves in French stands in obvious and refreshing contrast to the inhibited efforts of students from traditional formal classrooms whose main concern was to avoid errors at all costs. Their very success at using such strategies to communicate in a comprehensible way with their teacher and classmates may, however, in the long run become less of an asset to the French-immersion students in the further development of their grammatical competence.

Some educational implications

From an analysis of immersion students' competence in various components of language proficiency, we can see that they have some outstanding strengths but also some weaknesses. Their remarkable ability to comprehend spoken and written discourse in French is a strength which no doubt reflects the emphasis of their schooling, where listening to the teacher and reading texts tend to be the major activities in learning subject matter. Indeed an increasing

school emphasis on receptive activities at upper grade levels may help to explain why immersion students' grammatical competence is, in general, not closer to that of native speakers.

One obvious way of helping to enhance their grammatical and sociolinguistic competence would be to create more opportunities for immersion students to interact with native speakers of French outside the classroom. This is not always possible, however, and if the aims of immersion programmes are to produce students who can not only learn other subjects and communicate in French but do so in a fully grammatical and sociolinguistically acceptable manner, then we need to consider what else can be done in the classroom context to increase their competence in French.

One suggestion is that the students could benefit from more intensive oral practice in using the grammatical and sociolinguistic distinctions that they often overlook. For this purpose teachers need more diagnostic information for an in-depth view of the problems which appear to be persistent. Carefully designed materials, which provide communicative ways of practising such distinctions, would no doubt be helpful.

In short, while immersion programmes appear to be doing an excellent job of producing students who can communicate in French, there may still be ways both within the classroom context and outside to enhance grammatical and sociolinguistic aspects of their French proficiency.

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Immersion contributes important solutions to problems in language teaching, according to the foremost American authority on second language acquisition who has studied the situation in Canada.

Immersion: why it works and what it has taught us

STEPHEN D. KRASHEN

Receiving his Ph. D. in linguistics from UCLA in 1972, **Stephen D. Krashen** has been actively involved in research in neurolinguistics and second-language acquisition. Now a professor of linguistics at the University of Southern California, Dr. Krashen is author of many articles and books, including *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Teaching*, for which he won the Modern Language Association's Kenneth S. Berger Award in 1982.

Canadian immersion is not simply another successful language teaching programme — it may be the most successful programme ever recorded in the professional language-teaching literature. No programme has been as thoroughly studied and documented, or no programme, to my knowledge, has done as well. It is the purpose of this article to consider why immersion has succeeded and to discuss what the language-teaching profession has learned from the experience. In my view, it has increased our understanding of the process of second language acquisition and has contributed to the solution of many very serious problems in language teaching.

Immersion programmes of all sorts and in many different languages have been studied in great detail. Research consistently reports these three findings:

1. Immersion students do as well in English language tests as students educated entirely in English.¹

2. Immersion students do as well in subject matter as students who are educated entirely in English.²

3. Immersion students acquire a great deal of the second language. Canadian immersion students easily outperform students enrolled in traditional French classes (i.e. French), and, after several years of immersion, approach native speakers of French on some measures. Immersion students do not typically achieve full native

competence in French while they are in the programme; they have an "accent" and make some grammatical errors when they speak. They are, nevertheless, quite competent in their second language, competent enough that: "There is no question that given opportunities to use French in diverse social situations, the (immersion) children . . . could become indistinguishable from native speakers of French in their oral expression, and at the same time they would profit fully from instruction presented in either of their languages." (Lambert and Gardner, 1972, p. 152; see also Harley, this issue.)

Why immersion works

Second-language acquisition theory provides a very clear explanation as to why immersion works. According to current theory, we acquire language in only one way: when we understand messages in that language, when we receive comprehensible input (Krashen, 1982). Memorizing vocabulary words, studying grammar, and doing drills make a very small contribution to language competence in the adult and even less in the child — the only true cause of second-language acquisition is comprehensible input.

Speaking, actual production, does nothing to directly cause second-language acquisition, since it is only *input* that counts. Speaking is a *result* of acquisition; the ability to speak a second language "emerges" or develops on its own only after the acquirer has built up enough competence by listening and reading. This hypothesis explains why children often go through a silent period of several months before they begin to speak a new language. This silent period is a time during which they are building competence in the second language — when they begin to speak, it is not the beginning of their acquisition, just the beginning of showing off their competence. This idea also helps to explain the feeling of

uneasiness many people have in language classes when they are asked to speak the second language right away.

The comprehensible input idea clarifies why certain language teaching methods in use today succeed better than others. The better methods, which emerge as superior in comparisons of student achievement, are those that provide the student with more comprehensible input, more messages the students can understand. The successful methods differ from one another on the surface, but in reality vary only in how they provide comprehensible input. One method, for example, consists entirely of teacher commands (sit down, go to the window . . .) which are made comprehensible by the teacher's modelling of the action (Asher's Total Physical Response Method). In Terrell's Natural Approach, input to the beginning student is made comprehensible in a variety of ways, such as pictures, discussion of familiar topics, and total-physical-response activities.

In all successful methods, the focus is on the message and not the form, on *what* is being said rather than *how* it is said. Also, student speech is allowed to develop on its own — there is little emphasis on error correction and grammatical accuracy.³

Immersion programmes succeed in teaching the second language because, like other good methods, they provide students with a great deal of comprehensible input. Input in immersion programmes is made comprehensible in several ways. The exclusion of native speakers of the second language places all students in the same linguistic boat and helps ensure that teachers will speak at a language level that is comprehensible to them. In addition, texts and materials are supplemented and modified, adapted to the non-native speaker's level. Also, students are often allowed to respond in their first language. Early total-immersion students do not have to respond in French until the middle of grade 1 — a 1.5-year silent period is provided in which the child may use his first

language for communication until he acquires enough French to respond in French. As several scholars have pointed out, this increases communication and thereby the child's chances of getting comprehensible input (see Swain and Lapkin, 1982, chapter two; Lambert and Tucker, 1972, pp. 237-238).

What we have learned from immersion

What immersion has taught us is that comprehensible subject-matter teaching *is* language teaching. Students don't simply learn the rule in the language class and have it "re-inforced" in the subject-matter class. The subject-matter class is a language class if it is made comprehensible to the language student. In fact, the subject-matter class may even be better than the language class for language acquisition. In language-teaching classes operating according to the principle of comprehensible input, teachers always face the problem of what to talk about. In immersion, the topic is automatically provided — it is the subject matter. Moreover, since students are tested on the subject matter, not the language, a constant focus on the message and not form is guaranteed.

Second language acquisition theory thus implies that immersion works for the same reason other successful methods work: it is the comprehensible-input factor that is crucial, not simply the greater amount of time devoted to the second language. A project we recently completed at the University of Ottawa confirms this (for details, see Wesche, this issue). In place of intermediate French and English as second language courses, university students took their second semester of a one-year psychology course in special "sheltered" sections taught in their second language. Native speakers of the second language were excluded and all class presentations were in the second language, as were the readings. Pre- and post-tests in the second language were given, but for our purposes only; grades were based on subject matter performance only. The entire experience consisted of less than 40 hours exposure to the

target language in class. Our sheltered students did quite well in learning psychology, matching the immersion students' success in learning subject matter. Students in the sheltered psychology course also gained in second-language proficiency, doing as well as students in well-taught regular classes in English and French that provided large quantities of comprehensible input.

This result, along with other evidence supporting the comprehensible input hypothesis, suggests that it is the approach and not only the greater amount of exposure that is responsible for immersion students' gains in language. Reports in the research literature on other programmes confirm that language students can gain in second-language competence via comprehensible subject-matter teaching (see especially Stern et. al., 1976; Buch and de Bagheera, 1978).

Implications: the transition problem

The insights gained from immersion are being applied to many other language-teaching situations. In general, the idea that comprehensible subject-matter teaching is language teaching may provide at least part of the solution for what can be called the "transition problem", the fact that students may do quite well in elementary language classes but may not be able to utilize the second language in the "real world".

In my view, the goal of the language class is to bring the student to the point where he or she can use the language outside the second-language classroom in understanding and communicating with native speakers. If the student reaches this level of competence, he or she can continue to improve from the comprehensible input received "on the outside". The language class thus need not produce students who speak the second language at native levels, but need only produce "intermediates", students who can use the language for real communication with its speakers. Students need not acquire the entire language in the language class; when they finish the course, they will still make mistakes

acquisition will continue as they interact with and receive comprehensible input from native speakers.

Even this modest goal is rarely achieved. Students complete even the most elementary-level classes, which are filled with comprehensible input, but are not ready to use the language on the outside in any truly authentic situation. An adult non-language student, for example, who completes a year of the Total Approach Spanish at the University will be able to converse comfortably with a native speaker (and adjusts his speaking a bit to the level of the student) on a variety of everyday topics. This is great success when compared with the results of a typical second-language class. But the student will have limitations; he will not be able to use the telephone, read the classics with comfort, and will certainly not be in a position to teach at the University of Mexico. It is not clear that more language learning, even if it is enlightened, will help the situation. Similarly, the sheltered English-proficient child, even in an extensive and excellent ESL, is not necessarily ready to function well in a social studies class along with native speakers of English.

Immersion programmes, however, have produced genuine intermediate results. Despite their “flaws”, their reduction of errors in the second language, immersion students are eventually capable of using the second language on the outside. They can function comfortably in social situations (see Bruck, Lambert and Tucker, 1974) and can follow complex subject-matter instruction in French.

Sheltered

A sheltered class is a subject-matter class made comprehensible for the non-language student; native speakers of the language of instruction are excluded. A crucial characteristic of the sheltered class is that it is a subject-matter class — not “ESL” or selections from subject-matter classes introduced as part of a language class. The focus is on the subject matter. This is

done to ensure that the students’ attention is on the message, not the medium, a practice that will ensure, according to the theory, optimal language acquisition.

Sheltered classes emphasize comprehension, both aural and reading. Our goal is to produce students who can read and write well. The comprehensible-input hypothesis maintains, however, that the way to achieve this is not to force speaking and writing but to provide massive amounts of comprehensible input. The ability to produce will be a result of this input.⁴

Although input provided in the sheltered class is “simplified” and made comprehensible for the language acquirer, the beginning language student will not be able to participate, since his language level will not be high enough to enable him to follow instruction — a period of general language teaching (comprehensible input on familiar and concrete topics) needs to precede the sheltered class. In addition, the level of language required will vary with the subject. Social studies, for example, requires a higher level of language than math.

Examples of sheltered-language teaching

The University of Ottawa project,

described earlier in this article and by Wesche in this issue, is an example of the sheltered class serving as a bridge to the mainstream. Our hope is that students who successfully complete the sheltered course will be better able to cope with the same or related subject matter in the regular mainstream class. Sheltered classes might be made available in several areas in the North American university for international students who show that they need to improve their academic English.

We have been utilizing the sheltered-class idea in programmes for limited English-proficient children in the United States. The following plan was worked out originally in the ABC Unified School District in Los Angeles County classrooms as well as using the first language in such a way so to aid the acquisition of English. The table below represents our “idealized” programme, designed for an elementary school in which a substantial number of students enter with little or no English.

The beginning non-English speaking child is deliberately mixed with children who speak English as a native language for art, music and physical education. A good amount of comprehensible input will be provided here, thanks to the pictures in art and the movement (total

Programme for limited-English speaking students

Level	Mainstream	Sheltered	First language
beginning	art, music, physical education	english as a second language	all core subjects
intermediate	art, music, physical education	english as a second language, mathematics	social studies
advanced	art, music, physical education, mathematics	english as a second language, social studies	enrichment
mainstream	all subjects	—	enrichment

physical response) of physical education. The beginning programme also includes ESL, based on comprehensible input methodology. All "core" subjects are taught in the child's first language. The child's level of English is too low at this stage to understand subject-matter instruction in English. In addition, education in the first language has clear advantages: it causes the development of general academic-cognitive skills and provides specific subject-matter information. This general academic training helps enormously by providing background information that makes English input comprehensible; this explains why well-designed bilingual programmes teach English as well as and often better than, all-day English programmes (Cummins, 1981; Krashen, 1981).

The intermediate child, in this system, is defined as the child whose English is now good enough to begin immersion-style sheltered subject-matter classes. We begin with math, since, as mentioned earlier, math in general does not require as high a level of language as social studies. Subjects such as social studies remain in the first language. The "advanced" child is ready to begin partial mainstreaming. His language level may be high enough by now to do math with native speakers of English, but will probably not be high enough for social studies, which now can be done as a sheltered class. Finally, the child is fully mainstreamed for academic subjects.⁵ The time spent at each level will vary according to the amount of English available outside the school.

Such a programme attempts to combine the best of immersion and bilingual education, and illustrates how they can work together. In fact, immersion and bilingual education succeed for the same reason — they both provide comprehensible input. Immersion does this directly, via comprehensible subject matter teaching, and properly done bilingual education provides the background information that makes English input more comprehensible. A final example comes from d'Anglejan (1978), who proposes that

immigrants be placed in "carefully chosen occupational slots" where they can receive comprehensible input related to their profession. This experience would serve as a stepping-stone to survival in ordinary work situations.

The three steps

Three steps are involved in all of these examples. The first consists of *general language teaching*, designed to increase competence to the point where the student can participate in *sheltered language teaching*, at stage two. Stage three is the *mainstream*.

The stages may overlap; as we saw earlier, the limited English-proficient child receives sheltered social studies while doing mainstream math. In addition, the mainstreaming process does not occur all at once — the acquirer gradually increases his ability to participate in different mainstream contexts and situations.

What I have tried to show in this article is that immersion programmes have made two major contributions. They have been, of course, of direct benefit to many students in Canada and the United States. Perhaps even more important, they have shed light on the nature of the language-acquisition process and have pointed the way to important improvements in language education.

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1. Students in early total-immersion programmes (all in French with language arts introduced around grade 3) may show a temporary lag on tests of spelling, punctuation and vocabulary in English. They typically catch up by grade 4 and often surpass those educated entirely in English in later grades. (See e.g. Swain and Lapkin, 1982, chapter four; see also Lapkin and Swain, this issue).
2. Students in early total-immersion programmes match comparison subjects in math, science and social studies (see Swain and Lapkin, 1982, chapter five). Partial-immersion students (some subjects taught in French, some in English) usually show similar patterns but a few comparisons show a lag in some subject-matter learning. This may be due to their lower attainment in French. Late-immersion students starting at grade 6 generally do as well as comparison students in learning subject matter if their immersion experience is preceded by sufficient core French (Swain and Lapkin, p. 68; see also Lapkin and Swain, this issue).
3. This is not to say that the study of grammar is useless. While comprehensible input leads to

subconscious knowledge of a language, to "acquisition", grammar study and error correction lead to conscious knowledge, termed "learning". We utilize conscious learning in language performance as an editor, or monitoring, making limited corrections before (or after) actually produce an utterance. The monitor is quite limited, however. Only small changes are possible for most people and its use is difficult, requiring simultaneous attention paid to both form and meaning.

4. This does not mean that output practice should be avoided. Some practice in producing language may help the student gain confidence and, in the case of writing, may help the student develop an efficient writing process. Moreover, engaging in conversation and in two-way interaction helps guarantee comprehensible input and facilitates comprehension checking by the teacher (see Long, 1983).
5. We encourage, at the advanced level, continued study in the first language, e.g., literature and social studies taught in the first language, to take full of the benefits of full bilingualism, including job-related advantages, a healthy sense of biculturalism (lack of shame of the first culture) and the possibility of superior cognitive development (Cummins, 1981). This enrichment programme can simply take the place of elective foreign-language study.

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the traditional shuffle between centralization and regionalism in Canada is immersion a symptom of a growing ideological change among Canadians towards greater open-mindedness, does the new bilingualism give rise to new tensions?

wards the larger community

DOMINIQUE CLIFT



As a journalist and author, the fluently bilingual **Dominique Clift** regularly comments on matters pertaining to language. An astute observer of the sociopolitical and economic scene in Canada, he has written extensively for major English and French-language publications including *The Globe & Mail*, *The Toronto Star*, *La Presse* and *Le Soleil*.

After a little more than a decade, French immersion has already taken on the character of a major innovation in Canadian education. Its success as well as the political support it is now able to are the most visible signs of a dramatic shift in the perceptions of culture, language and society. It represents a move away from the old idea of uniformity to a broader acceptance of pluralism and diversity.

Immersion originated in Quebec in a period of crisis. It was a response to a noticeable trend to make French the principal language of work and communication in the province. Everyone concerned was well aware that the traditional approach to second-language instruction was hopelessly inadequate to meet a challenge of this magnitude. Moreover, the English community in Montreal was inefficient in language skills as a result of its aloofness and lack of contact with the French majority. The problem was to ensure the community's survival and continued vitality in unfavourable circumstances. Total immersion turned out to be the most immediate and practical solution for meeting the needs of young people. Early successes boosted the community's confidence in coming to terms with French nationalism.

The new approach to education found quick favour in the rest of Canada. However, very different motives operated among English-speaking people in the other provinces.

Intentions here were closely related to the country's newly attained level of socio-economic development with its broader horizons, more sophisticated career opportunities, and more diversified avenues of self-fulfillment.

Parental concern over the future of their children and their capacity to remain adaptable can sometimes be one of the most sensitive barometers of social transformations. The insistence with which Canadian parents have demanded French immersion suggests that they have acquired a new perception of the role and nature of language. Unilingualism, even in the case of English, is seen increasingly as a liability in a world that is not only competitive but multicultural as well. The ability to step out of one's self, as it were, by means of a second language, enhances the ability to assess one's self in a more realistic and effective way. Similarly, it becomes much easier to discover the unconscious and crippling assumptions that are often the product of cultural blinkers. This is an extremely valuable asset in a world where technology is relentlessly undermining old ways of thinking.

The current trend is to see language and culture in relative terms rather than as absolutes, as did educational authorities who once sought to enforce the territorial monopoly of English and who encouraged conformity in all cultural and political matters. But this type of exclusiveness could not withstand the impact of massive postwar immigration on eating habits, lifestyles, literary and artistic tastes, and ultimately on the way people related to language itself. Pluralism had to come, as it already had in the United States.

The present recourse to English as an international language of business, of science, and even of diplomacy, might have been expected to encourage a certain linguistic smugness in Canada and to perpetuate a spirit of parochialism. Indeed, Quebec voters are often reminded

of the relatively inferior position of their language on the international scene; this kind of approach is designed to wean them away from the defensive and isolationist policies of the Parti Québécois government on the question of language, but it has proved to be embarrassingly counterproductive. Nevertheless, English Canada seems to have become more open-minded on such an issue than at any time previously. Repeated contacts with countless foreigners able to express complex ideas in a language other than their own have helped modify Canadian attitudes about their own language and their traditional resistance to learning a second one. A growing number now see unilingualism as a severe limitation, and they are eager to find ways of overcoming it. French immersion provides one solution for their children anyway.

Another factor which helps explain the growing popularity of French immersion is the appeal it makes to the elitism which has long been characteristic of Canadian society. In other words, immersion has many of the attributes of private schools. But it is all at public expense since federal and provincial funding, offered in the interest of national unity, makes the whole system viable.

If acceptance of bilingualism reflects the profound transformations that are now under way in Canadian society, it is to be expected that it will produce contrary tensions which will inevitably overflow into politics. Such tensions will pinpoint the areas where anxiety and perhaps hostility are surfacing. Apprehension and resistance will indicate what it is that some are so eager to preserve, thus providing valuable clues about the nature of the changes that are now in progress.

The workplace is one area of conflict. Bilingual persons will naturally seek the broadest possible recognition for what they consider an indispensable asset. However, the unilingual majority will seek to minimize the importance of a second language so that job specifications and remunerations remain unchanged. Their view

is that bilingualism is a specialized skill with limited applications. Hence they do not believe that it should be rewarded with special premiums or with preferential advancement. In other words, they reject the idea that knowledge of the two official languages should be taken as an indication of superior qualifications and that it should offer better career opportunities.

The federal public service has long been the main theatre for this kind of debate which has significant ideological implications. As a general rule, the proponents of bilingualism insist on the representativeness of public institutions, particularly when sizeable minorities are present. Their idealism coincides with their self-interest. Presenting the state as a prime mover in social and economic progress maximizes their personal linguistic skills. On the other hand, the critics of official bilingualism will tend to see only a limited role for government, which is to offer a relatively narrow range of services and exercise a limited responsibility for the state of the economy. Thus bilingualism and representativeness are much more compelling for those committed to thoroughgoing reform than they are for conservatives. In fact, these two ideas have provided some of the justifications for the expansion of government bureaucracy.

Opinion tends to divide along similar lines in private enterprise, depending on how broadly or narrowly corporate responsibilities are defined. Tensions can be just as great, if not greater, than they are in the public service. This has been the experience of two English-language newspapers in Montreal, *The Gazette* and *The Star* (now defunct). Both have had to face alternating rebelliousness and demoralization in their newsrooms.

The source of the problem is that bilingual reporters who are assigned to cover social and political issues will develop a vision of Quebec and of Montreal which is at odds with the one held by unilingual editors and management. Reporters tend to demand greater corporate involvement with the two language commu-

nities in the province and the city. They will also be far more aggressive in developing stories and features, interpreting social change, than they are allowed to be. The management of both papers was usually committed to a summary and simplified presentation of political issues, one that would not detract from a policy of consumerism established on the basis of sustained market research. Readers should not be antagonized by persistent representations of conflict and tension.

Similar situations have developed in advertising, insurance, and many other industries that rely on a close scrutiny of public needs and attitudes. Bilinguals and unilinguals are frequently proposing divergent social interpretations and corporate policies. The ideological differences, resulting from particular skills and visions, heighten the competition for jobs and advancement between the two groups. They are indicative of long drawn-out struggle for power the purpose of which is to control the direction of social change to one's advantage.

The most serious and damaging source of tension is among those who resent the greater prominence given to the French language and who attribute it solely to the growing influence of Quebec on national policy. They often look at current trends in the light of a conspiracy designed to modify the English character of the country. They do not contemplate the possibility that the transformations they are noticing and complaining about may originate partly with the changing attitudes in English Canada itself. A more open attitude on language and culture has allowed a greater degree of French participation in the administration of the country.

A number of books have been sounding the alarm and compiling the evidence of a French plot. One of them is by a retired Canadian Air Force commander, J.V. Andrew, is entitled *Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow*. The cover carries the subtitle *Trudeau's Master Plan And How It Can Be Stopped*. Addressing

national audience, the author that Canada may be drifting towards civil war, and he asserts that in the interests of the United States to see that as much of Canada as possible remains an English-speaking country.¹ The ultimate risk is one of a complete takeover of American assets in Canada.

Similar book, beyond the pale of reasonable argument, is *French Power: The Francization of Canada* by Sam Hays, a history teacher living in Montreal. His thesis is that French is the language of bureaucracy and government, and that it is by denying the English character of the country. The cover makes this plain: a ham-fisted arm with a rubber stamp has punched a hole through a map of Canada, just behind Ottawa would be, and it is dripping a *fleur-de-lis* on every major French city. The illustration has it ready to strike Toronto with its thumb. "English Canadians are perpetrating injustices and hardships on the French by their government as a sort of atonement for their supposed sins of the past," Hays maintains.²

Most stubborn resistance to the cultural and linguistic pluralism comes from the Quebec government which in this matter has been acting with strong support. The official view is that second-language training compromises the quality of the French tongue, just as later bilingualism weakens attachment to the French culture. In the overwhelmingly English context of North America, the feeling is that only federal state intervention will ensure the preservation of the French language.

Historically, the French experience with bilingualism has not been in the area of education but in the workplace, which until rather recently had considered the authority of English-speaking managers and foremen. The system of immersion was linked to the industrialization of the province. French workers and clerical employees used the vocabulary to describe what they were performing and



Off to face the world

the equipment they were using, they resorted to the English words used by their employers. The whole process was accompanied by increasingly negative feelings about the French language, particularly its apparent inadequacy for business and industrial purposes. Such self-critical views, accompanied by feelings of inferiority, contributed in weakening collective resistance to the demographic trends favouring assimilation into the English-speaking majority.

The introduction of mass education in the early 1960s along with subsequent legislation in the 1970s imposing French as the main language of work have helped to calm anxieties about cultural survival. But the siege mentality still holds sway when it comes to language, with the result that French attitudes on this question are not synchronized with those slowly coming to the surface in English Canada. Having had a long and bitter experience with bilingualism, it may be another generation before Quebec becomes aware of the limitations of unilingualism and is willing to accept the risks of pluralism.

For the time being, Quebec is moving in a direction opposite to that of English Canada by attempting to minimize the diversity which had been allowed to subsist until now within its borders. Provincial authorities, supported by nationalist sentiment, are seeking to create a homogeneous society where minority groups are not encouraged to develop any cultural differences from the

French mainstream, except for inconsequential folkloric traits. This type of policy was also the norm in English Canada where concessions to minority groups were felt to detract from the task of nation-building as well as from national unity. However, English Canada has now reached a stage in its development where a growing number of people are rejecting the notion that unity should be perceived in terms of linguistic and cultural conformity. Slowly, the political climate is being transformed.

Yet, on this thorny question of language, Canadians exhibit a split political personality. For example, Quebec voters have traditionally elected provincial parties committed to the expansion of provincial autonomy while, at the same time, supporting federal parties which definitely favoured a greater degree of centralization. Recently, they have identified with the nationalist and isolationist policies of the Parti Québécois while endorsing the integrative ones of the federal Liberal party. It is as if they believed that intergovernmental relations were essentially adversarial and that politics is basically an unresolved conflict between the centre and the periphery.

In English Canada, these contradictory attitudes do not show themselves in such a stark manner, but they are present nevertheless. Regional sentiment and community loyalties are still very strong, and they frequently come into conflict with the requirements of national unity. Language is one topic where

this occurs. Thus most people will concur with bilingualism at the national level, and they will support the entrenchment of language rights in the constitution; they will concede the necessity of providing a certain range of French services provincially, but they are deeply divided on the entrenchment of official bilingualism. However, it is with local and municipal bodies that attitudes are most unyielding. The broad national community is seen as having a very different set of requirements from those of the immediate social environment. Some compromises and adjustments are seen as necessary nationally but not so provincially and locally. Here again, therefore, regional sentiment remains lively enough to reproduce the tensions between the centre and the periphery.

This, in fact, conforms to the historical pattern of Canadian development where geography, climate, and economics, worked in such a way as to produce insoluble tensions between political authority and the outlying areas under its control. Authority in Canada has often been exploitive, as were the Family Compact in Upper Canada and the Chateau Clique in Lower Canada during the 19th century. But this way of exercising power was possibly the only way, at that time, of mobilizing the resources necessary for development. Central government has always antagonized regional sentiment by diverting scarce resources for national purposes, leaving local communities with very limited means with which to meet their own requirements. These communities and outlying areas were made resentful because of their dependence and powerlessness, and they therefore took refuge in various forms of political revolt.

Western alienation and French nationalism in Quebec are two contemporary examples of the frustrations that result from the opposing demands of national unity and regional identity. However, it is not only in politics that such tensions have shown themselves. In Protestant areas, the rise of powerful religious institutions with their weighty ecclesiastical structures increased the costs of religion to the point where the poorer elements flocked to evangelical sects offering other worldly and less expensive forms of spiritual support. In another domain entirely, the consolidation of the Canadian banking system at the turn of the century drained the Maritime provinces of business initiative and financial resources for the benefit of national development; the result was that the local economy stagnated and a substantial part of the population was forced to emigrate to other parts of the country. The continued expansion of the bureaucracy nationally may lay the groundwork for future tensions between local communities and the centres of political authority as increasing resources are being diverted to support it.

Language has now become symptomatic of the troubled relations that persist between centralized authority and the periphery. It presents a somewhat paradoxical situation, just as if Canadians had accommodated themselves to distinct and unrelated levels of political reality, each with its own set of rights and principles. Thus language rights are divisible in the sense that they may exist nationally but remain inapplicable provincially or locally. So strong are the forces of dissociation, the centrifugal forces, in Canada that there is no consensus on the fun-

damental question of human rights. While these are theoretically supposed to transcend circumstances and expediency, in Canada they remain subject to political bargaining, provincial opting-out and local tampering. The result is that there is not such thing as a Canadian legal personality uniformly accepted from one end of the country to the other. This situation goes beyond language; it also concerns other rights such as those of native Indians and women. And it means that centralized authority — in the various guises of government, industrial conglomerates or banking institutions — has not yet been able to fuse the diverse components of Canadian society into a unified whole.

Although regionalism survives as protest against an oppressive centralization of power and resources, it offers rather limited social and economic horizons. Individuals who want to be part of a broader community have no alternative but to identify with the large institutions that dominate the life of the country, particularly the federal government with its cultural objectives. In a sense it is an ideological choice: achievement and power versus self-determination. It is the excitement of the large city versus the comfortable kinships of the small town.

French immersion, in this context, is a choice made on behalf of one's children in favour of the larger community. It is the beginning of a voyage into a country that is largely unknown.

NOTES

1. J.V. Andrew, *Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow*. Richmond Hill, Ontario: BMG Publishing Ltd., 1977, p. 5.
2. Sam Allison, *French Power: The Francization of Canada*. Richmond Hill, Ontario: BMG Publishing Ltd., 1978, p. 6.

Glossary

-French glossary of terms used by French-immersion specialists

alternative programme: programme/enseignement optionnel

lingual schooling: éducation/enseignement bilingue

curricular activities: activités parallèles programme

communicative language test: épreuve de compétence communicative

apprent learning: apprentissage des langues

conventional French instruction: enseignement traditionnel du français

French programme: cours de base de français; cours de base; programme cadre français

two-track school: école à deux régimes pédagogiques/d'enseignement

immersion: contact avec le milieu langagier; de langue seconde; l'ambiance langagière; exposition aux rayonnements de langue seconde; expérience du français
enriched French: cours de français enrichi (base)

native bilingualism: aisance dans les deux langues

French native speaker: locuteur français d'origine; Francophone d'origine

linguistic ability: compétence/habilité/capacité

linguistic bilingualism: bilinguisme traditionnel

linguistic fluency: maîtrise/compétence linguistique

home language: langue du foyer; langue maternelle

immersion approach: méthode immersive

immersion centre: centre d'immersion

immersion class: classe immersive; classe d'immersion; cours immersif

immersion, early: immersion longue (M-12)

immersion education: enseignement immersif

immersion, French: programme de cours

immersifs en français; immersion en français

immersion, full: immersion totale

immersion high school teacher: titulaire de classe immersive au secondaire

immersion, late: immersion courte (7-12)

immersion, middle: immersion de durée moyenne (5-12)

immersion, partial: immersion partielle

immersion pattern: régime/type d'enseignement immersif

immersion route: immersion

immersion student: élève des classes immersives

immersion teacher: titulaire d'un cours immersif

interactive language use: emploi interactif de la langue

L language arts, English: apprentissage/enseignement de l'anglais en tant que langue maternelle

language efficiency: compétence linguistique; compétence langagière; bon rendement langagier

language instructor: professeur de langue

learner: enseignant; apprenant

M materials, curricular: matériels pédagogiques; matériels didactiques; aides didactiques

materials, learning: matériels pédagogiques de l'élève

materials, teaching: matériels pédagogiques du maître

N native language: langue d'origine

native speaker: locuteur d'origine/originel

native-like speaker of French: compétence en français presque égale à celle des locuteurs d'origine

P patterns of discourse structure, basic: modèles de structures de base (fondamentales) du discours

patterns of grammar, basic: modèles grammaticaux de base

patterns of sound, basic: formes phonologiques de base; structures

phoniques de base

patterns of word-formation, basic: modèle de base de la formation de mots

performance, second language: performance dans la langue seconde

proficiency, French: compétence en français

proficiency, language: compétence linguistique/langagière

proficiency, minimal: compétence minimale

proficiency, native: compétence de locuteur d'origine; compétence originelle

proficiency, near-native: compétence quasi originelle

R regular English-based school programme: enseignement ordinaire en anglais

regular English-medium schools: écoles de langue anglaise; classes anglophones

S sheltered classes: classes protégées

sheltered workshop programme: programme de cours en atelier protégé

skills, first language: compétence/aptitudes/habilité en langue maternelle

skills, language: capacités/aptitudes langagières

skills, listening: aptitudes à écouter; capacités auditives

skills, literacy: capacités de lecture et d'écriture

skills, production: capacités productives/expressives; aptitudes à s'exprimer/à l'expression

skills, reception: capacités réceptives; aptitudes à comprendre

skills, verbal: aptitudes verbales

speaker, non-proficient: locuteur non compétent

speaker, second language: usager de la langue seconde

submersion: submersion

T test of the production skills: test des capacités productives; test des capacités expressives; test des capacités d'expression

V voluntary: libre

Second-language enrolment, by province

Number and percentage of the total school population^a studying French as a second language in each of the nine provinces where English is the majority language and English as a second language in Quebec, and percentage of time devoted to second-language instruction, 1970-71, 1981-82 and 1982-83.

ELEMENTARY LEVEL					SECONDARY LEVEL				
	Total enrolment	Second-language enrolment Number	%	Instruction time devoted to second language %		Total enrolment	Second-language enrolment Number	%	Instruction time devoted to second language %
NEWFOUNDLAND									
1970-71	101,877	21,835	21.4	5.0		58,853	37,895	64.4	10.0
1981-82	84,437	37,458	44.4	6.4		60,070	34,291	57.1	11.0
1982-83	82,407	37,518	45.5	6.7		59,245	34,457	58.2	11.0
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND									
1970-71	16,818	3,561	21.2	8.0		13,008	10,794	83.0	10.0
1981-82	11,471	6,905	60.2	6.3		12,719	7,358	57.9	10.0
1982-83	11,520	6,800	59.0	6.0		12,630	7,200	57.0	10.0
NOVA SCOTIA									
1970-71	121,894	12,642	10.4	7.0		85,615	59,955	70.0	13.0
1981-82	93,396	46,114	49.4	7.2		82,189	50,790	61.8	12.0
1982-83	91,476	44,588	48.7	7.2		82,159	50,591	61.6	12.0
NEW BRUNSWICK									
1970-71	61,923	37,305	60.2	8.0		53,310	42,708	80.1	12.0
1981-82	44,103	30,168	68.4	9.0		49,310	31,994	64.9	14.0
1982-83	42,242	31,328	74.2	9.6		47,280	30,579	64.7	14.0
QUEBEC									
1970-71	824,026	339,484	41.2	9.0		515,907	515,846	100.0	14.0
1981-82	557,960	235,631	42.2	10.0		393,228	385,363	98.0	16.0
1982-83	571,400	240,000	42.0	10.0		382,700	375,000	98.0	16.0
ONTARIO									
1970-71	1,356,705	514,173	37.9	7.0		549,827	269,079	48.9	13.0
1981-82	1,114,665	676,409	60.7	11.6		574,913	191,916	33.4	14.0
1982-83	1,081,000	670,000	62.0	12.0		558,000	184,000	33.0	14.0

ELEMENTARY LEVEL					SECONDARY LEVEL				
	Total enrolment	Second-language enrolment Number	%	Instruction time devoted to second language %		Total enrolment	Second-language enrolment Number	%	Instruction time devoted to second language %
MANITOBA									
71	134,465	39,739	29.6	5.0		102,076	55,640	54.5	10.0
72	101,023	44,989	44.5	6.7		87,415	33,621	38.5	11.3
73 ^c	100,700	45,300	45.0	7.0		84,600	33,000	39.0	11.5
SKATCHEWAN									
71	133,514	6,950	5.2	8.0		113,053	77,928	68.9	10.0
72	106,883	6,668	6.2	7.1		91,633	39,508	43.1	9.7
73 ^c	104,600	6,800	6.5	7.0		88,370	38,000	43.0	10.0
ALBERTA									
71	230,433	58,235	25.3	6.0		195,554	80,607	41.2	10.0
72	226,543	52,405	23.1	7.4		202,831	55,809	27.5	11.1
73 ^c	217,400	50,000	23.0	7.5		200,000	56,000	28.0	11.0
BRITISH COLUMBIA									
71	333,340	18,558	5.6	5.0		193,651	127,293	65.7	10.0
72	299,162	84,374	28.2	5.5		197,765	90,699	45.9	11.3
73 ^b	292,885	81,836	27.9	5.5		198,415	87,852	44.3	11.0
TOTAL									
71	3,314,995	1,052,482	31.8			1,880,854	1,277,745	67.9	
72	2,639,643	1,221,121	46.3			1,752,073	921,349	52.6	
73	2,595,630	1,214,170	46.8			1,713,399	896,679	52.3	

not include students for whom the regular language of instruction is English in Quebec and French in the other provinces.

inary figures provided by the Department of Education.

tics Canada estimate. (In the case of Alberta, applies to the elementary level figures only.)

Statistics Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education Section. (As published in Commissioner of Official Languages 1982 Annual Report.)

NIVEAU SECONDAIRE

NIVEAU ÉLÉMENTAIRE

Population en cours de langue seconde %	Population scolaire totale	Temps à l'appren- tissage (en %)
Population en cours de langue seconde %	Population scolaire totale	Temps à l'appren- tissage (en %)

134 465	39 739	29,6	5,0	102 076	55 640	54,5	10,0
101 023	44 989	44,5	6,7	87 415	33 621	38,5	11,3
100 700	45 300	45,0	7,0	84 600	33 000	39,0	11,5

SKATCHEWAN

133 514	6 950	5,2	8,0	113 053	77 928	68,9	10,0
106 883	6 668	6,2	7,1	91 633	39 508	43,1	9,7
104 600	6 800	6,5	7,0	88 370	38 000	43,0	10,0

ALBERTA

230 433	58 235	25,3	6,0	195 554	80 607	41,2	10,0
226 543	52 405	23,1	7,4	202 831	55 809	27,5	11,1
217 400	50 000	23,0	7,5	200 000	56 000	28,0	11,0

COLOMBIE-BRITANNIQUE

333 340	18 558	5,6	5,0	193 651	127 293	65,7	10,0
299 162	84 374	28,2	5,5	197 765	90 699	45,9	11,3
292 885	81 836	27,9	5,5	198 415	87 852	44,3	11,0

3 314 995	2 639 643	1 052 482	31,8	46,3	1 880 854	1 752 073	1 713 399	896 679	921 349	52,6	67,9	52,3
2 595 630	1 214 170	46,8										

ne comprend pas les élèves pour qui la langue d'enseignement est l'anglais au Québec ou le français dans les autres provinces.
onnées préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.
imation de Statistique Canada. (Ne s'applique qu'aux chiffres du niveau élémentaire, pour l'Alberta.)
Statistique Canada, Section de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire. (Tableau tiré du Rapport annuel 1982 du Commissaire aux langues officielles.)

Efforts
des programmes
de langue seconde
dans chacune
des provinces

Etudiants apprenant le français dans chacune des neuf provinces majoritairement anglophones ou l'anglais au Québec; rapport, en pourcentage, entre la population scolaire totale et celle qui fait cet apprentissage et temps qui y est consacré, en pourcentage, 1970-1971, 1981-1982 et 1982-1983.

NIVEAU ÉLÉMENTAIRE

TERMES-CLÉS																										
Temps consa- à l'appren- tissage (en %)	Population en cours de langue seconde	Population scolaire totale	Temps consa- à l'appren- tissage (en %)	Population en cours de langue seconde	Population scolaire totale	Temps consa- à l'appren- tissage (en %)	Population en cours de langue seconde	Population scolaire totale	Temps consa- à l'appren- tissage (en %)	Population en cours de langue seconde	Population scolaire totale															
1982-1983	82 407	37 518	45,5	6,7	59 245	34 457	58,2	11	1981-1982	84 437	37 458	44,4	6,4	60 070	34 291	57,1	11	1970-1971	101 877	21 835	21,4	5,0	58 853	37 895	64,4	10

ÎLE DU PRINCE-ÉDOUARD

1982-1983	11 520	6 800	59,0	6,0	12 630	7 200	57,0	10	1981-1982	11 471	6 905	60,2	6,3	12 719	7 358	57,9	10	1970-1971	16 818	3 561	21,2	8,0	13 008	10 794	83,0	10
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NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE

1982-1983	91 476	44 588	48,7	7,2	82 159	50 591	61,6	12	1981-1982	93 396	46 114	49,4	7,2	82 189	50 790	61,8	12	1970-1971	121 894	12 642	10,4	7,0	85 615	59 955	70,0	13
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NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK

1982-1983	42 242	31 328	74,2	9,6	47 280	30 579	64,7	14	1981-1982	44 103	30 168	68,4	9,0	49 310	31 994	64,9	14	1970-1971	61 923	37 305	60,2	8,0	53 310	42 708	80,1	12
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ONTARIO

1982-1983	571 400	240 000	42,0	10,0	382 700	375 000	98,0	16	1981-1982	557 960	235 631	42,2	10,0	393 228	385 363	98,0	16	1970-1971	824 026	339 484	41,2	9,0	515 907	515 846	100,0	14
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la personne. Ces droits qui, en principe, devraient se situer au-delà des circonstances et des convenan-ces, sont soumis aux marchandages politiques, au désaveu provincial et aux interventions locales. Par consé-quent, il n'existe pas de personnalité juridique reconnue pour tous les Canadiens. Cette situation ne se limite pas aux droits linguistiques, mais vise aussi ceux des Autochtones et des femmes. Autrement dit, l'autorité centrale — sous les traits de l'Etat, de conglomerats ou d'établisse-ments bancaires — n'a pas réussi à unifier les diverses composantes de la société canadienne.

Quoque le régionalisme demeure comme une protestation contre la centralisation tyrannique des pouvoirs et des ressources, ses possibilités sociales et économiques sont limitées. Les Canadiens qui souhaitent appartenir à une com-munauté élargie n'ont d'autre choix que de s'identifier aux institutions qui dominent la vie nationale, notam-ment le gouvernement fédéral et ses objectifs culturels. Ils optent en quelque sorte pour une idéologie : d'un côté la réussite et le pouvoir, de l'autre l'autodétermination.

L'immersion en français, dans ce contexte, c'est choisir pour ses enfants l'ouverture sur le monde. C'est le début d'un voyage au cœur d'un pays presque inconnu.

NOTES

1. L.V. Andrew, *Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow*, BMG Publishing Ltd., Richmond Hill (Ontario), 1977, p. 5 (traduction de D. Clift).
2. Sam Allison, *French Power: The Francization of Canada*, BMG Publishing Ltd., Richmond Hill (Ontario), 1978, p. 6 (traduction de D. Clift).

québécois sont deux manifestations qu'entraînent les exigences con-tradictaires de l'unité nationale et du régionalisme. Mais ces tensions ne sont pas propres au domaine politique. Dans les régions protestantes, l'essor de puissantes institutions religieuses dotées d'un appareil ecclé-siastique imposant a haussé le coût de la religion à un point tel que les plus démunis se sont tournés vers des sectes évangéliques offrant un soutien plus spirituel et moins onéreux. Dans un tout autre domaine, la consolidation du système bancaire en début de siècle a saigné les provinces maritimes au profit du développement national, l'économie locale est donc arrivée à une stagna-tion forçant un fort pourcentage de la population à se diriger vers des régions plus prospères. L'expansion soutenue de la bureaucratie fédérale, à laquelle sont affectées des res-sources considérables, pourrait pré-parer le terrain à de nouveaux affrontements entre le pouvoir central et les autorités locales.

La question linguistique est maintenant caractéristique des rela-tions tendues qui persistent entre le centre et la périphérie. Situation quelque peu paradoxale, comme si les Canadiens s'étaient habitués à des paliers distincts et indépendants de la réalité politique ayant chacun leurs droits et principes. Les droits linguis-tiques sont divisibles en ce sens qu'ils peuvent être valables à l'échelle nationale, mais sont inapplicables dans le cas des provinces ou muni-cipalités. Au Canada, les forces de dissocation, c'est-à-dire les forces centrifuges, sont si puissantes qu'on ne parvient pas à s'entendre sur la question fondamentale des droits de

vinces de l'unité nationale. Le aine linguistique est un exemple. i, la majorité se rallie au bilin-ne national à cet égard. Elle ation des droits à la constitution- nat, sur la scène provinciale, la ssité de fournir un certain nom-le services en français, mais reste partagée à l'endroit du bilin-me officiel. Ce sont les autorités es et municipales qui demeurent vibles. On considère que la munauté nationale, dans son mbie, a des exigences très dif-tes de celles du milieu social édiat. Certains compromis et ines adaptations peuvent poser à l'échelon national, mais provincial et local. Une fois de , le régionalisme avive les ten-s entre le centre et la périphérie. à qui est conforme au modèle de développement du Canada où la graphie, le climat et les ressources engendré des conflits insolubles le gouvernement central et les ons. Le pouvoir au Canada a vent été autoritaire et exploiteur, me l'ont été au XIX^e siècle le Pacte amille dans la Haut-Canada et la que du château » dans le -Canada. A l'époque, cet exercice pouvoir était peut-être le seul en de mobiliser les ressources ssaïres au développement. Le vernement central a toujours illé l'hostilité des régions en tournant les ressources peu abon-tes à des fins nationales, laissant populations locales des moyens restreints de subvenir à leurs oins. C'est ainsi que les régions phériques, irritées de leur état de endance et d'impissance, ont eu ours à la dissidence.

énation politique des provinces Ouest ainsi que le nationalisme

commandant de l'aviation canadienne, J.B. Andrew, s'intitule *Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow*. Sur la couverture on y lit le sous-titre : *Trudeau's Master Plan And How It Can Be Stopped*. Visant un auditoire international, l'auteur soulève l'éventualité d'une guerre civile au Canada. Il affirme : « Il est dans l'intérêt des États-Unis de s'assurer que la plus grande partie possible du Canada demeure d'expression anglaise. Il s'agit de prévenir la mainmise canadienne-française sur les intérêts américains au Canada. »

Un livre semblable, qui se situe hors des limites de l'argumentation raisonnable, est celui d'un professeur d'histoire dans un collège de Montréal, Sam Allison : *French Power: The Francization of Canada*. Selon lui, le français est la langue de la bureau-crate et d'un appareil étatique imposant, et mine le caractère anglophone du Canada. La couverture est des plus éloquentes : une « main de fer » armée d'un tampon perce une carte du Canada, là où se trouverait Ottawa, et sème des fleurs de lis dans toutes les grandes villes ; elle s'apprête à étendre « le mal » à Toronto. « Les Canadiens anglais, affirme l'auteur, acceptent les injustices et les épreuves d'un gouvernement majoritairement francophone pour expier leurs soi-disant péchés du passé. »

L'expérience francophone

du bilinguisme

L'expérience francophone du bilinguisme ne se situe pas dans le secteur scolaire, mais professionnel

langue française.

La résistance la plus acharnée au pluralisme culturel et linguistique vient du gouvernement du Québec qui, à cet égard, jouit de l'appui indéfectible de l'opinion publique. Selon les autorités, l'apprentissage précoc de la langue seconde met en péril la qualité de la langue maternelle, tout comme le bilinguisme viendra affaiblir l'attachement à la culture traditionnelle. À cause de la prédominance de l'anglais en Amérique du Nord, elles pensent que seule l'intervention énergique de l'État peut assurer la survie de la

où, jusqu'à récemment, les postes de surveillants et de gestionnaires étaient confiés à des Anglophones. Ce type d'immersion en anglais était lié à l'industrialisation du Québec. Comme les ouvriers et le personnel de bureau ne possédaient pas le vocabulaire nécessaire pour décrire les tâches qu'on leur assignait et l'équipement qu'ils utilisaient, ils ont emprunté les expressions anglaises de leurs employeurs. Les Francophones, de plus en plus, rejettent leur langue maternelle, impropre aux fins commerciales et industrielles. Cette condamnation, qui s'accompagne d'un sentiment d'infériorité, contribue à miner la résistance collective aux tendances démographiques favorisant l'assimilation.

La réforme scolaire introduite au début des années 60, à laquelle est venue s'ajouter la législation des années 70 faisant du français la langue du travail, a apaisé les inquiétudes au sujet de la survie culturelle. Mais la question n'est pas toujours résolue quant à la langue, et la mentalité au Québec est en retard par rapport à l'évolution du Canada anglais. Ayant une longue et amère expérience du bilinguisme, il faudra peut-être attendre la prochaine génération avant que le Québec ne prenne conscience du caractère limitatif de l'unilinguisme et accepte les risques du pluralisme.

Pour le moment, le Québec, en tentant de minimiser la diversité qui subsiste encore à l'intérieur de ses frontières, emprunte une direction opposée à celle du Canada anglais.

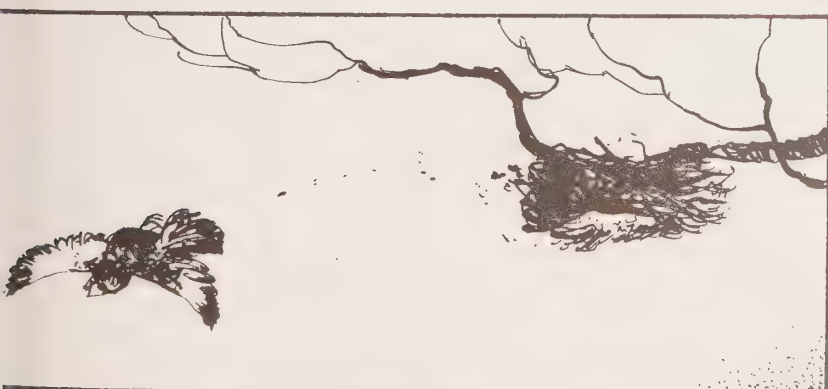
Le dossier linguistique

au Canada anglais

le centre et la périphérie.

On retrouve ces tiraillements, bien que moins flagrants, au Canada anglais. Le sentiment d'appartenance à une région et à une collectivité est très fort, ce qui est contraire aux

Les Canadiens ont cependant une double personnalité politique lors qu'il s'agit du dossier linguistique. Par exemple, les électeurs québécois ont, de tradition, porté au pouvoir des partis prônant une autonomie accrue de la province, tout en appuyant des partis fédéraux qui favorisent la centralisation. Depuis quelques années, ils s'identifient à mesures nationalistes et isolationnistes du Parti québécois tout en approuvant les efforts d'intégration du Parti libéral fédéral. Ils font comme si les relations intergouvernementales étaient fondamentalement contradictoires et que la politique résume à un conflit permanent entre le centre et la périphérie.



Petit à petit...

politiques et sociaux acquièrent une vision de Montréal et du Québec qui est aux antipodes de celle des rédacteurs en chef et des gestionnaires unilingues. Généralement, les journalistes sont d'avis que les quotidiens devraient intervenir davantage dans la vie des deux communautés linguistiques, et leur permettre d'être plus agressifs dans leurs analyses, enquêtes et articles de fond. La direction, par contre, préférerait s'en tenir à une présentation sommaire et simplifiée des questions politiques, conformément aux recommandations des études de marché qui privilégient la consommation. On ne veut pas rebuter les lecteurs en insistant continuellement sur les conflits et les tensions.

On trouve des situations semblables dans les secteurs de la publicité et des assurances et nombre d'autres industries s'intéressant aux besoins et aux attitudes du public. Bilingues et unilingues proposent souvent des interprétations sociales et des mesures commerciales divergentes. Les différences idéologiques, issues de qualifications et de visions particulières, aiguisent la compétition entre les deux groupes pour les postes et promotions. Elles sont l'indice d'une lutte pour le pouvoir qui traîne en longueur, et dont l'enjeu est de mettre le changement social au service de son intérêt.

Les principales tensions sont provoquées par ceux qui s'opposent à la prééminence accrue accordée au français et qui en attribuent la cause à l'influence croissante du Québec sur la politique nationale. Ils perçoivent souvent les tendances actuelles comme un complot pour modifier le caractère anglophone du pays. Cela ne les effleure pas que les changements dont ils se plaignent pourraient être dus en partie à la transformation des mentalités du Canada anglais lui-même. Une plus grande ouverture d'esprit sur les questions linguistiques et culturelles a intensifié la participation des Francophones à la gestion du pays. Nombre d'ouvrages s'appliquent à sonner le tocsin et à ramasser les preuves du complot français. L'un d'eux, rédigé par un ancien

reconnaitre un atout qu'ils considèrent indispensable. Toutefois, la majorité unilingue cherchera à minimiser la valeur de la langue seconde afin que les exigences professionnelles et les salaires demeurent les mêmes. Estimant que le bilinguisme est une spécialisation aux applications restreintes, elle s'oppose à ce qu'elle soit récompensée par des primes ou un avancement préférentiel. Elle rejette l'idée que la connaissance des deux langues officielles soit synonyme de compétence et offre des perspectives professionnelles plus prometteuses.

Depuis longtemps, la fonction publique fédérale est la scène de ce genre de débats aux portées idéologiques non négligeables. Règle générale, les défenseurs du bilinguisme insistent sur le caractère représentatif des institutions publiques, surtout en la présence d'importants groupes minoritaires. Leur idéalisme correspond à leur intérêt personnel. En présentant l'État comme le premier agent de progrès social et économique, ils donnent une valeur accrue à leur compétence linguistique. Par contre, les adversaires du bilinguisme officiel tendent à n'accorder qu'un rôle secondaire à l'État, celui d'offrir un éventail restreint de services et d'exercer une autorité limitée sur la vie économique. Ainsi, la représentativité et le bilinguisme ont beaucoup plus d'attrait pour ceux qui sont convaincus que des réformes fondamentales s'imposent que pour les conservateurs. Ce sont d'ailleurs ces deux idées qui ont servi à justifier l'accroissement de la bureaucratie étatique.

La situation est à peu près la même dans l'entreprise, selon la conception que l'on se fait de ses responsabilités. Les tensions peuvent y être aussi fortes, sinon davantage, que dans la fonction publique. C'est ce qu'ont vécu deux quotidiens anglophones de Montréal, *The Gazette* et *Montreal Star*, ce dernier maintenant disparu. Tous deux ont traversé des périodes où, dans la salle des nouvelles, insubordination et découragement alternaient. Pourquoi? Parce que les journalistes bilingues auxquels sont confiés les dossiers

aurait pu s'attendre à ce que l'ommercial, scientifique et diplomatique encourage chez canadiens une certaine suffisance envers le chauvinisme. De fait, appelle souvent aux électeurs écossais le caractère relativement neutre de leur langue sur la scène nationale : on espère ainsi les intéresser de la politique définitive. Néanmoins, le Canada semble afficher à ce sujet une structure d'esprit sans précédent.

exemple d'innombrables étrangers mant les idées les plus communes en une langue qui n'est pas la contribution à modifier le comportement linguistique des phonies. De plus en plus on déplore l'unilinguisme comme un handicap et on s'empresse de remonter. L'immersion en français permet au moins aux enfants d'y copier.

veur croissante dont jouit éigneusement immersif s'explique par le fait qu'il flatte le é la société canadienne. Autre-dit, le régime immersif prend l'allure de l'école privée ; mais unaniment demeure public, car rds fédéraux et provinciaux, es dans l'intérêt de l'unité nale, assurent la viabilité du

tiéret pour le bilinguisme reflète nous qui secouent la société dienne, on peut s'attendre à ce la produise des tensions qui ne querront pas de s'étendre au aine politique. Ces tensions révè- les secteurs où se font jour itude, voire même l'hostilité. t ce que certains tiennent tant server, fournissant ainsi de eux indices sur la nature des gements en cours.

gues et unilingues

uation de conflit

theront naturellement à faire es de conflit. Les bilingues ilieu de travail constitue une des

Quand on songe à la perpétuelle alternance du centralisme et du régionalisme au Canada, on est en droit de se demander si l'enseignement immersif dénote un revirement idéologique positif ou s'il ne risque pas d'être un ferment de discorde.

L'immersion et le pluralisme culturel

DOMINIQUE CLIFT

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près seulement une dizaine d'années d'existence, l'enseignement immersif en français est manifestement devenu une innovation pédagogique d'importance au Canada. Son succès et le soutien politique dont il jouit dénotent un revirement spectaculaire de l'attitude des Canadiens anglais envers la culture, la langue, et la société. On semble rejeter l'ancienne notion d'uniformité pour se tourner vers le pluralisme et la diversité.

L'apparition de ce régime pédagogique au Québec a coïncidé avec une période de changement, où le gouvernement manifestait son intention de faire du français la langue du travail et des communications de la province. Tous les intéressés se rendaient bien compte que la méthode traditionnelle d'enseignement des langues secondes était nettement insuffisante pour relever un défi de cette envergure. D'ailleurs, la population anglophone de Montréal, qui s'était montrée très distante et avait évité les contacts avec la majorité francophone, ne pouvait guère vanter ses compétences linguistiques. Il s'agissait donc d'assurer la survie et la prospérité de la communauté anglaise dans des circonstances défavorables.

L'immersion totale s'est révélée le moyen le plus direct et le plus pratique de satisfaire aux besoins des jeunes. D'ailleurs, les premiers succès redonnèrent confiance à la communauté anglaise : elle savait faire face à la montée du nationalisme.

Les effets de l'immigration

Aujourd'hui, on a tendance à considérer la langue et la culture comme des éléments relatifs plutôt qu'absolus, comme le faisaient autrefois les autorités scolaires qui cherchaient à renforcer le privilège territorial exclusif de l'anglais et encourageaient l'uniformité politico-culturelle. Mais ce genre d'exclusivisme n'a pu résister aux effets de l'immigration massive d'après-guerre sur les habitudes alimentaires, les modes de vie, les goûts littéraires et artistiques et, en définitive, sur la perception de la langue. Le pluralisme s'imposait comme il l'avait fait aux États-Unis.

La préoccupation des parents pour l'avenir et la faculté d'adaptation de leurs enfants peut constituer un baromètre très sensible des transformations sociales. L'empiètement des Canadiens anglais à inscrire leurs enfants en classe immersive témoigne d'une nouvelle perception du rôle et de la nature de la langue. De plus, plus l'unilinguisme, même pour un Anglophone, est vu comme un handicap dans un monde où la concurrence est pénétrante, en ce sens qu'il nous est plus facile de permettre une « auto-évaluation » plus réaliste et plus débusquer nos préjugés inconscients et inhibitifs, fruit d'« œillères ». C'est un précieux atout dans un monde où la technologie révolutionne notre façon de penser.

Les effets de l'immigration

difficile à employer, parce qu'il oblige à faire attention simultanément à la forme et au sens

4. Cela ne signifie pas qu'il faut renier l'apport à l'apprentissage. Une certaine capacité productive peut aider l'élève à acquérir plus d'assurance et, dans le cas de l'écriture, à écrire progressivement mieux. En outre, le dialogue et une participation active en classe permettent d'assurer un contenu compréhensible, tout en facilitant le contrôle de la compréhension par le professeur (voir Long, 1983).

5. Au niveau avancé, nous favorisons la poursuite des études en langue première, notamment de la littérature et des sciences sociales, car le bilinguisme intégré confère des atouts professionnels indéniables, permet de mieux vivre une réalité pluri-culturelle (les enfants n'ont pas honte de leur culture originelle) et favorise le développement cognitif (Cummins, 1981). Ce programme enrichi peut simplement «supplémenter» l'étude d'une langue étrangère facultative.

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est la deuxième étape. La troisième étape est celle du *tronc commun*. Il peut y avoir chevauchement, rappelle l'élève se prépare progressivement au régime qui l'attend.

Dans les pages qui précèdent, j'ai cherché à illustrer les deux grands apports de l'immersion. Ils ont bien sûr profité directement à de nombreux étudiants canadiens et américains. Mais, chose peut-être plus importante encore, ils ont éclairé la nature des mécanismes d'acquisition d'une langue et fait ressortir les orientations pour améliorer la didactique des langues.

NOTES ET BIBLIOGRAPHIE

1. Les élèves des programmes d'immersion totale (totalité des cours en français, les arts langagiers étant introduits vers la 3^e année) peuvent accuser un certain retard temporaire dans les épreuves d'orthographe, de ponctuation et de vocabulaire en anglais. Généralement, ils rattrapent leurs camarades scolaires enherment en anglais dès la 4^e année et les dépassent souvent plus tard. (Voir par ex. Swain et Lapkin, 1982, chapitre quatre et leur article dans ce numéro).
2. Les élèves de l'immersion totale longue sont aussi bons en math, sciences et sciences sociales (voir Swain et Lapkin, 1982, chapitre cinq). Ceux qui ne sont qu'en immersion partielle (certaines disciplines étant enseignées en français, d'autres en anglais) obtiennent des résultats comparables à l'exception de quelques matières, peut-être en raison de résultats inférieurs en français. Les élèves en immersion courte, qui débutent généralement en 6^e année, obtiennent les mêmes résultats que ceux des groupes de contrôle lors des épreuves portant sur les matières si, avant l'immersion, ils ont eu suffisamment de cours de français de base (Swain et Lapkin, p. 68).
3. Nous ne prétendons pas que l'étude de la grammaire est inutile. Alors que le contenu grammatical infuse imperceptiblement la conversation, on parle alors d'acquisition — l'étude de la grammaire et la correction des erreurs permet aux élèves de faire un « apprentissage » conscient de la langue. Nous utilisons l'apprentissage conscient comme outil de révision, de contrôle, en faisant un nombre limité de corrections avant (ou après) l'expression. Néanmoins, le contrôle est minime. La plupart des élèves ne peuvent faire que de petits changements et ce système de contrôle est

Le système, on dit qu'un enfant niveau intermédiaire quand son est devenu suffisant pour intégrer les classes immersives étant donné, nous l'avons dit, les sciences sociales restent dans la maternelle. L'enfant de « supérieur » est prêt pour l'étude de la voie commune. Il est assez bien la langue pour les maths avec des Anglophones unes, mais pas assez encore pour les sciences sociales, qu'il pourra intégrer en milieu protégé. Finalement, il est intégré au tronc commun toutes les matières⁵. Le temps à chaque niveau varie selon l'anglais domine ou non en de l'école.

programme, qui tend à combiner images de l'immersion et de gnement bilingue, montre qu'on peut concilier les deux les. D'ailleurs, celles-ci donnent bons résultats pour la même : l'intelligibilité du contenu inhensible. L'immersion le fait ément, par le biais de matières es, tandis que l'enseignement er bien dispense donne les d'une compréhension du nu anglais.

Le dernier exemple est tiré de l'ajon (1978), qui propose que l'élève des immigrants dans « des aux professionnels soigneusement choisis » où ils puissent recevoir l'immersion compréhensible dans la ligne qui les intéresse. Cette ence préparerait à tenir le coup es conditions de travail.

ois étapes

es exemples font intervenir andes étapes. Dans un pre-temps, l'enseignement général de la améliore les connaissances de que l'élève puisse recevoir rnement protégé de la langue, qui

adaptations nécessaires. Quelle réussite par rapport aux résultats des cours ordinaires de langue ? Mais nos étudiants ont leurs limites : ils auront du mal à converser au téléphone, à lire les classiques et seront à coup sûr incapables d'étudier à l'Université de Mexico. Il n'est pas sûr que dévelop-per l'enseignement, même de façon judiciaire, change la situation.

Parallèlement, l'enfant à compétence limitée en anglais, même après plusieurs années d'excellents cours d'anglais langue seconde (ALS), n'est pas forcément prêt à suivre normale-ment un cours de sciences sociales avec des Anglophones.

Pourtant, les cours immersifs ont produit des élèves de niveau « inter-médiaire ». Ceux-ci, malgré leurs lacunes, leurs erreurs, peuvent utili-ser la langue seconde à l'extérieur, se sentir à l'aise en français dans la société (voir Bruck, Lambert et Tucker, 1974) et suivre des cours dans une matière complexe en cette langue.

La classe « protégée » : ses caractéristiques

Il s'agit d'une classe réservée aux élèves en apprentissage de la langue seconde, où l'enseignement des matières est adapté en conséquence. Caractéristique essentielle, les matières enseignées sont authenti-ques : ce n'est pas une classe de maths ou d'éléments d'une matière

présentés dans le cadre d'un cours de langue. Tout est axé sur la matière, c'est sur elle que porte l'examen. On procède de cette façon pour mettre l'accent sur le message, et non sur le support, ce qui garantit — théorique-ment — une acquisition linguistique optimale.

S'attachant à la compréhension orale et écrite, ces classes cherchent à former des sujets à bien lire et à bien écrire. La théorie déjà évoquée soutient pourtant que le moyen de réussir n'est pas d'obliger à parler et à écrire, mais de fournir un contenu compréhensible en quantités mas-sives. L'aptitude à s'exprimer (capacité productive) en dépendra. Le débutant doit passer par une période d'enseignement général de la

Cours pour élèves connaissant peu l'anglais

langue (à contenu compréhensible sur des sujets familiers et concrets) avant de suivre des cours protégés — où pourtant le contenu est « sim-plifié ». Par ailleurs, le niveau de langue exigé sera fonction des dis-ciplines. Il doit être plus élevé, par exemple, pour les sciences sociales que pour les mathématiques.

Exemples d'enseignement en classes protégées

Le projet pilote de l'Université d'Ottawa susmentionné offre un exemple de classe protégée servant de transition. Nous espérons que les étudiants qui auront réussi le cours protégé seront plus à l'aise dans la même matière, ou dans une matière connexe, enseignée dans le tronc commun. On pourrait créer des classes protégées pour diverses dis-ciplines de l'université nord-américaine pour les étudiants étran-gers qui ont besoin d'améliorer leur anglais didactique.

Nous avons appliqué cette formule aux États-Unis pour des cours destinés à des élèves sachant peu l'anglais. Le tableau ci-dessous a été élaboré au départ dans le district scolaire unifié ABC du comté de Los Angeles, où l'on utilisait simul-tanément la langue première pour toutes les matières

Niveau	Cours généraux	Cours protégés	Première langue
débutant	arts, musique, éducation physique	anglais langue seconde	tous les sujets base
intermédiaire	arts, musique, éducation physique	anglais langue seconde, maths	sciences sociales
supérieur	arts, musique, éducation physique	anglais langue seconde, sciences sociales	enrichissement
tronc commun	toutes les matières	—	enrichissement

d'autres programmes confirment que les étudiants en langue peuvent développer leur compétence dans la langue seconde en suivant des cours complémentaires en d'autres disciplines (voir en particulier Stern et coll., 1976 ; Buch et de Bagheera, 1978).

Le problème de la transition

L'acquis de l'immersion peut manifestement enrichir bien d'autres méthodes. Si, en règle générale, l'enseignement d'une matière comprend d'acquiescer cette langue, ce que l'on appelle le « problème de transition » pourrait sans doute être résolu, du moins en partie. En effet, il se peut que l'élève ait de bons résultats à l'élémentaire, mais qu'il ne sache pas utiliser la langue seconde dans la réalité quotidienne.

À mon avis, l'objet du cours de langue seconde est de rendre les élèves aptes à utiliser cette langue en dehors de la classe pour comprendre les locuteurs d'origine et communiquer avec eux. Une fois ce niveau atteint, ils peuvent continuer à s'améliorer à l'aide des contenus complémentaires de source extérieure. Il ne s'agit donc pas de leur faire parler la langue seconde comme des locuteurs d'origine, mais d'assurer un niveau « intermédiaire » permettant une communication authentique. Les élèves n'ont pas besoin d'apprendre la langue à fond en classe ; une fois le cours fini, ils feront encore des fautes, mais se perfectionneront au contact des locuteurs d'origine, sources des contenus compréhensibles.

Malheureusement, ce but est rarement atteint. Les élèves terminent, parfois brillamment, leur élémentaire, après avoir suivi des cours à forts contenus compréhensibles, mais ils ne sont pas prêts à utiliser la langue à l'extérieur. Par exemple, après une année d'espagnol suivant la méthode dite naturelle à l'université, un étudiant saura parler sans difficulté avec un hispanophone de divers sujets courants, si ce dernier consent les

d'une matière est bel et bien un enseignement de la langue. Les élèves ne font pas qu'apprendre les règles au cours de langue, pour ensuite consolider ce savoir à l'occasion de l'étude d'autres disciplines. C'est l'enseignement de ces matières qui devient cours de langue s'il est adapté, il peut même donner de meilleurs résultats. En effet, dans les cours usuels de langue axés sur le contenu compréhensible, les enseignants se demandent toujours de quoi parler. En immersion, le sujet est tout trouvé, c'est la matière. Et comme on vérifie les connaissances des élèves sur celle-ci, et non sur la langue, l'accent est assurément toujours mis sur le message plutôt que sur la forme.

Ainsi, d'après la didactique des langues étrangères, l'immersion « réussit » pour les mêmes raisons que d'autres méthodes fructueuses. Ce n'est pas une question de durée de l'enseignement, mais bien de contenu compréhensible. Une expérience récente à l'Université d'Ottawa le confirme (voir l'article de Wesche dans ce numéro). Au lieu d'offrir des cours de français et d'anglais langues secondes au niveau intermédiaire, on a proposé aux étudiants de niveau universitaire de suivre le deuxième semestre de leur année en psychologie dans une classe « protégée », où on dispensait la matière dans la langue seconde. Leçons et lectures se faisaient dans la langue seconde et les locuteurs d'origine étaient exclus. Les chercheurs ont fait passer des tests en début et en fin de cours, mais seulement pour l'évaluation de l'expérience, qui a comporté moins de 40 heures de contact avec la langue cible. Les notes ne portaient que sur les matières. Les étudiants de ce milieu « protégé » ont obtenu d'excellents résultats en psychologie, tout comme ceux des cours immersifs dans les diverses matières. Ils ont amélioré leur compétence en langue seconde, tout comme les étudiants des bons cours de français ou d'anglais, langues secondes. Ces résultats, et d'autres éléments qui appuient notre thèse, tendent à démontrer que la méthode joue, et non seulement la durée de l'exposition ». Les travaux de recherche sur

raisons des résultats des s, sont celles qui offrent le plus contenu compréhensible, en mes- accessibles. Elles varient entre en surtace, mais uniquement, à lire, par la façon dont est présentée, par exemple, consiste exclusivement en ordres que donne le (assieds-tu ! va à la fenêtre !...), ve comprend parce que l'enseignant minimise l'action (méthode de ré- e physique totale d'Asher). Dans méthode naturelle de Terrell, on e divers moyens, images, entre- sur des thèmes familiers et activ- « réponse physique totale ».

cours immersifs donnent des tats intéressants, c'est que, tout ne d'autres méthodes valables, trent un contenu compréhensible, important, et cela de diverses s. Aucun locuteur d'origine nt admis, tous les élèves de la e sont logés à la même enseigne, il permet au professeur d'utiliser niveau de langue qui leur soit sible. Les textes et le matériel ogique sont complets, modifiés adaptés au niveau des usagers originels de la langue. Souvent on permet aux élèves de ndre dans leur langue maternelle. Dans le cas de l'immersion e longue, les élèves peuvent ndre en anglais jusque vers le u de la 1^{re} année. Pendant un an mi, on ne les oblige pas à terminer dans la langue seconde, n attend qu'ils aient un acquis sant en français. Comme l'ont observer plusieurs auteurs, cette que augmentent la communication et donne à l'enfant de meilleures es de recevoir un contenu compréhensible (voir Swain et Lapkin, Lambert et Tucker, 1972).

écons de
expérience immersive
mersion nous a appris que
éignement compréhensible

Selon l'auteur, qui est incontestablement la plus haute autorité en la matière aux États-Unis, l'immersion apporte aux problèmes que connaît la didactique des langues de fort utiles solutions.

Le pourquoi de sa réussite

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éthode d'enseignement des langues étudiée plus que toute autre, sujet d'innombrables articles, l'immersion est plus qu'une réussite parmi d'autres. Elle pourrait bien être, d'après les spécialistes, la méthode qui donne aujourd'hui les meilleurs résultats. Je vais donc exposer les raisons de son efficacité et m'arrêter aux conclusions à en tirer. L'immersion, à mes yeux, a permis de mieux démontrer les mécanismes d'acquisition d'une langue étrangère, et de résoudre ainsi divers problèmes épineux.

Les chercheurs qui ont analysé les cours immersifs, sous toutes leurs formes et en de nombreux endroits, en arrivent tous à trois conclusions :

1. Les élèves des classes d'immersion ont acquis les mêmes compétences en anglais que ceux des cours dispensés uniquement en anglais¹.
2. Ils ont d'aussi bons résultats dans les différentes matières que ceux des cours dispensés uniquement en anglais².
3. Ils acquièrent une très bonne maîtrise de la langue

secondaire et l'emportent d'emblée sur les élèves inscrits aux cours traditionnels de français (français de base). Après plusieurs années de ce régime, ils développent à certains égards, une compétence quasi originelle. S'ils ne parviennent pas tous pendant leur apprentis-

La raison de cette réussite

sage à égaler les Francophones d'origine — ils ont accent et commettent quelques fautes de grammaire, ils se débrouillent fort bien en français. Il est même « indubitable que si on leur en donne l'occasion dans la vie, ces enfants (des classes d'immersion) . . . pour des jeunes dont le français est la langue maternelle ils profitent en même temps pleinement de l'instruction qui leur est dispensée, quelle qu'en soit la langue (Lambert et Gardner, 1972, p. 152). Voir aussi Hart dans ce numéro.

La thèse actuelle sur l'acquisition d'une langue étrangère explique très bien cette réussite. On apprend une langue d'une seule façon : si on comprend les messages émis par cette langue, si on reçoit un contenu (input) d'enseignement compréhensible (Krashen, 1982). La mémorisation du vocabulaire, l'étude de la grammaire et les exercices sont pas d'une grande utilité pour un adulte, et encore moins pour un enfant. Le secret, c'est le contenu compréhensible.

Tout est là. L'expression orale — acte de création — ne contribue pas directement à l'acquisition, mais en est le résultat. L'aptitude à parler une langue seconde « apparaît » spontanément quand l'élève a accumulé suffisamment en écoutant et en lisant, ce qui expliquerait que les enfants restent muets plusieurs mois avant de se mettre à parler une nouvelle langue. Dans cette première phase d'immersion, si bien que leur apprentissage précède emmagasinent ; si bien que leur apprentissage précède souvent le moment où ils s'expriment en français. Voilà d'ailleurs l'origine du malaise que ressentent bien des étudiants quand on leur demande de parler sur-le-champ dans leur langue seconde. Avec la notion de contenu compréhensible, on voit pourquoi certaines méthodes actuelles d'enseignement sont plus fructueuses que d'autres. Les meilleures, celles qui se dégagent lors des

F formes phonologiques de bases, structures

immersion : immersion route

immersion de durée moyenne (5-12) :

immersion longue (M-12) : early

immersion partielle : partial immersion

langue d'origine : native language

langue du foyer, langue parlée à la maison :

locuteur d'origine/originel : native

locuteur français d'origine/ francophone

locuteur non compétent : non-proficient

locuteur français d'origine/ francophone

locuteur d'origine/originel : native

locuteur français d'origine/ francophone

locuteur non compétent : non-proficient

locuteur d'origine/originel : native

locuteur français d'origine/ francophone

locuteur non compétent : non-proficient

locuteur d'origine/originel : native

locuteur français d'origine/ francophone

locuteur non compétent : non-proficient

locuteur d'origine/originel : native

locuteur français d'origine/ francophone

locuteur non compétent : non-proficient

locuteur d'origine/originel : native

locuteur français d'origine/ francophone

locuteur non compétent : non-proficient

locuteur d'origine/originel : native

langagière; bon rendement langagier :

langage efficace

compétence linguistique/langagière :

compétence linguistique/langagière :

compétence linguistique/langagière :

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plus d'occasions de rencontrer des Francophones en dehors de la classe. Ce n'est pas toujours possible. Cependant, dans la mesure où les cours immersifs ont pour objet de former des élèves capables non seulement de s'exprimer et d'apprendre d'autres matières en français, mais de le faire d'une manière grammaticalement et socio-linguistiquement acceptable, il faudra envisager d'autres moyens d'accroître en classe leur compétence langagière.

Les élèves auraient intérêt, estime-t-on, à s'exercer oralement, d'une façon intensive, aux dis-fonctions grammaticales et socio-linguistiques qui semblent si souvent leur échapper. Pour cela, il faudrait aux enseignants un complément de données diagnostiques afin de bien comprendre les difficultés persistantes. Du matériel pédagogique conçu en fonction d'exercices de communication en ce domaine, serait utile également.

INTRODUCTION AU GLOSSAIRE

La terminologie anglaise de l'« immersion » a posé des difficultés pour la version française de Langue et société. C'est que la méthode dont il s'agit a été conçue par des Anglophones pour l'enseignement du français à des Anglo-Canadiens. Il est courant que les créateurs d'une discipline imposent et exportent avec celle-ci la nomenclature de leur invention. Sous la réserve des accommodements indispensables, il n'y a pas lieu de s'offusquer de ce phénomène. Ce qui est délicat, c'est d'établir la part des calques ou emprunts directs et celle des accommodements. Pour y arriver, il faut en général le concours du temps ou une normalisation d'autorité. Ainsi, en informatique, « software » a donné lieu à bien des flottements en français avant d'aboutir à « logiciel », à la suite d'une décision prise en haut lieu. Et le terme nouveau s'est imposé immédiatement. Bien sûr, « software » était difficilement assimilable : le mot se prononçait mal en français et reposait sur une image à peu près dépourvue de signification hors de son milieu d'origine. Quant à la nomenclature anglaise de l'immersion, elle repose pour une bonne part sur des métaphores de la même nature : transfert de sens du concret à l'abstrait. Les lecteurs du Monde n'en seraient pas trop étonnés, ayant vu souvent le terme « bain d'anglais » dans des placards publicitaires.

Bref, les cours immersifs semblent excellents pour former des élèves aptes à communiquer en français, mais on pourrait s'appliquer, en classe et à l'extérieur, à pousser davantage les côtes grammaticale et sociolinguistique de cette compétence.

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Pour nous, Francophones, un « bain d'anglais » se conçoit plus naturellement qu'une immersion, surtout s'il y a lieu de craindre la « full immersion » (enseignement de toutes les matières dans la langue seconde). « Immersion totale » évoquerait l'asphyxie, la noyade... Si le passage des métaphores est aléatoire d'une langue à l'autre, les zones grises entre langage figuré et langage propre sont encore plus périlleuses pour le traducteur. Alors, sera-t-il tenté d'esquiver les embûches et d'écrire, par exemple : enseignerement immersif complet. Ce choix, de toute façon, sera arbitraire en attendant que l'usage ou des décrets de normalisation en aient décidé.

Et que dire de « French immersion », sinon que voilà un autre bon exemple de voisinage « souple » entre le figuré et le propre. Pour retomber sur nos pieds en français, si nous pouvons nous permettre cette figure, il nous faut une préposition et un substantif : immersion en français. Et encore, on s'interroge sur l'image faisant du français une masse liquide.

Quot qu'il en soit, nous avons cru essentiel de nous impropier (à sources françaises avant d'arrêter nos choix terminologiques, même si elles ne pouvaient pas porter immédiatement sur l'ensei-gnement immersif. M. Gilles Bibeau nous a gracieusement prêté deux ouvrages: Le Dictionnaire de didactique des langues (1) et D

de grammairiste commises par les élèves en immersion découlent de ces procédés. Au lieu du conditionnel, les élèves de cinquième emploient par exemple diverses périphrases verbales, comme le présent avec l'adverbe *peut-être*, ou ils substituent au futur l'auxiliaire *aller* suivi de l'infinitif. Cette façon d'exprimer une situation hypothétique comme : « que feraient-ils s'ils gagnaient à la loterie ? » leur permettrait, bien sûr, de communiquer efficacement leur message sans avoir maîtrisé le conditionnel. De même, dans des circonstances conventionnelles, les élèves abusent de la formule *s'il vous plaît* au détriment du conditionnel idiomatique de politesse.

La spontanéité avec laquelle les jeunes élèves des cours immersifs tentent de s'exprimer en français, malgré la pauvreté de leurs ressources grammaticales, marque un heureux contraste avec les inhibitions des classes traditionnelles qui se souciaient avant tout d'éviter les fautes. Cependant, cette aptitude à se débrouiller pour communiquer de façon intelligible avec leurs enseignants et leurs camarades de classe peut à la longue les empêcher d'accroître leur compétence en grammairie.

L'enseignement devra évoluer

Ayant analysé les divers aspects de la compétence langagière des élèves en immersion, on peut conclure qu'ils possèdent de remarquables qualités, mais accusent aussi des lacunes. Leur grande aptitude à comprendre le français écrit et parlé est liée sans aucun doute à la place qui est

accordée par le système scolaire à l'écoute de l'enseignement et à la lecture des textes dans l'étude des diverses matières. Le fait que l'on s'attache de plus en plus, dans les hautes classes, aux activités réceptives explicites sans doute que la compétence grammaticale des élèves en immersion ne se rapproche pas davantage de celle des locuteurs d'origine.

On pourrait les aider à développer leurs compétences grammaticale et sociolinguistique en leur donnant

constaté que leur compétence sociolinguistique était bien inférieure à celle des Francophones. Bien souvent, par exemple, ils ne savent pas faire la distinction entre le *vous* de politesse et le *tu* familier. Ils emploient généralement la forme familière, même dans une lettre formulant, par exemple, une demande à un étranger. Quant au conditionnel de politesse, fréquent chez les jeunes Francophones (par exemple : « *J'aimerais avoir des photos* »), les élèves du cours immersif l'emploient très peu, accordant leur préférence au présent. Ces lacunes sociolinguistiques traduisent certaines des difficultés que connaissent ces élèves en grammairie et les limites de leurs échanges sociaux avec des Francophones. Les élèves de sixième immersive ont toutefois obtenu une meilleure note dans une épreuve à choix multiples touchant leur capacité réceptive ; il s'agissait de choisir, entre trois possibilités, la phrase appropriée à une situation donnée. Ces élèves sont plus aptes sans aucun doute à reconnaître des messages socialement acceptables en français qu'à les énoncer.

D'après une étude préliminaire, des élèves du degré secondaire en immersion longue ont tendance, dans le discours oral, à confondre le *vous* et le *tu*. La compétence sociolinguistique des Anglophones qui ont commencé jeunes en immersion demeurerait différente de celle des Francophones à ce niveau scolaire. Il serait intéressant de voir comment elle se compare à celle des élèves en immersion courte.

Compétence stratégique :

Aux fins de la communication, les élèves en immersion acquièrent rapidement des procédés pour comprendre leurs lacunes en français. Si des élèves de première année ignorent un terme, par exemple le verbe *plonger*, ils tenteront de tourner la difficulté plutôt que de se taire. Ils gesticuleront, emploieront le mot anglais (prononcé éventuellement à la française) ou se contenteront d'un terme général comme *sauter* ou d'une paraphrase comme *aller dans l'eau*. On peut considérer que certaines fautes

neuves de capacité réceptive, lise des exemples de français untes aux émissions radiophoniques et aux articles de journaux et étes annonces notamment.

aussi évalué plus directement la éence discursive d'environ ves de sixième. Selon la nature preuve, le niveau de compétence était égal ou semblable à celui locuteurs d'origine. Dans un en à choix multiples qui conduit à choisir la phrase appropriée à compléter un paragraphe, les des cours immersifs ont nu des notes égales à celles d'un groupe de locuteurs franco- es du même âge. On a également apprécié leur aptitude à raconter, généralement le scénario d'un film noncer des arguments en ais ; sur ce plan, ils ont réussi que les ratures de cohérence dans les ruptures de logique des éments ou des arguments. Sur oints, les Francophones et les lophones en immersion ont nu une note moyenne de 1,5

étude actuellement la ptece discursive d'élèves plus en immersion longue ou courte. munication orale et écrite. Les tats nous permettent d'évaluer forme de compétence au degré ndaire.

trés poussée

z les élèves de sixième

ersive, l'adaptation du langage exigences de la société ne semble

trés poussée. En faisant passer épreuves d'expression orale et aux élèves dont on avait déjà

ur la compétence sur les plans grammairie et du discours, on a

d'élèves francophones de sixième a obtenu de 96 à 100 pour cent. Le verbe comporte donc beaucoup de difficultés pour les élèves en immersion. Il ne faut pas s'en étonner, car, d'après les linguistes, cet élément de la grammaire est généralement le plus difficile dans n'importe quelle langue.

On a évalué la compétence grammaticale chez ces élèves par deux autres épreuves : la composition et un contrôle grammatical à choix multiples. Pour les compositions, qui consistaient à rédiger des récits et des lettres, on a apprécié la correction syntaxique, ainsi que l'emploi des prépositions et des verbes. Les notes obtenues étaient inférieures la encore à celles des locuteurs d'origine.

Certes, les épreuves orales et écrites n'étaient pas immédiatement comparables. Toutefois les élèves en immersion réussissaient beaucoup mieux, par rapport à leurs vis-à-vis francophones, dans l'emploi écrit des verbes. Ils ont en effet obtenu une moyenne de 85 pour cent, compte non tenu des fautes d'orthographe, comme *aller* pour *allé*. Cela tient sans aucun doute à ce qu'on a évalué aussi leur emploi du présent du verbe dans les compositions. Pour ce qui est des fautes touchant l'orthographe du verbe, les élèves en immersion n'y sont pas plus exposés que les Francophones.

Quant au contrôle à choix multiples, qui consistait à choisir la forme grammaticale correcte pour compléter de courtes phrases hors contexte, leurs notes (60 pour cent en moyenne) étaient de nouveau inférieures à celles des Francophones, qui n'ont eux-mêmes pas très bien réussi à ce test (moyenne de 80 pour cent). Le genre aussi pose des difficultés aux Anglophones : les élèves des cours immersifs ne semblent pas avoir fait exception sous ce rapport. Nos entrevues avec des élèves de cinquième nous ont révélé qu'ils commentaient encore un certain nombre de fautes de genre et surtout qu'ils faisaient un emploi abusif du masculin, disant, par exemple, *mon maison et le glaci*.

D'après notre évaluation de la compétence grammaticale chez les élèves de cinquième et de sixième, ils savent reconnaître et employer correctement beaucoup de formes grammaticales, mais ils font encore bien des fautes qui les distinguent nettement des Francophones de leur âge. Leurs fautes à l'écrit et à l'oral ont trait, pour bon nombre, aux éléments redondants, par exemple l'accord du verbe avec son sujet et le genre des objets inanimés, où la forme correcte n'est peut-être pas absolument nécessaire pour transmettre le message. Même les locuteurs d'origine attachent peu d'importance à ces fautes de grammaire pour ce qui est de l'acceptabilité du discours chez les élèves de sixième immersive. Si elles portent souvent sur des éléments redondants, ce serait peut-être que ces élèves sont capables de saisir assez facilement le français qu'ils entendent et qu'ils lisent sans toute-fois en maîtriser tous les usages grammaticaux.

Neuvième et dixième années — Ces observations s'appliquent encore aux élèves en immersion parvenus à l'école secondaire. À Ottawa, on a soumis une centaine d'élèves de dixième année en « post-immersion » à un contrôle de correction grammaticale dans l'expression orale et la rédaction de lettres. Ils étaient passés par deux types d'immersion : immersion totale longue, depuis la maternelle, et immersion courte, commentée en sixième ou en septième. À l'entrevue, on a constaté qu'un nombre appréciable d'élèves des deux groupes faisaient encore diverses fautes dans l'emploi des verbes et dans l'ensemble les élèves issus de l'immersion longue en faisaient moins. La moitié environ des élèves de chaque groupe avaient, par exemple, employé correctement l'indicatif présent du verbe lire à la troisième personne du pluriel, soit *lisent*, mais 83 pour cent des élèves du premier groupe, contre 14 pour cent des élèves du second, avaient employé correctement le conditionnel du verbe laver à la première personne (je *laverais*). Quant à la rédaction de lettres, les verbes occasionnaient

encore des difficultés aux élèves des cours immersifs et constituaient les deux groupes la plus grande source de fautes. D'après les entrevues avec eux et les épreuves écrites, la compétence grammaticale des élèves du degré secondaire en immersion depuis maternelle, et spécialement la composition grammaticale à l'écrit, semble s'être améliorée depuis la sixième mais les progrès dans certains domaines de la langue parlée ne seraient guère appréciables. Toutefois, il s'agit là de simples impressions, qu'il resterait à vérifier en comparant dans le détail les capacités des élèves à différents âges.

Compétence discursive : suffisante très tôt

Le ralentissement du progrès en grammaire tiendrait, entre autres, ce que les élèves en immersion acquièrent une bonne compétence discursive qui leur suffit en classe. Même en première année, ils sont capables de saisir les questions de l'intervieweur et de répondre d'une manière habituellement acceptable dans le contexte, malgré certaines fautes de grammaire. Que l'entrebaigne dans un contexte précis, c'est la un élément important. Les enfants peuvent au besoin avoir recours à des moyens de communication non verbale, comme le geste ou la mimique pour transmettre leur message ; l'intervieweur de son côté peut leur venir en aide en reformulant ses questions et en fournissant aux élèves termes qui leur manquent.

Les élèves en immersion longue ou acquis, lorsqu'ils accèdent aux classes supérieures, une compétence discursive suffisante pour étudier des matières comme les mathématiques et les sciences dans la langue seconde et fournir un rendement égal à celui des élèves inscrits au cours d'anglais ordinaire, d'après les examens. En sixième, les élèves des cours immersifs obtiennent des résultats égaux à ceux des jeunes Francophones à des épreuves de compréhension orale et des résultats comparables pour la compréhension écrite. Pour

base des ressources de la grammaire correspondante.

Les tests qu'on a fait passer à différents groupes d'âge nous permettent de dégager la vue d'ensemble que voici.

Première année — Dès la première année, les enfants qui suivent un cours immersif depuis la maternelle sont *sensibles*, lors d'une entrevue, à certains caractères grammaticaux essentiels du français. Ils distinguent, par exemple, le passé, le présent et le futur du verbe. On le constate non seulement à leurs réponses (pour lesquelles d'autres éléments contextuels peuvent entrer en jeu), mais aussi d'après leur aptitude à fournir des équivalents anglais de phrases hors contexte, comme : *tu vas manger une pomme ; tu l'as mangée ; chez moi on aime beaucoup les pommes*. Quelques enfants de première année savent aussi, à l'occasion, employer ces différents temps du verbe en parlant à l'inter-vieur, mais non pas d'une façon constante en général. Les élèves de ce niveau sont aussi en mesure de comprendre et de reproduire des syntagmes au singulier et au pluriel (le garçon/les garçons), mais ils semblent peu sensibles à la distinction des genres (masculin/féminin) et peu aptes à employer le pluriel des verbes ou les formes verbales complexes. L'ordre des mots en français étant généralement le même qu'en anglais, seules les différences exposent les élèves de première année à des fautes du genre : il toujours va au lieu de il va toujours.

Cinquième et sixième années — Les élèves des cinquième et sixième en immersion longue ont fait de grands progrès en grammaire, mêmes s'ils commettent encore des fautes qui les distinguent des locuteurs d'origine du même âge. Dans une entrevue destinée à contrôler leur maîtrise de la syntaxe (règles de construction des phrases), des prépositions et des formes verbales (futur, imparfait, conditionnel et passé composé) 70 élèves de sixième ont obtenu en moyenne 81,3 pour cent, 80,5 pour cent et 57 pour cent respectivement. Par comparaison, un petit groupe

tre rédigée en quinze minutes et sans aide par un élève de ne année placé tôt en programme immersif. L'enfant a suivi des ctions données en français, qu'il a pu lire et comprendre. L'élève est assez représentatif de son groupe d'âge. Il a commis plus tes de grammaire qu'un Francophone du même âge, mais l'étude ofesseur Harley démontre que les locuteurs d'origine de cet âge tettent aussi des erreurs dans leurs lettres. Cet élève utilise aussi amilier au lieu du vous qui conviendrait mieux dans une lettre adresse à une personne qu'il ne connaît pour ainsi dire pas. Mal- aptes, il nous faut reconnaître que cet Anglophone de onze appris assez de français pour s'acquitter de la tâche et faire passer essage, il présente la situation intelligemment, dans une suite ue et utilise des arguments persuasifs.

magine-toi que ta famille loue une maison à la campagne pendant le ois d'août. Dans le garage, qui est barré, tu vois une belle bicyclette x-vitesses.

cris une lettre au propriétaire de la maison pour le convaincre de te onner la permission d'utiliser la bicyclette.

ers-toi de l'espace ci-dessous :

Justin Cammy

Je m'appelle Justin Cammy, un des enfants de mon école. Je suis une personne très d'hui, j'ai rentré dans ton garage puis j'ai vu dans ton maison pour le mois d'août. Je m'appelle Justin Cammy, un des enfants de mon école. Je suis une personne très d'hui, j'ai rentré dans ton garage puis j'ai vu dans ton maison pour le mois d'août. Je m'appelle Justin Cammy, un des enfants de mon école. Je suis une personne très d'hui, j'ai rentré dans ton garage puis j'ai vu dans ton maison pour le mois d'août.

Merci pour ton opération Justin Cammy
pour tout les choses dans ta grande maison. Je n'ai pas acheté de bicyclette. Moi, je suis une personne très d'hui, j'ai rentré dans ton garage puis j'ai vu dans ton maison pour le mois d'août. Je m'appelle Justin Cammy, un des enfants de mon école. Je suis une personne très d'hui, j'ai rentré dans ton garage puis j'ai vu dans ton maison pour le mois d'août.

Peut-on comparer la qualité du français des élèves des classes immersives à celle du français parlé par les Francophones ?

Nous avons réuni ici, à titre d'exemples, certaines observations faites dans le cadre d'une étude sur le français des élèves des classes immersives. Aux fins de cette étude, on a comparé la qualité du français de jeunes Anglophones inscrits dans ces cours et celle de Francophones du même âge et de milieux sensiblement identiques. Il faut lire l'article du professeur Harley, pour plus de détails.

1. Les élèves de sixième année des programmes immersifs ont des difficultés grammaticales que l'on ne rencontre pas chez les locuteurs d'origine du même niveau scolaire. Dans l'exemple qui suit, 96 pour cent des Francophones ont choisi la bonne réponse, depuis (c), mais 44 pour cent des élèves des classes immersives ont choisi pour (b), erreur très fréquente chez les Anglophones. Néanmoins, 48 pour cent d'entre eux ont choisi la bonne réponse.

Ils sont au Canada _____ déjà trois mois.

a) durant
b) pour
c) depuis

2. À la question suivante, plus de 90 pour cent des élèves de sixième année, tant chez les locuteurs d'origine que chez les Anglophones des programmes immersifs, ont choisi la bonne réponse ont manqué (a).

Puisqu'ils étaient malades, ils _____ l'école.

a) ont manqué
b) manquent
c) manqueraient

3. L'exemple ci-dessous démontre bien que parfois, les locuteurs d'origine et les élèves des classes immersives éprouvent les mêmes difficultés avec les règles de grammaire. Seulement 45 pour cent des Anglophones et 44 pour cent des Francophones ont choisi la bonne réponse éviter (b).

Il faut _____ ce genre d'erreur.

a) évitez
b) éviter
c) évite

_____ C'est pour cette raison que respecte un bon diamantaire.

a) Sa beauté ne sera mise en évidence qu'après un attrayant.
b) Ses éclats et ses scintillements attirent l'œil.
c) Les bons diamantaires ne sont pas rares.

5. Le difficile exercice présenté ici donne une idée de la capacité de comprendre un texte suivi et de choisir la phrase qui s'y insère logiquement. Dans cet exercice (comme dans l'ensemble du test de lecture), les Anglophones des programmes immersifs ont obtenu les mêmes résultats que les locuteurs d'immersion et 57 pour cent des Francophones ont choisi la bonne réponse (a).

(a) Veuillez prendre note du rendez-vous avec M. le mardi 27 juin.
(b) Ceci est pour confirmer ton rendez-vous avec M. Roy mardi 27 juin au matin.
(c) N'oublie pas que tu es supposé rencontrer M. mardi matin.

4. Les élèves des cours immersifs peuvent-ils déterminer quel style convient, en français, à une situation donnée ? Dans l'exemple donné ici, 66 pour cent de ces derniers ont choisi la réponse (c) que 87 pour cent des locuteurs d'origine du même âge avaient jugé convenir à la situation.

Dans une note écrite par un mari à sa femme

certains jugent admirable la qualité du français que parlent
enfants des classes immersives, d'autres expriment de sérieuses réserves
égard. L'article qui suit fait la part des choses.

ils apprennent-ils vraiment le français ?

IT HARLEY

Birgit Harley est coordonnatrice d'un projet de recherche financé par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada. Elle examine, avec l'équipe qu'elle dirige, les modalités d'acquisition de deux langues dans divers contextes sociaux. Mme Harley est chercheur en linguistique appliquée au Centre des langues modernes de l'Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario.

quel degré de compétence en français les élèves des cours immersifs parviennent-ils ? La réponse à cette question, moins anodine qu'elle ne semble, variera selon les conceptions de la compétence.

nombre d'exposés sur les cours immersifs, les chercheurs du Centre des langues modernes de l'Institut des pédagogies de l'Ontario appliquent une approche envisageant cette compétence sous divers aspects. Ils distinguent la « compétence grammaticale », qui aux règles de syntaxe et à la morphologie lexicale ; la compétence discursive », ou l'aptitude à organiser un discours ou un texte avec cohérence ; et la « compétence sociolinguistique », ou aptitude à adapter le langage au sujet et à la situation. La connaissance du vocabulaire serait un élément de ces trois formes de compétence. Ils distinguent la « compétence stratégique », qui est l'aptitude à se servir pour éviter que des lacunes sur les autres plans entraînent une rupture de la communication.

donne ces divers aspects de la compétence, on peut er, suivant le point de vue adopté, à différentes usions sur la maîtrise du français chez un élève en sion. Et même en se limitant à un aspect, on peut tr à des variations dans les jugements, compte tenu ches demandées aux élèves. Dans certains cas, le xte peut les aider à interpréter ou à exprimer un age. Il arrive aussi que, faute d'éléments contextuels

suffisants, ils doivent compter davantage sur leur acquis langagier. Les épreuves écrites traditionnelles que l'on fait passer en classe sont souvent pauvres en contexte, contrairement aux conversations sur des sujets de tous les jours, qui en sont imprégnées le plus souvent. Le contexte n'est qu'un des éléments dont on tienn compte en notant la compétence. On ne demande pas, par exemple, à de jeunes enfants le même rendement qu'à des adolescents, pour la lecture et la rédaction ou pour la solution de problèmes complexes. Même dans la langue maternelle, les capacités réceptives, soit la compréhension orale et écrite, tend à surpasser les capacités productives, c'est-à-dire l'expression orale et écrite. Bien sûr, beaucoup d'activités de la vie quotidienne, par exemple la conversation ou la rédaction de lettres, font appel aux deux types de compétence. Mais, comme nous l'expliquons plus loin, la dichotomie réception-production est un autre point à retenir dans l'évaluation de l'acquis langagier.

Passons maintenant aux compétences des élèves par rapport à chacun des quatre aspects que nous venons de définir, et des autres éléments qui pourront entrer en ligne de compte.

Compétence grammaticale : vue d'ensemble

La plupart des évaluations de la compétence font une large place à la grammaire. C'est, entre autres choses, qu'il existait déjà bon nombre de tests et que ceux-ci accordent traditionnellement beaucoup d'importance à l'élément grammatical ; cette orientation traduit aussi l'opinion bien ancrée voulant que la maîtrise d'une langue comporte une assez bonne connaissance de la grammaire. Il est difficile, sans doute, d'imaginer que quelqu'un puisse être très habile sur le plan discursif, mais nul en grammaire. Nous ne concevons pas non plus que des élèves sachent reconnaître et reproduire un langage socialement acceptable dans diverses situations, sans une connaissance de

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"Sibylly nō ē sūmme i mē"

«sensibiliser» s'adresse en réalité à l'ensemble des citoyens, et non pas seulement aux victimes. Les victimes sont en fait les premières à être sensibilisées, et à leur tour à sensibiliser les autres. C'est pourquoi les victimes sont les premières à être sensibilisées, et à leur tour à sensibiliser les autres. C'est pourquoi les victimes sont les premières à être sensibilisées, et à leur tour à sensibiliser les autres.

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2. Les commentaires proviennent de questionnaires distribués à un groupe représentatif d'élèves et, dans certains cas, à des parents à travers le pays. Les questionnaires visaient à obtenir l'avis des répondants afin de préparer une brochure pour les élèves des classes immersives, âgés entre 11 et 15 ans (voir Lapkin, Swain et Argue, 1983).
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des éclaircissements sur cette ques-

tion. Dans un cas en Ontario, l'immersion moyenne se donnant dans une école de langue française fait l'objet d'un examen. Dans un autre, les classes immersives évaluées à l'échelle provinciale au Nouveau-Brunswick comptent en proportions variables des locuteurs francophones d'origine. À partir des données établies par les tests et d'une information sur le passé des élèves, nous examinerons comment la présence de ces Francophones influence son importance relative, sur les résultats des tests de français. Nous nous proposons aussi d'apprécier si le français des Francophones d'origine dans ces classes a souffert de contacts avec les Anglophones en immersion.

Pour conclure, la recherche et les études sur l'évaluation des cours immersifs ont établi que les élèves appartenant à une majorité linguistique peuvent recevoir l'enseignement dans une langue seconde sans repercussions négatives à long terme sur leur progrès dans la langue maternelle, la langue seconde et les autres disciplines. Le défi consiste désormais à définir des stratégies d'enseignement qui assurent un apprentissage réussi à la fois de la seconde langue officielle et d'autres matières prévues au programme d'études. Peut-être réussirons-nous ainsi à abolir la distance entre les deux solitudes canadiennes.

NOTES ET RÉFÉRENCES

1. La recherche dont il s'agit est détaillée dans Swain et Lapkin, 1982. Le document comprend aussi une bibliographie exhaustive.



Et la courte... en 7^e année seulement!

et que, dans les années 70, on

s'employait prioritairement à établir, par des moyens plutôt quantitatifs (tests pour groupes), la viabilité de la formule immersive. Les travaux en cours visent, entre autres, à créer des tests pour vraiment mesurer les capacités communicatives (expression-production) à la lumière des théories actuelles. Le gouvernement de la Saskatchewan a confié au Centre des langues modernes de l'Institut des études pédagogiques de l'Ontario (I.E.P.O.) le soin d'établir ces contrôles à l'intention des classes de troisième, sixième et neuvième. Ces épreuves, qui sont utilisées sur une grande échelle, non seulement en Saskatchewan mais au Nouveau-Brunswick, permettront de définir dans le détail l'aptitude à s'exprimer oralement et par écrit en français des élèves du cours immersif, par rapport à celle des locuteurs d'origine. Ces instruments descriptifs, combinés à l'observation méthodique en classe, permettront de cerner les zones faibles et de chercher les modifications au programme et à l'approche pédagogique propres à améliorer les rendements.

Les questions sociales posées précédemment supposent qu'un contact accru entre élèves anglophones en immersion et élèves francophones est désirable. Mais on n'en connaît pas les effets sur les résultats scolaires. Ainsi, nombre de parents et d'éducateurs francophones craignent que le contact accru n'accélère l'assimilation chez les jeunes Francophones, qui emploient déjà l'anglais à l'extérieur. Deux travaux de recherche en cours apporteront



La moyenne... à partir de la 5^e

l'existence de l'immersion sur la relation n'ont guère suscité de recherche jusqu'ici. Pourtant il serait intéressant de ne pas prévoir de discussions sociales, comme il est de la plus importante innovation pédagogique du siècle au Canada. Ce qui peut étonner encore davantage, sans doute, est la réaction généralement positive des élèves et de leurs parents.

États de la recherche

Les questions sociales évoquées au début de cet article ont été examinées par divers chercheurs d'ordre administratif et pédagogique. Ceux-ci se rattachent à trois domaines : comment élaborer les cours à maximiser leurs effets ? Quelles méthodes pédagogiques peuvent donner les meilleurs résultats ? quels moyens offre-t-on pour favoriser l'accroissement des contacts entre les deux versions ? C'est que cette recherche beaucoup de temps et de travail

raison en état bien simple : les parents voulaient que leurs enfants apprennent le français, mais tenaient en outre à ce qu'ils puissent manier les concepts de ces deux disciplines en anglais, c'est-à-dire dans la langue dominante de la société nord-américaine. Les épreuves en anglais semblaient éminemment propres à mesurer cette aptitude.

Les résultats des élèves des cours immersifs M-12, qu'il s'agisse de sciences ou de mathématiques, se comparent à ceux des groupes de contrôle instruits en anglais. Quant aux cours immersifs 7-12, on a relevé des retards pour la première ou les deux premières années. Serait-ce que les aptitudes des élèves dans la langue seconde ne sont pas suffisamment complexes qui leur sont enseignées. Ici encore la conception des cours influerait sur les épreuves : lorsque les élèves de l'enseignement immersif 7-12 ont déjà suivi des cours ordinaires de français à partir de la maternelle, leurs résultats dans les disciplines telles que les sciences n'accusent aucune différence, même temporaire.

Quel est l'impact intellectuel et succès scolaires

« Je ne crois pas qu'étudier en français ait été cause de confusion mentale. Parfois je m'embrouille en parlant, ce que mes amis attribuent alors à « mon » français, mais je ne suis pas de cet avis. De toute façon, je parle vite. »
Pam Ayer, 15 ans, neuvième, immersion longue, Nouveau-Brunswick.

« Cela m'aide, je crois, à penser plus clairement ; depuis quelque temps je réussis à bien comprendre et expliquer les choses, particulièrement en maths et dans les disciplines langagières. »
Warren Nishimura, 11 ans, sixième, immersion moyenne, Alberta.

Selon une idée erronée, mais répandue, l'enseignement immersif ne vaudrait que pour les enfants d'une intelligence supérieure à la moyenne. Or, les études sur le

L'immersion longue commence tôt



rapport entre quotient intellectuel et succès scolaires incitent plutôt à penser que tout enfant peut profiter de l'immersion. Gensée (1976) a soumis à des tests des élèves des cours immersifs M-12 et 7-12, au-dessus et au-dessous de la moyenne. Aux épreuves scolaires touchant la lecture et l'écriture, la configuration des résultats s'est dégaée : les élèves dépassant la moyenne avaient mieux réussi que les autres. Toutefois, il n'y a pas eu de stratification semblable selon le Q.I. pour l'aptitude à communiquer en français dans les relations interpersonnelles. Les élèves sous la moyenne comprennent le français parlé aussi bien que les élèves au-dessus et avaient un aussi bon rendement aux tests d'expression. D'après ces études, le Q.I. n'interviendrait pas davantage dans les cours immersifs que dans les cours ordinaires en anglais, pour ce qui est du succès scolaire. Les élèves sous la moyenne ne sont pas plus désavantagés dans un cours immersif que dans le cours ordinaire en anglais. Et ils ont l'avantage d'acquies l'aptitude à la compréhension et à la communication en français.

Effets sociaux et psychologiques

En second lieu, trois fois plus d'ont noté la richesse et la diversité linguistiques et culturelles de la société canadienne. Trois fois plus de 20 pour cent des sujets de l'immersion se sont intéressés aux possibilités particulières de bilinguisme ou de multilinguisme qu le Canada, thème abordé par beaucoup d'élèves éduqués en anglais. D'une manière générale, dans les redactions émanant de ce dernier groupe, on faisait état principalement de la beauté de la nature canadienne et que de la diversité linguistique et culturelle, qui retenait souvent l'attention des élèves des classes immersives.

D'après la première observation sur les attitudes des élèves des cours immersifs et de l'enseignement ordinaire en anglais, l'écart social en Angleterre et Franco-Canadiens sera réduit. D'autre part, la seconde citation incite à croire que l'immersion canadienne-française reste loin de beaucoup d'élèves en immersion anglo-française. Divers faits et mises en tableau. Divers faits intéressants se sont dégagés. Tout d'abord, le point de vue des interviewés s'est révélé d'une perspective beaucoup plus large que prévu : le comportement en moyenne deux fois plus de raisons que dans les groupes anglophones de contrôle.

nous sommes arrêtés dans un premier hiver, il s'agit de lancer des boules de neige. Un chauffeur de taxi l'a vertement sermonné en « québécois » de son « Wow, il parlait le « vrai » français », a dit Daniel.

Patricia Holland, mère de Daniel, élève en immersion longue, quatrième, Nouvelle-Écosse.

« Dans ma région, il n'y a pas assez de cours en français. Pourtant ils sont nécessaires pour développer une bonne maîtrise de la langue. Autre difficulté, les élèves n'ont pas suffisamment l'occasion de mettre leurs capacités langagières en pratique hors de la classe. »

Les cours immersifs longs et courts aboutissent sûrement à l'aisance fonctionnelle dans les deux langues. Ils permettent aux élèves d'acquérir une compétence langagière plus poussée que le cours ordinaire de français. L'immersion longue pré-sente un avantage important : elle touche une population scolaire plus hétérogène, soit un plus large éventail de types de personnalités et de styles cognitifs (Swain, 1984). L'article de Birgit Harley dans le présent numéro élabore les compétences en langue seconde des élèves des deux variantes de l'immersion.

Résultats scolaires dans les autres disciplines

« Je ne crois pas que l'immersion ait des effets sur les matières étudiées en français, sauf un peu sur l'orthographe anglaise : comme il y a des mots ressemblants en anglais et en français, il arrive qu'on les écrive à la française plutôt qu'à l'anglaise. Cette difficulté, quant à moi, est facile à surmonter. »

Rachel Baker, 14 ans,
neuvième, immersion longue,
Albertha.

Ainsi, les élèves en immersion pourraient se mesurer à ceux qui font leurs études dans leur langue maternelle pour les résultats scolaires. On craignait que le contenu du programme fût trop exigeant pour eux, mais la recherche a atténué cette inquiétude avec les années. On a soumis les élèves des cours immersifs à des épreuves normalisées de mathématiques (à tous les niveaux scolaires) et de sciences (à partir de la cinquième ou à peu près), puis comparé les résultats obtenus à ceux des élèves des cours donnés en anglais uniquement. On faisait passer ces épreuves en anglais, nous l'avons noté plus haut, même si les matières étaient enseignées en français. La

semblerait toutefois que les élèves des centres immersifs bénéficient de certains avantages sur leurs homologues des écoles à deux régimes d'enseignement pour ce qui est de l'expression orale et écrite en français. Mais, indépendamment du cadre scolaire, il est manifeste que les capacités productives en langue seconde chez les élèves de l'immersion longue ne se comparent pas à celles des locuteurs d'origine. Les élèves des cours immersifs n'ont guère de mal à se faire comprendre, mais leur façon de s'exprimer les distingue nettement de leurs camarades francophones. Toutefois, ils créent une impression favorable chez les locuteurs d'origine ; leur français parlé est aussi bien vu des adultes que des enfants francophones (Lepicq, 1980).

Les épreuves touchant l'immersion courte ont donné des résultats moins constants. Ainsi, en Ontario, les élèves de ces cours accusent toujours du retard par rapport à ceux de l'immersion longue dans tous les domaines ou la plupart, et cela jusqu'à la onzième, soit après cinq ou six ans de cours, alors qu'à Montréal on n'a pas relevé ces écarts à ce niveau (Morison, 1982 ; Adiv, 1980). Le fait peut tenir à des différences de conception entre les cours immersifs de l'Ontario et ceux du Québec. En Ontario, l'immersion longue comportait un rapport de 80/20 entre le français et l'anglais de la troisième à la huitième, contre 60/40 à Montréal en troisième et 40/60 de la quatrième à la huitième. C'est dire que pour les jeunes Ontariens les contacts en français occupaient beaucoup plus de temps à l'école que pour les jeunes Montréalais, d'où peut-être leur meilleure performance dans la langue seconde que leurs homologues de l'immersion courte. Ces résultats indiquent qu'il faut attribuer le plus de temps possible à la langue seconde dans le programme pour conserver et développer les aptitudes des élèves des cours immersifs. D'ailleurs, ils sont sensibles à ce besoin. Au sujet des *désavantages* de l'immersion, Trevor Holmes, élève de huitième déjà cité, s'exprime ainsi :

mière année que les cours
sifs M-12 ont été évalués, les
en français des élèves
le plus souvent considérées
port à celles des élèves qui
nt les cours de base de français
seconde, d'une durée de 20 à
utes chaque jour. Étant donné
s premières années, on met
sur les facultés auditives, la
éhension orale a fait l'objet
ues, depuis la maternelle
a fin de la troisième. Il est
paru que les épreuves étaient
fficiles pour les élèves du
me cadre de français, alors
ux des cours immersifs obte-
des notes presque parfaites
troisième. Il serait possible
prêter plus utilement les notes
ngais des élèves des classes
ersion, estimait-on, si on les
se des locuteurs d'origine du
âge et du même niveau
e. Ce point de vue a été
é par des épreuves normalisées
s pour des Francophones du
c. Même dès la première ou la
le, les élèves de l'enseignement
sif obtenaient d'aussi bons
rs qu'environ le tiers des
urs d'origine à Montréal et que
té de ceux-ci dès la sixième.

structuré d'examiner les
s des épreuves en langue
de sous l'angle des capacités
ives (audition et lecture) et des
les productives (expression
t écrite). Pour les élèves de
ersion longue, les premières
rison presque le niveau des
phones des la fin du cours
naire. Elles peuvent toutefois
tuenées par les dispositions
sistatives touchant les cours
sifs. Une étude (Lapkin et coll.,
comparé deux milieux scolaires
nts : les centres immersifs, où
nement est dispensé dans
le langue, et les écoles à deux
rs immersifs et le programme
s en anglais. Nous avons
accrétées par les centres
sifs, où l'on s'exprime davan-
n français à l'extérieur de la classe.
jet d'études analogues ; il

TYPES D'IMMERSION
Temps consacré à l'enseignement
du français : trois exemples

1. Immersion longue totale
2. Immersion de durée moyenne*
3. Immersion courte



réultats de la recherche en la matière, elles sont sans fondement. C'est, entre autres, que ces enfants appartiennent à la majorité linguistique et culturelle au Canada et que, par conséquent, l'anglais imprègne toute leur existence extra-scolaire. Au début, le rendement en anglais des élèves de l'immersion longue accusait un retard sur celui des classes uniquement anglophones en lecture et en écriture, mais dans l'année même où sont introduites les disciplines langagières en anglais, les élèves du cours immerst réussissent aussi bien aux épreuves normalisées d'anglais. C'est le cas même si l'enseignement de l'anglais ne débute qu'en troisième ou en quatrième. Enfin, dans certains cas, passé la quatrième, les élèves de l'immersion l'emportent sur leurs camarades des cours donnés en anglais pour ce qui est de certains aspects, mesurables, de leur compétence dans cette langue.

L'aptitude à lire et à écrire, une fois bien établie dans une langue, ne s'étend-elle pas aisément et rapidement à l'autre ? Ce fait est confirmé par les résultats de l'immersion 5-12 (moyenne) et 7-12 (courte) où il est rare que les élèves fassent moins bien que ceux du groupe de contrôle étudiant en anglais. Et ce fait, lorsqu'il se produit, est de courte durée, ne se prolongeant jamais au-delà de la première année d'immersion.

Développement dans la langue seconde (le français)

« Je suis assez forte en français, à mon avis, pour lire un livre français, pour conserver avec des Francophones, pour écrire un conte simple, pour suivre un film, pour écouter la radio et faire un discours en français. »

Elaine Hounsell, 14 ans, neuvième, immersion longue, Nouveau-Brunswick.

Ces auto-évaluations représentées par deux extrêmes chez les élèves touchés par notre enquête (voir note 2). Le fait que l'évaluation la plus réservée vienne d'un élève de l'immersion courte (7-12) reflète les manières de voir des deux groupes des élèves de l'immersion longue favorablement leurs capacités qu'ils ceux de l'immersion courte (Swa Lapkin, 1982, p. 51). Les deux dimensions ci-dessus sont parfaitement représentatives et, comme nous verrons, elles traduisent les résultats mêmes des épreuves de français.

« Je serais maintenant en mesure de parler mais sans difficulté d'une personne de langue française pourvu qu'elle parle clairement et lentement en bon français, et n'argot. »

Bob Brown, 14 ans, huitième, immersion courte, Terre-Neuve.

restreinte de chaque étude est com-
pensée par la constance des
témoignages.

Traiter, en 1983, des résultats de la
recherche des années 70 nous vaut
une vue rétrospective sur les résultats
obtenus¹, ce que ne permettrait pas
une simple chronologie de la recher-
che. Nous avons accès aujourd'hui
aux points de vue des « cobayes » qui
ont terminé le cursus ou l'ont suivi
plusieurs années. Pour l'essentiel, ils
correspondent aux constatations de la
recherche ; nous nous en servons
ci-après pour introduire les réponses
à chacune des questions énoncées
plus tôt.

Développement dans la langue maternelle (l'anglais)

« D'après mon expérience
personnelle, les cours immersifs en
français n'ont pas d'effets négatifs
sur l'anglais ; je suis maintenant en
mesure de voir et de comparer des
similitudes entre les deux langues.
J'ai de très bonnes notes en anglais et
en français. »

Trevor Holmes, 13 ans,
huitième, immersion longue,
Ontario.

« Ma connaissance du français a, je
crois, une heureuse influence sur
mon anglais. Au fait, je ne vois pas
la nécessité de consacrer tant de
temps à la grammaire anglaise
lorsqu'on apprend la grammaire
d'une langue étrangère. Mon anglais
s'il m'était donné d'apprendre une
autre langue, l'allemand, l'espagnol
ou le latin, par exemple. »

Suzie Clark, 13 ans, huitième,
immersion courte,
Terre-Neuve.

Etant donné que les cours immersifs
accordent une si grande place à
l'enseignement en français, il y a eu
crainte naturellement que les capa-
cités dans la langue première en
souffrent. Le risque semblait
particulièrement élevé au primaire où
serait introduit normalement
l'apprentissage de la lecture et de
l'écriture dans la langue maternelle.

Dans quelle mesure ces craintes
étaient-elles fondées ? D'après les

de contrôle pouvait être formé parmi
les élèves qui désiraient suivre le
cours mais n'en avaient pas la
possibilité (Lambert et Tucker, 1972).
Pour la plus grande partie, les
groupes de contrôle étaient formés
dans l'école même où se donnaient
les cours immersifs ou dans une école
du voisinage présentant des con-
ditions socio-économiques et des
traits semblables à ceux du groupe
immersif soumis au test. Cela réserve
la possibilité que les élèves en
immersion présentent certains traits
distinctifs, par exemple une plus forte
motivation à l'étude du français.

Dans ces conditions la seule manière
raisonnable d'aborder l'évaluation
des cours immersifs est d'admettre
que ces élèves forment un élément
essentiel de cet enseignement et que
l'évaluation peut répondre en fait à la
question : « Quelle est la performance
des élèves des cours immersifs
comparativement à celle des élèves
qui suivent le programme d'études
ordinaire ? »

Analyse des données. Dans la plupart
des études, on mettait en parallèle la
performance des groupes d'immer-
sion et celle des groupes de contrôle
en analysant la variance ou la
covariance, le coefficient intellectuel
servant de covariable aléatoire ; les
différences à cet égard que pouvaient
présenter les groupes faisant l'objet
d'un contrôle statistique. Si on a
procédé ainsi, c'était pour compenser à
l'affectation non aléatoire des élèves à
chaque cours.

Portée des résultats. On peut appliquer
assez sûrement à l'ensemble des
cours d'une commission scolaire les
résultats d'une étude sur l'enseigne-
ment immersif. Les facteurs internes
propres à un système scolaire donné,
tel le temps consacré à l'enseigne-
ment dans la langue seconde, et le
poids du milieu ambiant, par exem-
ple le degré d'utilisation du français
dans la localité, incitent à penser que
les résultats ne peuvent être appli-
qués qu'aux cours en question.
D'autre part, en ce qui concerne
l'immersion M-12, la configuration
des résultats a été si constante pour
tous les programmes des provinces
canadiennes que l'applicabilité

grands thèmes de recherche :
-ce que la compétence en
gue maternelle (l'anglais) est
inte par des cours où la langue
onde (le français) est langue
enseignement ?
quel degré de compétence les
ves parviennent-ils en français ?
-ce que les élèves de
seignement immersif étudiant
sciences ou les mathématiques
français ont le rendement qu'on
comptait s'ils faisaient ces
tières en anglais ?
-il un rapport entre le
développement cognitif (d'après
tests du quotient intellectuel
normalisés) et les résultats obtenus
n cours immersif ?
elles sont les répercussions
ales et psychologiques de
seignement par immersion ?
ption
des immersives

pprécier un enseignement par
sion, on compare en général le
ment de ceux qui le reçoivent,
un échantillon d'entre eux, avec
l'élèves anglophones suivant le
cours en anglais, et parfois
rendement d'élèves fran-
nes d'une école de langue
ise. Le premier groupe inscrit à
ces cursus a été soumis à un
unuel vers la fin de l'année
e durant quelques années.
nt, un groupe de contrôle chez
ves qui avaient commencé
t. Ainsi pouvait-on apprécier
udinalement le progrès des
du cours immersif ; il était
de vérifier en même temps la
ence des constatations en com-
t différents groupes du même
colaire.

ne les cours immersifs sont
tifs et que la décision de s'y
e revient aux parents et aux
s, il ne pouvait être question
gner au hasard des élèves à
ersion et aux groupes de con-
saut dans les cas où
nistration scolaire limitait les
ptions. Alors le groupe anglais

Faisons le point

SHARON LAPKIN et MERRILL SWAIN

Tous ceux et celles qui se sont penchés sur l'enseignement immersif au cours des années 70 cherchaient avant tout réponse à cinq grandes interrogations. Peut-on tenir pour valables les conclusions de leurs travaux ? Pour en avoir le coeur net, les auteurs du présent article les ont confrontés aux résultats des apprenants. Elles indiquent les orientations actuelles et futures de la recherche.



La plupart des travaux de recherche de Sharon Lapkin traite de l'évaluation des programmes d'enseignement bilingues, de l'élabo-



Les travaux de recherche de Merrill Swain, professeur dans les domaines de l'enseignement bilingue, du perfectionnement de la communication dans l'enseignement et de la

seignement bilingues, de l'élabo- boration de tests de connaissances et de méthodes d'évaluation. Professeur adjoint au Centre des langues modernes de l'IEPO, Mme Lapkin a été expert conseil au ministère de l'Éducation de l'Ontario et du Département d'éducation de Californie.

perfectionnement de la communication dans l'enseignement bilingue, du perfectionnement de la communication dans l'enseignement et de la



programmes de cours immersifs en français ont dépassé les 115 000 dans les dix provinces et les deux territoires du Canada. C'est là une progression extraordinaire, puisque le premier enseignement du genre donné par une commission scolaire de la région de Montréal remonte à moins de 20 ans. L'« expérience de Saint-Lambert » a retenu l'attention de nombreux chercheurs (notamment Lambert et Tucker en 1972) qui ont tous estimé que l'immersion en français ajoutait un volet bilingue sans doute viable à l'enseignement unilingue. Dans les années 70, divers programmes de ce type ont été mis sur pied dans l'ensemble du Canada.

Souvent avant tout d'en démontrer la viabilité, comme solution de rechange, la recherche sur l'enseignement immersif a essentiellement porté durant la dernière décennie sur les résultats scolaires. On s'est peu attaché à ses effets d'ordre social, aux côtés administratifs, voire à ses aspects pédagogiques. Dans le présent article, nous examinons les principales questions abordées par la recherche dans les années 70 et les conclusions élaborées.

La figure présentée plus loin illustre trois variantes typiques de l'immersion. En général, l'immersion de l'horaire des trois premières années à l'enseignement la langue seconde, le français. À l'école maternelle, on permet aux enfants de communiquer entre eux et avec le professeur dans la langue du foyer, l'anglais. L'enseignant ne parle que le français aux enfants et recourt à la gest pour se faire comprendre. À partir de la langue, des intérêts et des compétences des enfants, il introduit des éléments du vocabulaire français et, au début, des expressions simples aux fins de la compréhension. Il s de ce que disent les enfants. Peu à peu, à un moment donné durant la première année, le français devient la langue de travail de la classe. L'étude de l'anglais comme matière est différenciée ordinairement à la troisième, vers cinquième, le programme est donné pour moitié en français et pour moitié en anglais.

Nous indiquons également les voies de la recherche en cours et tentons de dégager la signification des investigations passées et présentes pour les études futures.

La démarche pédagogique diffère quelque peu dans les variantes de l'immersion (qui débute en cinquième et septième dans les exemples de la figure ci-dessus), tout reposant sur les mêmes principes : tolérance et respect pour la langue du foyer, recours à l'expérience des enfants comme point d'appui de l'enseignement, activités hors programme en français (excursions, notamment), attention particulière aux aptitudes à comprendre aux premiers stades du cours. Etant donné le caractère radical de ce nouvel enseignement, parents et éducateurs ont connu des préoccupations communes qui ont abouti à la formulation

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didactiques à la fois mieux adaptées aux variations de situation, applicables à des populations plus larges (peut-être à toute la population scolaire anglophone) et où les questions pédagogiques occuperaient la première place, la seconde allant aux questions linguistiques.

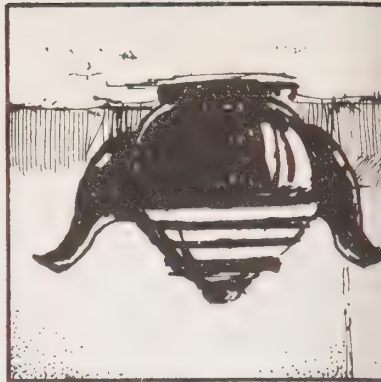
Deux seules conditions

permettraient, selon moi, d'obtenir d'excellents résultats : 1) un total d'heures « d'exposition » active à la langue seconde qui se situerait autour de 1 500 ; 2) une période d'enseignement-apprentissage intensif de la langue pour environ le tiers du total (500 heures). De plus, pour des raisons de maintien des acquis, il serait préférable que l'enseignement-apprentissage se fasse surtout au secondaire, c'est-à-dire le plus près possible de la sortie de l'école ou de l'utilisation éventuelle de la langue. En quelque sorte un régime traditionnel revu et corrigé ...

porté. Comme il existe aujourd'hui une Association des enseignants d'immersion indépendants d'autres associations professionnelles, il existera peut-être une Association ou un Club anciens de l'immersion ... elle classe sociale destinée à occuper les postes bilingues de la fonction publique du Canada ...

Conclusion

Les résultats de l'ensemble des faits depuis vingt ans dans le domaine de l'éducation et de l'enseignement des langues secondes, l'immersion « est un régime dépassé. Il a beaucoup promis, il a beaucoup tenu, mais il n'a pas permis de faire des enfants aussi bilingues qu'on l'espérait. On peut aujourd'hui dire des résultats similaires avec moyennement beaucoup plus réduits. Il faut chercher à transcender le régime actuel par un régime mixte, où l'on se succéderait diverses



Né en 1947, Timothy Elliott qui a commis les illustrations de ce numéro, ne sent pas pour autant la nécessité de quitter le royaume de l'enfance. Ses années formatrices se sont écoulées à l'ombre du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal et de l'École des Beaux-Arts de cette même ville. Vit présentement à Hudson, Québec, sous les regards enveloppants de sa femme, d'un chat et d'un poney. S'inquiète nuit et jour de la progression arithmétique de ses obligations familiales et fait la sourde oreille aux appels déchirants d'éléphants en quête d'une famille d'accueil. Très occupé jusqu'à maintenant par la pige, il n'en a pas moins consacré depuis peu, temps et efforts à l'exposition de ses oeuvres personnelles. Estime être en mesure de subvenir aux besoins des siens au crépuscule de sa vie

L'hypothèse que la bilinguisation précède par l'immersion n'influerait pas sur la qualité de la langue maternelle semble confirmée pour les enfants appartenant à des populations majoritaires ou favorisées. Je dis bien « semble confirmée », parce qu'il n'y a pas d'étude exhaustive à ce sujet et que les analyses partielles effectuées ont porté sur les examens scolaires, méthode qui, comme je l'ai déjà dit, ne permet pas de mesurer la compétence linguistique totale.

Certains résultats d'évaluation me paraissent par ailleurs surprenants, sinon révélateurs de phénomènes encore inconnus : en 1974, Mme Swain affirmait qu'il semblait préférable pour de petits Anglophones en immersion d'apprendre à lire en français (langue seconde) plutôt qu'en anglais (langue maternelle). Elle avait observé certains problèmes de lecture dans les deux langues chez des enfants qui avaient, dans des circonstances semblables, appris à lire en anglais. Cette conclusion me paraît curieuse parce que les élèves de l'immersion apprennent à lire en première année et qu'ils ne sont donc pas encore assez avancés pour connaître la forme orale de bien des mots et pour s'y référer.

Peut-être y avait-il dans ces classes des enfants allophones, ce qui est fréquent dans les écoles anglaises ? Peut-être cela confirme-t-il qu'il est préférable de ne travailler en classe, à ce stade, que dans une seule langue et que le fait de travailler dans deux langues entraîne la confusion ? Quoi qu'il en soit, ce phénomène mériterait un examen systématique à cause de son importance et de ses effets éventuels à long terme.

L'immersion et les autres matières scolaires

Dans le cas des autres matières scolaires, les prévisions se sont réalisées : s'il y a un retard au début de l'immersion, le rattrapage se fait assez bien. Encore là, il s'agit du succès à des examens scolaires et rien ne permet de se prononcer sur la compétence totale dans ces matières : il s'agit aussi de conclusions applicables à des enfants majoritaires ou favorisés.

Pour les enfants minoritaires ou défavorisés, la plupart des résultats obtenus dans différents pays du monde (États-Unis, Angleterre, Irlande, Mexique, Philippines, etc.) sont plutôt négatifs. À tel point qu'on admet de plus en plus ce qu'on appelle un « effet de balance » qui résulte d'une sorte de compensation négative du positif de l'éducation bilingue. L'expansion récente de l'immersion au Canada, s'appliquant à des populations plus variées qu'à l'origine, commence à confirmer cette observation.

L'immersion et l'éducation

L'objectif principal de l'immersion, qui était de faire mieux que le régime traditionnel, a été facilement atteint. On peut toutefois se demander à quel prix, car on a chamboulé tout le programme. On a remplacé les enseignants habituels pour imposer des maîtres et des maîtresses de langue étrangère, on a changé les manuels, on est passé de 450 heures « d'exposition » à la langue seconde à 450 heures, on a ajouté tout un arsenal de mesures et d'interventions de spécialistes, on a transformé ces enfants en espèces de vedettes de la langue seconde dans leurs milieux, de sauveurs de la dualité linguistique de ce pays. On doit se demander aujourd'hui si on ne peut obtenir ces résultats à moins de frais pédagogiques.

Malheureusement, ce ne sont pas les recherches sur l'immersion qui permettent de répondre en connaissance de cause à cette question, parce que les programmes ne contiennent pas d'hypothèses sur les facteurs éducatifs proprement dits, sauf peut-être pour comparer le primaire et le secondaire (immersion longue – immersion courte). Rien d'important sur les méthodes d'enseignement, le matériel scolaire, les maîtres et leurs relations avec les enfants ; rien sur l'influence des classes de la même école, rien sur ce qui se passe en classe, rien ou peu de choses sur les autres régimes possibles.

On peut facilement observer que l'immersion a beaucoup évolué

On pourrait de plus faire remarquer que la pédagogie générale des dernières années est à l'opposé des tendances les plus marquées de la pédagogie moderne. On recherche aujourd'hui l'expression spontanée, une grande liberté individuelle, la satisfaction des besoins des enfants, alors qu'en immersion, les enfants doivent s'exprimer dans une langue qu'ils ne connaissent pas et se trouvent là en fonction des besoins exprimés par des parents ou des éducateurs. L'égalité de traitement est aussi mise en cause, puisqu'il y a des prototypes de réussite socio-culturelle à côté des autres élèves

depuis ses débuts, qu'elle est passée d'un état « pur », si l'on peut dire (sans enseignement de la langue maternelle, à un état mixte (où l'enseignement de la langue alterne avec l'enseignement des autres matières dans cette langue), et cela sans justification expérimentale ou descriptif. C'est en fait l'immersion qui est en fait hors des travaux sur l'enseignement des langues, les classes d'accueil pour jeunes immigrants (enseigne ment exclusif de la langue) et les programmes de la communication, et ces expériences sont loin d'avoir donné lieu à des évaluations aussi systématiques et aussi complexes que l'immersion. Au Canada, dans les secteurs dynamiques de l'éducation, l'immersion a été le souci le plus constant en langues secondes et accaparé les principaux budgets de recherche. Pourtant, on arrive aujourd'hui à deux conclusions contradictoires : 1) dans le monde scolaire, contrairement au monde « naturel des adultes apprennent mieux et vite que les adolescents, ceux-ci apprennent à leur tour mieux et vite que les enfants (sauf peut-être pour la prononciation, mais ce « sauf » ne saurait s'appliquer à l'immersion, dont l'un des problèmes importants est justement la prononciation).

Les évaluations ont souvent négligé un phénomène très important, celui de la régression linguistique vers l'âge de huit ou neuf ans. En effet, beaucoup d'enfants en immersion longue « avancent » très bien en langue seconde durant les trois premières années, mais réggressent ensuite pour des raisons qui semblent reliées à leur phase d'identification sociale. Ce phénomène est assez connu en langue maternelle, mais on n'avait pas prévu ses retombées sur l'apprentissage de la langue seconde, et surtout le recul linguistique auquel il pouvait donner lieu. On ne l'a pas non plus décrit ni expliqué dans les nombreuses évaluations de l'immersion. Pourtant, des informations plus poussées sur cette question pourraient aider aujourd'hui à planifier les programmes d'enseignement des langues secondes au primaire.

Il suffit d'examiner quelques analyses indépendantes faites par des linguistes (Spilka, Connors) pour constater qu'au Canada, les enfants de l'immersion ont de graves lacunes de vocabulaire, de grammaire et de prononciation. (Voir Harley page 57 dans ce numéro.)

Jeunes affectifs

des hypothèses de l'immersion le sentiment d'appartenance à leur groupe maternel ne trait pas et qu'ils se per- toujours, à la fin, comme graphones de plein titre. Elle a gement vérifiée : le régime me, limitant l'éducation bilin- domaine strictement scolaire révoyant aucun contact avec ncophones, était conçu pour

à l'hypothèse de l'amélioration
mentalité à l'égard de la
française francophone, elle n'a
été que très partiellement. On
une plus grande connaissance
français au Canada, mais peu
évaluation pour nouer des rela-
avec les Francophones et pour
études supérieures dans des
tions francophones. La
re de ces deux hypothèses
jours paru devoir pratique-

N'exagère-t-on pas le succès de l'immersion « pure » ? Pour sa part, le professeur Bibeau estime qu'il s'agit d'une méthode dépassée qu'il y aura peut-être lieu de remplacer par un régime d'apprentissage intensif.

Tout ce qui brille...

GILLES BIBEAU

Docteur en linguistique de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille, et professeur titulaire à la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université de Montréal, Gilles Bibeau s'intéresse à toutes les questions linguistiques, notamment au bilinguisme. Au cours des années 70, il a été chargé par le gouvernement fédéral de l'étude principale sur la formation linguistique dans la Fonction publique.



réf pour tenter de suppléer aux carences du régime traditionnel, l'enseignement immer-sif en français a eu des le départ besoin d'un support théorique, d'une espèce de justification multiforme. Au-delà des raisons socio-politiques qui poussaient des parents anglophones du Québec à permettre à leurs enfants d'acquérir une connaissance suffisante du français, il fallait assurer à cette méthode des bases psychologiques, linguistiques et éducatives solides. On ne pouvait prendre le risque d'exposer les enfants aux graves inconvénients souvent attribués à la bilinguisation précoce : problèmes de développement intellectuel et général, affaiblissement de la langue maternelle, retards dans les autres matières scolaires, sans parler de ses incidences sur les rapports sociaux et les attitudes à l'égard des communautés seconde et maternelle.

Or, on ne possédait pour ainsi dire pas de justificatif. Il y avait bien des travaux sur l'attitude et la motivation ainsi que sur la comparaison (avantageuse) de bilingues et d'unilingues canadiens, mais ils ne s'appliquaient pas clairement au développement et ne pouvaient constituer des fondements satisfaisants pour adopter un régime d'éducation bilingue. Autrement dit, personne ne pouvait rassurer les parents et les éducateurs sur les effets possibles de l'enseignement précoce d'une langue seconde. C'est pourquoi on a dû compléter le vécu des classes d'immersion par des programmes de recherche et d'évaluation.

Il a fallu, à l'origine, s'en remettre au jeu des hypothèses classes n'auraient pas d'effets négatifs sur le développement intellectuel et général ; elles ne nuiraient pas à la qualité de la langue maternelle ni à l'apprentissage des autres matières scolaires, elles ne modifieraient pas attitudes des enfants à l'égard de leur propre communauté culturelle et elles amélioreraient même leur comportement à l'égard de la communauté seconde. D'autres hypothèses alimentaient encore les recherches et les évaluations : était vrai que, plus les enfants étaient jeunes, plus ils apprenaient rapidement dans des circonstances « naturelles », cela devait être également le cas à l'école moins devait-on essayer de rapprocher la situation scolaire des circonstances « naturelles » : « passé un certain âge (9 à 12 ans), il n'était plus possible d'acquérir parfaitement la prononciation, le débit et le rythme d'une langue étrangère ; les enfants apprennent sans effort, alors qu'adolescents et les adultes, plus conscients, doivent travailler plus fort ; les enfants sont faciles à motiver par des procédés pédagogiques, alors que les adultes le sont moins.

Après presque vingt ans d'évaluation, où en est-on dans la vérification des hypothèses et quelles sont les questions qu'on peut encore se poser à propos de l'immersion et ce qu'elle met en jeu ?

L'immersion et les facteurs cognitifs

À première vue, on pense généralement que les résultats de la recherche et de l'évaluation de l'éducation bilingue moderne vont tout à fait à l'encontre de la position traditionnelle attribuant à la bilinguisation précoce des effets néfastes sur le développement intellectuel. Or, ce n'est pas le cas. Si on a pu corriger la formulation et nuancer la position traditionnelle, on ne l'a pas substantiellement contredite, car il semble aujourd'hui que le développement cognitif est embarrasé et souvent retardé par le bilinguisme précoce et que ce dernier crée

qu'ici par choix, seront les bilingues de demain et continueront d'occuper les postes stratégiques, les postes où se prennent les décisions qui nous affectent comme individus et comme collectivité, les postes que nous devons éventuellement remplir si nous comptons faire de la province du Nouveau-Brunswick une province dans laquelle on pourra véritablement parler de chance égale pour tous ?

Le programme de cours immersifs a des répercussions aussi nombreuses que variées. Les élèves qui en sortiront, les cadres de demain, auront-ils une vision plus large de leur milieu linguistique ? Leur notion d'égalité des chances pour tous aura-t-elle changé par rapport à leurs parents ? En ce qui concerne les Francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, cette évolution sera-t-elle un défi majeur à relever ? Depuis quinze ans, la province a fait des progrès remarquables vers un bilinguisme authentique. L'immersion a certainement été une réussite à cet égard et ses enjeux passionnants ne cessent de nous stimuler. Pour la première fois, on a trouvé un moyen de rendre les enfants bilingues. Les problèmes sociaux ou politiques que peut poser le régime d'enseignement immersif ne doivent jamais prendre le pas sur l'acquis ou y porter atteinte. Le Nouveau-Brunswick a su faire preuve de dynamisme et d'initiative pour répondre aux besoins des deux groupes linguistiques et nous ne doutons pas qu'il persévéra dans cette voie.

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fait, ce n'est que dans les régions bilingues que les enfants deviennent bilingues. D'après une étude effectuée en 1982, on pourrait dire qu'environ 56 pour cent des élèves francophones peuvent être qualifiés d'unilingues. Quelles sont les techniques pédagogiques à leur disposition pour apprendre l'anglais langue seconde ? Il est hors de question de créer un programme immersif en anglais dans les établissements francophones, du moins pas sur le modèle des écoles anglaises, par crainte d'une dégringolade du français abouissant à l'assimilation. Mais les éducateurs se heurtent à un obstacle de taille, qu'il faut surmonter à tout prix.

Y a-t-il un lien entre ce problème dans la collectivité francophone et la popularité de l'immersion chez les Anglophones ? Gilbert Finn, président francophone de l'Université de Moncton, a très bien posé l'équation dans une allocution qu'il a prononcée en février 1982 lors d'un colloque sur l'anglais langue seconde :

Oui, mesdames et messieurs, les Anglophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, nos compatriotes, viennent de découvrir la valeur et l'importance du bilinguisme et surtout ses retombées économiques. Et croyez-en ma parole, ils sont bien décidés à ce que leurs enfants apprennent la langue française. Ils ont compris que leurs enfants devaient devenir bilingues pour accéder aux postes de commande. Il y va de leur avenir dans cette province.

Et nous les Acadiens, qu'allons-nous faire face à ce nouveau développement ? Nos jeunes ne sauront-ils que le français ? Vont-ils encore une fois être empêchés d'occuper les postes auxquels nous avons aspiré pendant longtemps et que nous croyions jusqu'à tout récemment pouvoir occuper sans trop de difficulté ? Est-il possible que nous qui avons toujours été bilingues par la force des circonstances allions devenir unilingues ? Est-il possible que les Anglophones, unilingues jusqu'à

quelques années, d'inévitables surajustements dans certains cas quand les parents demandent l'immersion et que le conseil d'école pensait, pour diverses raisons, ne pas pouvoir en offrir. Il faut généralement la taille du coût du programme, les arguments que cela causerait dans les établissements, etc. De tels ajustements peuvent encore subsister la nouvelle politique proposée est claire. Si les candidats suffisamment nombreux pour former une classe, le conseil est d'acquiescer, expression qui en soi, primordiale. Les auto-basent pour ce faire sur une moyenne de ce niveau dans le Québec. La politique reconnaît deux d'entrée, la 1^{re} et la 7^e année. Les ajustements ont pris effet en 1982. La province avait depuis les lignes de conduite dont les parents se faisaient sentir que sur le long terme, comme au Nouveau-Brunswick tout l'enseignement est par un organisme central maintenant un système de budgetés par formules, on a ajouté un élément de pondération pour les faits qui comportaient des problèmes immersifs en français. On a essayé de calculer des suppléments que ceux-ci neurent. Apparemment, la situation ne donne pas toujours des résultats exacts. Il faut en fait connaître exactement quels sont les faits imputables à l'immersion, les avis divergent sur la

enfants francophones !

ment les bilinguiser ?

des gros points noirs du système au Nouveau-Brunswick les années 80 est le nombre d'élèves francophones qui, au secondaire, ne possèdent pas une compétence minimale en français. Bien que les deux groupes linguistiques disposent de services éducatifs et que la province continue à budgétiser un budget spécial au programme d'anglais langue seconde, les résultats ne sont pas encourageants. Le programme d'anglais de base traverse la même que son pendant français avant tout de l'immersion. Tout compte

ressort une appréhension manifeste et persistante de la part des enseignants anglophones. De toute évidence, la perspective de perdre son emploi constitue pour un enseignant au programme régulier la conséquence de l'immersion la plus dramatique (p. 23). »

Pour les parents et pour les personnes étroitement associées à ces programmes, le problème est aussi lié à la sélection du personnel. Vu l'accroissement des effets des cours immersifs, le déclin régulier des inscriptions et les perspectives de nouvelles contraintes budgétaires, on craint beaucoup que les conseils n'assouplissent les critères applicables aux professeurs de classes d'immersion et qu'ils fassent progressivement appel au personnel n'ayant qu'une compétence restreinte en français pour éviter des mises à pied.

Au Nouveau-Brunswick, qui compte plus de 30 pour cent de Francophones, seuls les petits districts ont du mal à trouver du personnel qualifié. Néanmoins, pour soulager les conseils scolaires, le ministère de l'Éducation a créé un programme pilote de trois ans destiné à former des Anglophones à enseigner en français. L'expérience en est à sa deuxième année et la première promotion (neuf professeurs) a rejoint ses districts respectifs en septembre 1983.

Le roulement du personnel qu'entraîne l'immersion peut créer des tensions et une appréhension difficiles à supporter. Un directeur d'école élémentaire de la région de Moncton a affirmé que pendant six ans son école a subi de fortes tensions et donc de graves perturbations, le programme immersif supplantant peu à peu les classes traditionnelles. Des professeurs en poste depuis de nombreuses années avaient été mutés et remplacés par des jeunes qui n'avaient souvent que quelques années d'expérience. Septembre était un mois particulièrement difficile, puisqu'il fallait former une équipe pédagogique avec un personnel démoralisé qui se sentait menacé. Aujourd'hui, cette école a retrouvé

son équilibre, bien qu'elle offre parallèlement des cours traditionnels et un enseignement immersif. Le personnel est resté stable depuis quelques années. La sécurité d'emploi étant revenue, le directeur se félicite d'être secondé par une équipe dynamique. La vie a repris son cours dans la salle de professeurs, bien souvent en français. Le personnel coopère et s'enorgueillit de l'établissement et de ses élèves.

Les enjeux socio-politiques

Très variés, les enjeux socio-politiques liés à l'enseignement immersif touchent non seulement les personnes directement en cause, mais d'autres par ricochet. Dans l'ensemble, on estime que le régime traditionnel en pâtit dans une certaine mesure. « C'est bien beau de « retourner » beaucoup d'élèves du programme anglais en vigueur, mais qu'est-ce que cela donne ? » C'est la question que se posent la New Brunswick Teachers' Association et les parents, qui craignent que les fonds affectés à l'immersion ne servent pas aussi utilement que s'ils étaient injectés dans l'ensemble du système. On redoute que les meilleurs élèves ne choisissent l'immersion et que la stimulation et l'émulation suscitées par les éléments brillants ne fassent défaut. Bien que les résultats des examens provinciaux n'alimentent pas cette thèse, les enseignants ressentent le même malaise. Cela a d'ailleurs été l'un des thèmes de la réunion annuelle du Conseil du français langue seconde en mai 1983, où les professeurs ont déclaré que les objectifs pédagogiques fixés il y a quelques années étaient maintenant dépassés parce que les élèves qui seraient normalement en tête de classe sont en fait en immersion. Cette situation et l'affectation, par la plupart des enseignants aux classes d'immersion en laissent plusieurs assez perplexes quant à l'avenir des enfants du programme de base des écoles anglaises.

Pourtant, l'immersion peut avoir été une excellente chose pour l'enseignement du français langue seconde. Cependant, l'immersion peut avoir été

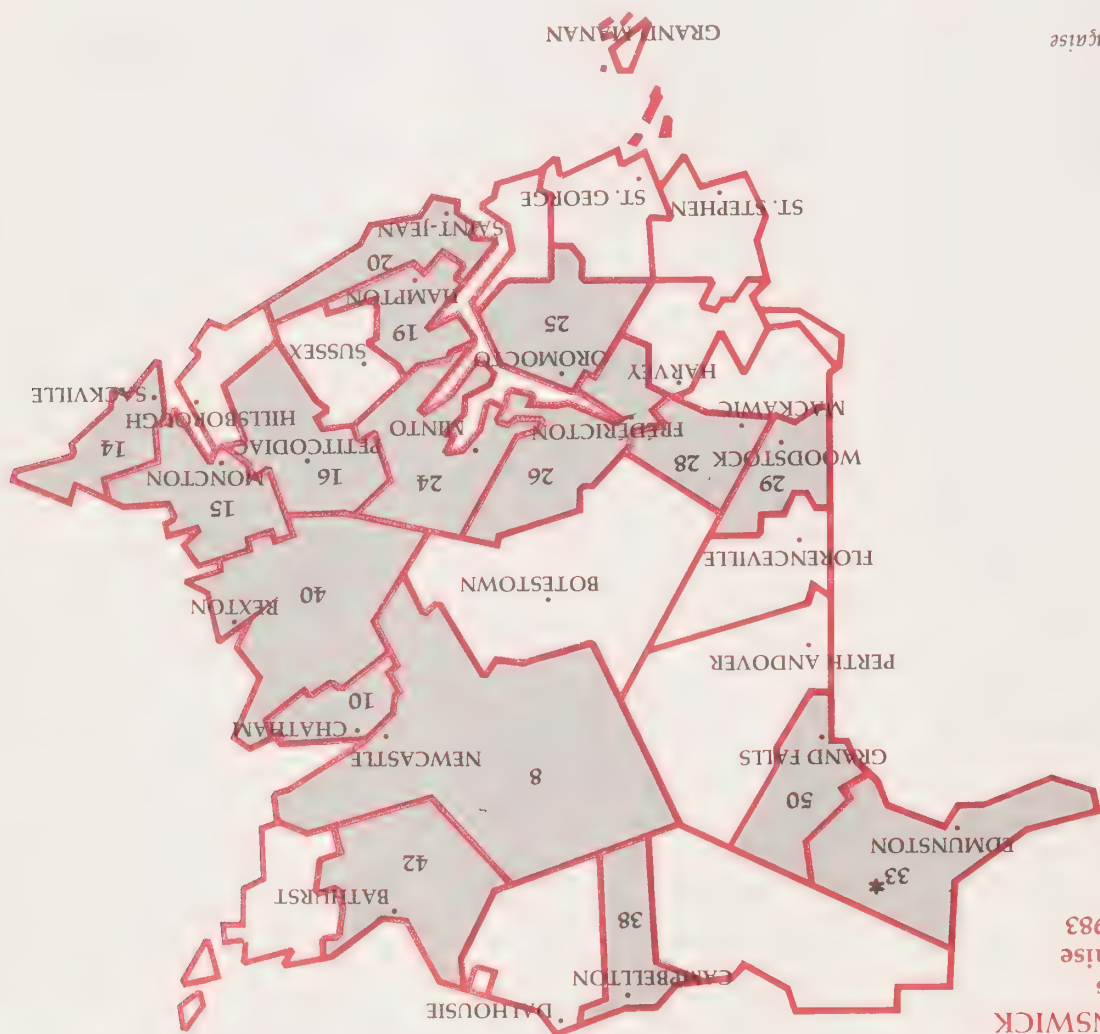
Afin d'essayer d'offrir une méthode de rechange valable, le gouvernement et les conseils scolaires s'efforcent d'assurer des programmes de haute qualité. Les élèves du Nouveau-Brunswick peuvent maintenant se prévaloir d'un minimum de 200 heures d'enseignement et de 120 heures pendant leur scolarité. Grâce à plusieurs projets pilotes, ils peuvent apprendre le français l'été et dans l'ensemble, les parents comme à voir que l'immersion n'est pas la seule voie possible.

La question de l'élitisme revient souvent. Compte tenu de la position provinciale en la matière, presque tout le monde a accès au programme mais il ne fait aucun doute qu'il s'opère une sélection naturelle sur le terrain et que les élèves qui optent pour ce régime viennent en grande partie des familles plus éduquées et de milieux socio-économiques plus riches. Dans son rapport annuel 1981, le Commissaire aux langues officielles, M. Max Valden, le résumait : « Des parents, des enseignants et quelques spécialistes voient que les programmes actuels d'immersion ne constituent pas une forme dangereuse d'élitisme. On redoute que les meilleurs élèves ne choisissent l'immersion et que la stimulation et l'émulation suscitées par les éléments brillants ne fassent défaut. Bien que les résultats des examens provinciaux n'alimentent pas cette thèse, les enseignants ressentent le même malaise. Cela a d'ailleurs été l'un des thèmes de la réunion annuelle du Conseil du français langue seconde en mai 1983, où les professeurs ont déclaré que les objectifs pédagogiques fixés il y a quelques années étaient maintenant dépassés parce que les élèves qui seraient normalement en tête de classe sont en fait en immersion. Cette situation et l'affectation, par la plupart des enseignants aux classes d'immersion en laissent plusieurs assez perplexes quant à l'avenir des enfants du programme de base des écoles anglaises.

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Étant donné le caractère officiellement bilingue de la province et sa composition démographique on met l'accent sur l'apprentissage du français et de l'anglais. On le considère aussi bien dans la prise de décisions qu'au sein de la population en général et de ses nombreux organismes et associations. La politique de l'enseignement immersif, par exemple, révèle bien l'esprit des autorités provinciales et leur encouragement aux particuliers veulent devenir bilingues.

1976-1977	1977-1978	1978-1979	1979-1980	1980-1981	1981-1982	1982-1983
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immersion française
1977 à 1982-1983

GRANT MANAN

De nombreux experts et parents sont venus témoigner au procès, qui a duré douze jours. À l'issue du procès, le juge a rendu sa décision dans un document de 73 pages, où il déclarait clairement qu'il incombat à chaque conseil scolaire de déterminer si les candidats à un programme traditionnel avaient une connaissance suffisante de la langue première (l'anglais pour le district 50, ou le français pour le district 32). La cour a confirmé le droit pour les parents de choisir le régime pédagogique, français ou anglais, convenant à leurs enfants. Autrement dit, si un enfant a la compétence linguistique voulue pour suivre le programme anglais, c'est son droit de choisir le système anglais. Par contre, s'il a déjà « une connaissance pratique » du français, le conseil doit lui refuser l'admission au programme immersif. En définitive, l'intérêt de ce procès est qu'il a constitué la première reconnaissance officielle que les écoles unilingues distinctes sont indispen-

Le jugement

et ses répercussions

Dans une province où les Finn, les Ferguson et les Young peuvent être unilingues français, le procès de Grand Falls ne manquera pas d'avoir des répercussions sur les autres districts scolaires. D'ailleurs, quel-ques jours après la promulgation de la décision, le ministère de l'Éducation en distribuait des copies à tous les districts anglais de la province. La dynamique qui a été à l'origine de l'affaire de Grand Falls pourrait aboutir au même résultat dans d'autres régions bilingues du Nouveau-Brunswick où des classes immersives sont offertes.

Le Nouveau-Brunswick est officiellement une province bilingue et sa Loi sur les langues officielles précise la portée exacte de cette réalité. En matière d'éducation, cela signifie l'égalité des services pour les deux groupes linguistiques. Pour l'heure, le ministre de l'Éducation, un Francophone, est assisté de deux sous-ministres, chargés respective-

Les services pédagogiques sont offerts de façon égale sous la direction de deux sous-ministres adjoints, l'un francophone, l'autre anglophone. Chaque groupe a sa propre direction qui offre les mêmes services : conception et mise en oeuvre des programmes, éducation spéciale, services personnels aux élèves et évaluation. Les districts scolaires fonctionnent par langue, français ou anglais.

Sur le plan provincial, les programmes d'immersion en français relèvent de la Division des services pédagogiques anglais, puisqu'ils visent les élèves anglophones. Ils sont élaborés par le personnel de la Direction de la conception et de la mise en oeuvre des programmes (anglais), de concert avec le comité ordinaire des programmes composé de titulaires de classes immersives. La Direction prépare des programmes dans toutes les matières : mathématiques, sciences, sciences sociales, sciences de la santé, etc., et trouve un équivalent aux cursus pour les écoles anglaises dans toutes les matières autres que les disciplines langagières.

À l'instar d'autres provinces canadiennes, l'immersion en français est assez récente au Nouveau-Brunswick, puisqu'elle a démarré dans les deux principaux districts anglophones à la fin des années 60. D'après les statistiques de 1982-1983, ses effectifs sont de 8 759 élèves, soit environ 10 pour cent de la population scolaire anglophone. L'enseignement immersif, offert de la première à la douzième année (secondaire V), existe dans dix-sept des vingt-six districts de langue anglaise. (En septembre 1983, vingt sont entrés dans cette catégorie.) Les élèves de classes immersives de la Riverview High School (district 15) ont obtenu leur diplôme en juin 1982, et ceux de la Fredenton High School (district 26), l'auront en 1985.

L'immersion et

la sécurité d'emploi des professeurs

La sécurité de l'emploi n'est pas un problème propre au Nouveau-Brunswick. Tous les conseils scolaires du Canada qui ont des programmes de ce genre doivent y faire face. L'Association canadienne d'éducation, dans son rapport *La question de l'immersion : des commissions scolaires relèvent le gant*, est parvenue à la même conclusion : « Un aspect des programmes d'immersion en français a beaucoup fait la manchette. Il s'agit de ses conséquences sur les enseignants anglophones. À cause, bien souvent, de la popularité du programme, on embauche des professeurs francophones alors que le nombre des professeurs anglophones unilingues reste stationnaire ou diminue. Des commentaires reçus, il

26, qui correspondent respectivement aux régions métropolitaines de Moncton et de Fredenton. Bien qu'au moment où cet article est préparé, les projections pour septembre 1983, 27 pour cent de la population scolaire de Moncton sont inscrites au programme d'immersion, contre 17 pour cent à Fredenton. Plusieurs des districts offrant ce régime pédagogique ont moins de 4 000 élèves, le district 50 remportant la palme avec seulement 517. Dans l'ensemble de la province, les effectifs croissent d'une année à l'autre, mais ainsi que depuis trois ans, on a enregistré un taux d'augmentation de 98,6 pour cent.

Pour tous les districts, petits ou grands, le problème principal est la dotation. Jack Mackinnon, directeur exécutif de la New Brunswick Teachers' Association a écrit : « Ce n'est pas une erreur de dire qu'à chaque classe d'immersion longue correspond une suppression de personnel enseignant anglophone. Au début de la présente année scolaire, on a recensé 269,5 titulaires de classes d'immersion, dont à peu près 90 p. cent sont de langue maternelle française. Je ne fais que citer les faits. » Il ajoutait : « Pourquoi les professeurs anglophones redoutent-ils tant ce régime ? Les réactions seraient-elles aussi vives sans la menace d'une réduction du corps professoral et des ressources financières ? Probablement pas ! »

e étude de cas portant sur les incidences socio-politiques
immersion en français dans la seule province canadienne officiellement
bilingue — le Nouveau-Brunswick — nous permet de comprendre les réactions
émotionnelles des Francophones et des Anglophones face à ce phénomène.

a recherche de l'égalité linguistique

NE EDWARDS

Viviane Edwards a enseigné le français langue seconde à
des jeunes de tous les âges dans les écoles du Nouveau-
Brunswick et a été professeure au Teachers' College de
Frédéricton. Depuis 1972, elle travaille au ministère de
l'Éducation de cette province à titre de conseillère en
langues secondes et agit depuis 1975, comme coordon-
natrice provinciale des services en langues secondes.



e 30 septembre 1982, à la cour du
Nouveau-Brunswick, le juge Guy Richard
entendait le premier témoin d'une cause tout
à fait insolite. La Société des Acadiciens du
Nouveau-Brunswick Inc. et l'Association des
maîtres scolaires francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick
ont le Conseil scolaire de la minorité anglaise n° 50
et Falls d'entreprendre la Loi scolaire et la Loi sur les
officielles du Nouveau-Brunswick. Elles alléguent
programme de français offert aux Francophones par
le Conseil risquait de dépeupler le Conseil français de la
té du district n° 32. De son côté, le district 50
essait l'accusation en faisant valoir que le programme
n'est pas visait pas des enfants dont le français était
une maternelle, mais bien des élèves des classes
sives, soit des Anglophones. Il soutenait aussi que
il aucun moyen de connaître exactement la langue
nelle d'un élève, rien ne lui permettait de refuser une
tion.

agglomération du nord-ouest du Nouveau-
Brunswick, Grand Falls est proche de la frontière
aine et du Québec. Aussi ne faut-il pas s'étonner de
la population comporte des éléments des deux
les, créant un milieu aussi vibrant que complexe. Il
beaucoup de foyers anglo-français, et bien qu'en
il une langue prédomine à la maison, des familles
nt les deux sur un pied d'égalité. Appelées à la barre
moins lors du procès, certains experts ont estimé que
ait possible alors que d'autres n'y croyaient pas.

Avant la fin de juin 1981, la région de Grand Falls ne
possédait qu'un district scolaire et le système d'enseigne-
ment était considéré comme bilingue : Francophones et
Anglophones suivaient les cours dans leur langue
maternelle respective ou moitié-moitié. Le 18 juin 1981, la
Loi scolaire était amendée pour instaurer des districts
scolaires appartenant exclusivement à l'une ou à l'autre
langue officielle. Elle prévoyait aussi des conseils scolaires
de la minorité chargés de veiller aux droits de leurs
« ressortissants » dans les collectivités linguistiques majori-
taires. L'intention du législateur était de garantir les droits
à tous, mais, pour certaines familles, cela ne suffisait pas.
Les parents bilingues, forcés de donner une étiquette
« française » ou « anglaise » à leurs enfants, se retrouvaient
en pleine crise d'identité.

Avant la création du district 50, de nombreux parents
anglophones avaient demandé la mise sur pied d'un
programme de cours immersifs en français. Vu la taille du
district et l'accès à l'enseignement français dans les
établissements francophones de ce qui était alors le district
bilingue 32, ils avaient été autorisés à inscrire leurs enfants
dans ces écoles. Mais tout a changé avec l'avènement des
districts unilingues et des conseils de la minorité. Du jour
au lendemain, ces parents ont décidé de mettre leurs
enfants dans des écoles anglaises, avec les mêmes droits à
l'enseignement immersif en français que les autres districts
anglophones de la province. Cela n'a pas posé de
problème particulier au conseil scolaire du district 50 qui
avait prévu d'offrir tout un éventail de cours facultatifs en
français, dont l'immersion. Ce projet ouvrait la porte non
seulement aux Anglophones désireux de profiter de
l'enseignement immersif, mais aux bilingues et aux
parents francophones qui, pour divers motifs, voulaient
voir leurs enfants dans le district 50. En revanche, pour de
nombreux Francophones percevant les écoles bilingues
comme des instruments d'assimilation, c'était
inacceptable.

programmes. Ces tâches sont exécutées par diverses personnes : le responsable des langues secondes, un conseiller ukrainien à temps plein, un conseiller allemand à mi-temps, les représentants des services des Programmes, des Communications, de l'Elaboration des cours et du Personnel.

Coûts et financement : reconnus et acceptés

Pour la plupart des programmes d'études, les salaires des enseignants constituent la plus forte dépense. Bien sûr, les salaires sont les mêmes, que l'enseignant se donne en anglais ou dans une autre langue, mais les cours bilingues occasionnent des frais supplémentaires, notamment les premières années. On devra, par exemple, élaborer un programme particulier, garnir la bibliothèque de livres dans la langue seconde, rétribuer les personnes-ressources, recruter des élèves et du service de transport par autobus. Pour prendre en compte les invitables frais supplémentaires qu'entraîne la mise sur pied de pareils programmes — administratifs d'écoles dédoublées, pour ainsi dire, personnel spécial (professionnel et rapports avec les parents, repas du midi pour les enfants — le district scolaire public a créé une subvention particulière pour les écoles offrant le choix entre le cours usuel en anglais et un autre cours.

L'Education albertaine, consciente de ces réalités, accorde de son côté des subventions annuelles aux fins ci-après : programmes linguistiques, livres de lecture pour l'élémentaire et

transport. En 1983, ces subventions étaient de 110 \$ par élève pour les programmes linguistiques et de 3,40 \$ pour les livres de lecture.

Les résultats obtenus : très satisfaisants

Les programmes ukrainien et allemand ont fait l'objet d'évaluations en bonne et due forme, financées à 80 pour cent pour le premier par l'Education albertaine de 1974 à 1979, et à 50 pour cent pour le second de 1980 à 1983. Les deux évaluations consistaient en comparaison en anglais des élèves du cours et portaient sur la lecture en anglais et les mathématiques. On mesurait l'acquis en ukrainien et en allemand et on demandait leur avis aux parents, aux enseignants et aux directeurs d'écoles.

D'une manière générale, les élèves des cours bilingues réussissaient aussi bien que le groupe de contrôle dans les mathématiques et la lecture en anglais. De plus, ils manifestaient une maîtrise croissante dans la langue seconde. Les parents et le personnel se sont déclarés très satisfaits.

Les années à venir : bilinguisme au secondaire ?

Il restera à décider si les programmes d'études devront être prolongés au-delà de la sixième dans les diverses langues, sauf l'ukrainienne, qui bénéficie déjà d'un cursus allant jusqu'à la dixième. Le Service d'élaboration des cours enquêtera auprès des parents et trouvera les écoles secondaires appropriées, si la réaction est favorable. Un comité de parents étudie, de concert avec le personnel administratif, la possibilité

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Les écoles publiques du district d'Edmonton, « Evaluation of the Bilingual (English-German) Programme », Edmonton (Alberta), 1983.
Lupul, Manoly et Savaryn, Peter, « The Politics of English-Ukrainian Bilingualism in Alberta », *Review* (Edmonton: Ukrainian Canadian Profess and Business Federation), Edmonton, pp. 18-22, 1974.

Mis à part le succès de ces programmes en ce qui a trait à l'apprentissage de l'anglais et de la langue maternelle ainsi que la réaction, très positive, des parents, il mentionner l'esprit de collaboration qui règne parmi les conseils de parents à l'échelon du district lors qu'ils travaillent à des projets d'intérêt commun. Cet exemple de ce qui peut produire la mosaïque culturelle canadienne est de bon augure pour l'avenir.

commerciaux et des visites libres d'écoles.

Les activités sont nécessaires comme compléments aux cours, mais vu le nombre infime d'élèves, celles-ci n'en sont point facilitées. Toutefois, quelques-unes ont été organisées avec succès pour les élèves du cours ukrainien : représentation d'oeuvres dramatiques à caractère historique, visites de Noël à l'école par saint Nicolas, camp langagier d'été et cérémonie de fin d'année pour la sixième, organisées par les parents.

Formation professionnelle des enseignants

Les besoins en formation professionnelle sont considérables pour l'enseignement des matières au programme ; bon nombre des enseignants n'ont pas eu l'occasion d'étudier les méthodes d'enseignement des langues secondes durant leurs années d'école normale. De plus, les enseignants des nouveaux cours doivent se réunir régulièrement pour discuter de leurs difficultés et de leurs réussites et pour se renseigner sur les matériels scolaires utilisés.

Même pour les enseignants expérimentés, il est essentiel que la formation professionnelle établisse fermement la primauté de la langue parlée dans leur enseignement. Le développement professionnel comprend des visites entre enseignants, des rencontres pédagogiques durant et après les heures de classe, des cours d'été et des conférences. Les responsables des langues secondes et ses conseillers organisent à l'échelon du district un cours de formation pour enseignants en place.

Les personnes-ressources : leur grande importance

Si les cours relèvent des directeurs d'écoles dans le district scolaire d'Edmonton, il reste à assurer d'autres fonctions : diriger l'élaboration des programmes, la formation professionnelle, la création des cours, le recrutement des enseignants et des élèves, la liaison avec les parents ; conseiller et secondar les responsables des cours et les enseignants en ce qui concerne la mise en place des

questions relatives aux droits d'auteur.

Une fois qu'une section a été dactylographiée et agréée par le Service des programmes, elle est éprouvée sur le terrain, révisée l'année suivante et imprimée dans sa forme définitive.

Quant au matériel préparé pour la toute première classe du programme, il est prêt ordinairement en septembre dans une proportion de 40 à 50 pour cent. Le reste est réalisé au cours de l'année, tout comme la tranche de 40 à 50 pour cent nécessaire l'année suivante.

Les documents créés sur place présentent un inconvénient du fait de l'absence de reliure professionnelle et de couleur. Pour celui que l'on trouve dans le commerce, les documents sont rares, comme les livres de lecture, les films, les bandes, les tableaux, les cartes, les trousseaux pédagogiques.

Le recrutement des élèves : collaboration des parents

L'école et dans le district avec la participation des parents et des éducateurs. Moyen de joindre le plus efficace il consiste dans les témoignages de parents aux autres parents. Avec le concours du Service des communications, on fait passer des annonces en avril dans les journaux du lieu, on distribue des dépliants à tous les élèves des maternelles et on remet des prospectus détaillés aux membres du conseil scolaire du district ainsi qu'aux écoles.

Les conseils de parents placent l'affiche réalisée par les autorités scolaires pour attirer l'attention sur les cours en langue seconde, et souvent leur propre affiche, à divers points dans la ville : commerces, bibliothèques, cliniques, institutions religieuses et cabinets de professions libérales. De plus, ils organisent, comme nous l'avons mentionné plus haut, une Semaine de l'éducation bilingue, qui comprend le recours aux médias, des étalages dans les mails

Le personnel canadien Institute for Studies in Ukrainian (Université de l'Alberta) et section de langue allemande à l'Université d'Alberta ont établi des programmes d'éducation physique en ukrainien et allemand, pour les écoles

On projette la création de programmes scolaires, on doit en spécifier le besoin au Service des programmes et lui demander d'en tenir compte dans son budget. Une fois l'approbation budgétaire acquise, l'approvisionnement du matériel peut être assuré à des auteurs à temps partiel pour la plupart, écrits et édités pendant l'année scolaire, les concepteurs de projets qui travaillent surtout durant les vacances, en juillet et août. Des éléments sont affectés aux cours de libération des enseignants qui ont ainsi élaboré certaines sections de programmes. En 1983-1984, les auteurs à temps partiel travaillaient en ukrainien, en allemand, en chinois et en arabe ; un professeur hébraïque y met 30 pour cent de son temps. On a prévu en les services de dactylos, stratigraphes et d'un calligraphe.

Certain nombre d'administrateurs personnes-ressources participent à l'opération : le directeur des programmes, le responsable de la formation des programmes, le responsable des langues secondes, le directeur de projets. Le responsable de l'élaboration des programmes prépare le budget, assure les projets, la répartition du personnel, l'impression, l'entreposage et l'allocation en vue des ventes et extérieures. Le réviseur des programmes participe avec les auteurs à la lecture des épreuves, réalise la présentation et fait des illustrations sur les illustrations et les

La Ukrainian Bilingual Association, conseil de parents, a organisé des « camps linguistiques d'été » et aidé d'une subvention fédérale, a retenu les services d'un collaborateur à temps plein pour le recrutement des élèves. Les conseils de parents allemand, hébreu et arabe ont contribué à la mise sur pied du programme local, en apportant une aide pécuniaire pour la création de matériels pédagogiques et en en fournissant certains. Tous les conseils de district ont pris part à la préparation et à la réalisation de la Semaine de l'éducation bilingue, qui s'est déroulée en mars 1983. Cette initiative, proposée d'abord par la Ukrainian Bilingual Association, tendait à sensibiliser la population aux avantages de cours bilingues dans la région d'Edmonton. Les conseils se proposent de donner un caractère annuel à cette manifestation.

soutien administratif et politique

Les plus hautes instances administratives et les commissaires d'école ont accordé un soutien précieux aux parents. On doit à leur initiative et à leur ouverture d'esprit les cours immersifs les plus importants au Canada. Le gouvernement provincial, par sa législation et son apport financier, a témoigné d'une grande prévoyance et d'un haut sens des responsabilités. Et plus près des classes, les directeurs d'école et leurs adjoints ont joué un rôle essentiel au succès des cours bilingues. Il convient aussi de mentionner l'acceptation et l'appui des enseignants du cours unilingue anglais, ainsi que du personnel paraprofessionnel, dont les secrétaires d'écoles.

Le personnel : sélection faite avec grand soin

Sachant l'extrême importance des matières dans tout enseignement, on met beaucoup de soin à les recruter. Le service du Personnel assure ce travail, parfois à l'échelle nationale, et effectue la première sélection. On recherche tous les attributs du bon enseignant, outre la maîtrise de l'anglais et de la langue seconde. Pour apprécier la maîtrise de la langue seconde, les conseillers des

Services de langue seconde interviennent les candidats ; si le personnel ne possède pas la compétence linguistique à cet effet, on a recours à un comité composé d'un maître appartenant déjà au personnel et d'un ou deux représentants des parents. Les critères sont la correction, la richesse des ressources et l'aisance.

Le matériel pédagogique : il vient de partout

L'enseignement dans la langue seconde exige des aides didactiques pour les élèves et pour les maîtres : guide pour les enseignantes de la maternelle, matériel pour les disciplines linguistiques, les sciences sociales, les arts, la musique et l'éducation physique dans les classes de première à sixième.

On se procure le matériel dans le commerce, si possible. Ainsi, les manuels de lecture pour l'allemand, le chinois et l'arabe sont achetés en Allemagne de l'Ouest, en Californie et en Jordanie. Pour ce qui est de l'ukrainien, le Edmonton Ukrainian Business and Professional Club a obtenu des fonds fédéraux et collabore avec l'Éducation albertaine à la création d'une série de livres de lecture. L'emploi de manuels destinés à des locuteurs d'origine pose souvent des difficultés, en raison du haut niveau de capacité orale que supposent leurs auteurs. Dans le cas de l'ukrainien et du chinois, il faut accorder une attention spéciale aux références idéologiques qui seraient non appropriées aux étudiants canadiens. Comme il est difficile de se procurer du matériel approprié dans le commerce, il est nécessaire d'en créer. Étant donné l'effectif minimal de cent

élèves exigé par l'Éducation albertaine, les Ukrainiens ont le seul programme bilingue bénéficiant d'une généreuse contribution provinciale pour l'élaboration du curriculum conseil ukrainien et un spécialiste ukrainien en matériel d'enseignement. Un conseil de parents albertainement la préparation et la révision du matériel.

Pour les sciences sociales, on ne trouve pas grand chose dans le commerce, le programme albertain étant particulièrement riche. Souvent le matériel du maître reste en anglais, la traduction ou l'adaptation se limitant à des ouvrages destinés aux élèves. Dans bien des cas, on préfère l'adapté plus longue et plus coûteuse, par exemple, qu'elle est plus appropriée aux capacités linguistiques des élèves et qu'elle permet de mettre mieux à profit les ouvrages de référence rédigés dans la langue seconde. Les arts, la musique et l'éducation physique occupent moins de place au début dans les cours bilingues, d'autant plus que l'accorde moi part parce qu'on leur accorde moins de temps d'enseignement et, d'autre part, parce qu'il s'agit de matières obtenues des fonds fédéraux et collabore avec l'Éducation albertaine à la création d'une série de livres de lecture. L'emploi de manuels destinés à des locuteurs d'origine pose souvent des difficultés, en raison du haut niveau de capacité orale que supposent leurs auteurs. Dans le cas de l'ukrainien et du chinois, il faut accorder une attention spéciale aux références idéologiques qui seraient non appropriées aux étudiants canadiens. Comme il est difficile de se procurer du matériel approprié dans le commerce, il est nécessaire d'en créer. Étant donné l'effectif minimal de cent

hors de la zone normalement desservie par l'école. Enfin, il faut prévoir le développement lié à l'adjonction annuelle d'un degré scolaire pendant quelques années.

Tous les cours bilingues, sauf l'anglo-hébraïque, sont donnés dans des écoles à double régime (anglo-phone et bilingue) ou à triple régime (immersion en plus). Les parents préfèrent, en général, les contacts avec les élèves du cours unilingue anglais et avec le personnel que comportent ces écoles. Ajoutons que le conseil scolaire a adopté une politique exigeant que les classes bilingues soient installées dans des écoles où le cours en anglais puisse être viable à longue échéance.

Comme peu d'écoles donnent des cours bilingues, le transport des élèves demande beaucoup de soins. Le comité mixte sur le transport, qui est composé de cadres administratifs et de représentants des conseils de parents, s'emploie à assurer le meilleur transport possible par autobus pour les élèves qui ne peuvent recourir au service public. Le coût mensuel moyen pour les parents est de 27 \$ par enfant. On cherche à limiter le temps passé dans l'autobus à une heure au maximum dans chaque sens. L'Éducation albertaine offre des subventions pour maintenir aussi bas que possible le coût mensuel du transport.

Objectifs et

participation des parents

Les parents comptent bien que leurs enfants atteindront un niveau satisfaisant en anglais et dans les autres matières, telles les mathématiques. Ils souhaitent des progrès vers la maîtrise de la langue seconde, ainsi que la connaissance et l'appréciation de la culture.

Ils entendent aussi être informés et désirent, pour bon nombre, donner leur appui au cours. Ils peuvent le faire individuellement ou au sein d'un conseil de parents à l'échelon du district. Leur concours porte également sur diverses initiatives langagières d'appoint, sur le transport, le programme d'enseignement et le recrutement des élèves.

outre les avantages usuels de l'enseignement en anglais.

Les débuts : changements à la Loi scolaire en 1971

Avant 1971, la Loi scolaire de l'Alberta ne permettait pas l'enseignement dans une autre langue que l'anglais ou le français. Des modifications y ont été apportées cette année-là à la suite de négociations menées par un groupe de la communauté ukrainienne sous la direction du professeur M. Lupul, aujourd'hui directeur du Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies à l'Université de l'Alberta, et par M. P. Savaryn, avocat et actuellement chancelier de cette université. L'une de ces modifications permettait qu'un enseignement en d'autres langues occupe jusqu'à la moitié de l'horaire quotidien. Le gouvernement s'est engagé en outre à accorder son appui pour l'élaboration des matériels pédagogiques pourvu que, dans la province, au moins cent élèves soient inscrits par année de cours pour une langue donnée.

Une fois en vigueur la législation habitante, les parents qui souhaitaient un cours bilingue anglo-ukrainien mirent sur pied des demandes avant de demander aux conseils scolaires public et catholique d'Edmonton de prendre les cours à leur charge. Les parents arabes et chinois ont procédé de la même façon, c'est-à-dire ont démontré qu'il y avait des effectifs suffisants et la détermination nécessaire.

L'accès : question de planification et de transport

Dans la structure administrative des écoles publiques, c'est la division de planification et de développement qui veille à l'accessibilité des cours, ce qui comprend le choix des emplacements et le transport des élèves. D'une manière générale, elle cherche à installer les classes dans des écoles situées aussi près que possible des lieux où habitent le plus grand nombre d'élèves. C'est là une tâche bien difficile dans la pratique, étant donné que ces écoles sont déjà presque pleinement occupées par les élèves du programme d'études en anglais. Autre complication, le cours bilingue attirera des élèves habitant

nombre 1983, et le prolongement des jusqu'à la sixième a été sous réserve d'un nombre d'inscriptions. Le cours fut également une innovation canada.

signement se donne dans deux . Quant aux effectifs à prévoir, projections en date de juin 1983 étaient ainsi pour 1983-1984 : 43, 58, 1^{ère}, 43.

ne la plupart des parents tit le cantonais, la Chinoise 's' Kindergarten Association a Il faut dire que la langue écrite commune aux deux dialectes. ture et l'écriture sont guées en anglais et en chinois à der du début de la première. Le s se lit du haut vers le bas à de la droite.

raisons d'être : sition et légitimation

géral, le Conseil des écoles qués d'Edmonton a donné suite quêtes des parents. Les motifs derniers varient, bien sûr, ment ; mais ils ont le plus nt à cœur la conservation de la maternelle, ce que ne peuvent er les cours du samedi ou ceux es les heures de classe lors- ne se parle plus guère à la m. Le cours bilingue comporte ps voulu à la fois pour son ition et sa légitimation. L'élève era que cette langue, si l'école igne, doit être importante et e. La mosaïque culturelle cana- e renferme un riche patrimoine gner qui se perdra s'il n'est pas se et protégé par les ssements scolaires.

onités scolaires entendent aux élèves une expérience à développer chez eux ne de soi. C'est ce que font quant aux écoliers le sens de ent les cours bilingues en tte et la fierté de leurs origines. parents comprennent que les bilingues ont une valeur éduca- complémentaire, comme les peuvent en tirer la maîtrise, autre langue que l'anglais,

D'après une enquête menée de 1974 à 1979, 48 pour cent des parents ne parlaient que l'anglais à la maison, 5 pour cent que l'ukrainien, 43 pour cent s'exprimant dans les deux langues. Au total, 57 pour cent des mères et 61 pour cent des pères ont déclaré pouvoir comprendre et parler l'ukrainien assez bien ou avec aisance ; pour ce qui est de le lire et de l'écrire, les chiffres correspondants étaient de 32 et 18 pour cent.

L'hébreu : enseigné à l'école publique depuis 1975

Le cours bilingue anglais-hébreu est donné à l'école Talmud Torah, qui est administrée par le Conseil des écoles publiques depuis septembre 1975. Il y a au Canada deux écoles hébraïques sous l'autorité de districts scolaires du secteur public, par opposition aux écoles privées. Jusqu'à 1975, la Talmud Torah d'Edmonton comptait parmi ces dernières depuis plus de 50 ans.

Contrairement aux autres cours bilingues, la maternelle hébraïque est dirigée par les parents. Quant aux classes de la première à la sixième, leurs effectifs étaient de 205 élèves en 1982-1983.

La lecture et l'écriture sont enseignées en anglais et en hébreu à compter de la 1^{ère}; cette dualité comporte une difficulté particulière, puisque l'hébreu se lit de droite à gauche. La partie hébraïque de l'enseignement élémentaire porte sur les disciplines langagières, les sciences sociales et l'histoire juive.

L'allemand : innovation au Canada

Le programme anglo-allemand, mis sur pied en 1978 à la maternelle, était une innovation au Canada et le second du genre en Amérique du Nord.

Il est actuellement dispensé dans deux écoles élémentaires et va jusqu'à la 5^e. Les effectifs en 1982-1983 étaient de 178 élèves.

La lecture et l'écriture en allemand commencent dès le début de la 1^{ère}; l'enseignement des disciplines langagières en anglais est introduit en février, la même année scolaire.

Cours en diverses langues dans les écoles publiques d'Edmonton

Cours		Elémentaire		Secondaire I		Secondaire	
Ukrainien, langue seconde				7*, 8, 9	10*, 20, 20, 30		
Bilingue, anglais-ukrainien	M*	1,2,3,4,5,6		7, 8, 9	10		
Allemand, langue seconde				7*, 8, 9	10*, 20, 20, 30		
Bilingue, anglais-allemand	M*	1,2,3,4,5					
Bilingue, anglais-hébreu		1,2,3,4,5,6					
Bilingue, anglais-chinois	M*	1					
Bilingue, anglais-arabe	M*	1					
Latin						10*, 20,	10*, 20,
Espagnol, langue seconde							

* Début du cours

L'arabe : programme de date récente

Le programme anglo-arabe, dirigé par les parents, a débuté en 1982-1983 au niveau de la maternelle. A compter de septembre 1983, la maternelle et la 1^{ère} ont été prises en charge par le Conseil des écoles publiques (ce qui constituait une innovation au

D'après l'enquête menée entre 1980 et 1983, 41 pour cent des parents ne parlaient que l'anglais à la maison et 12 pour cent que l'allemand, 43 pour cent s'exprimant dans les deux langues. Une forte proportion des mères et des pères ont déclaré pouvoir comprendre et parler l'allemand assez bien ou avec aisance, soit 83 et 74 pour cent respectivement ; pour ce qui est de le lire et de l'écrire, les chiffres correspondants étaient de 78 et 68 pour cent.

Le chinois : enseigné dans deux écoles

Le programme anglo-chinois a débuté lui aussi en 1982-1983 dans une maternelle gérée par les parents. Comme pour l'arabe, la maternelle et la 1^{ère} ont été prises en charge par le Conseil des écoles publiques en

Canada) qui s'est engagé à le prolonger jusqu'à la 6^e, sous réserve d'un nombre suffisant d'inscriptions. Quant aux effectifs à prévoir, les projections en date de juin 1983 situaient ainsi pour 1983-1984 : maternelle, 39, 1^{ère}, 44. La lecture et l'écriture sont enseignées en anglais et en arabe, la difficulté de la lecture de droit à gauche.

répondre à la demande des groupes ethniques qui attachent grande importance à la préservation de leur langue d'origine, Edmonton

is sur pied un enseignement immersif multilingue fort prisé.

reflet de notre diversité culturelle

ES JONES

Superviseur de l'enseignement des langues secondes du Public Schools District d'Edmonton depuis 1967, James F. Jones y est responsable de l'élaboration des programmes d'études en français, en allemand, en ukrainien, en latin, en espagnol, en arabe et en chinois. Il détient une maîtrise en éducation de l'Université de l'Alberta et a enseigné à divers niveaux.



es écoles publiques du district d'Edmonton, comme beaucoup d'autres au Canada, ont mis sur pied un enseignement immersif en français fort prisé et en pleine expansion. Mais elles offrent parallèlement au programme d'études en anglais, et c'est ce qui les distingue de d'autres districts, l'immersion partielle ou des cours en ukrainien, hébreu, allemand, chinois et arabe. Le propos se limitera à la description des cursus qu'ils portent. Le district scolaire d'Edmonton, au nombre de plus importants du Canada, compte 69 500 élèves, répartis entre 183 écoles.

bleau de la page suivante porte sur l'année 1983-1984, que cinq cours bilingues et quatre cours de base en ukrainien, en allemand, en espagnol et en latin étaient offerts. Les niveaux scolaires sont indiqués.

cours bilingues ont divers traits en commun. Ils sont tous bilingues et sont conçus en vue d'un enseignement qui se poursuivra le plus longtemps possible dans la langue seconde, contrairement à la part des cours américains de même nature où les élèves anglophones reçoivent l'enseignement dans leur langue maternelle au début, mais sont amenés le plus tôt possible à un enseignement en anglais. Les cours bilingues montent visent d'abord les élèves dont l'origine correspond à la langue seconde et sont dispensés de sujets aux passés langagiers très divers, depuis une

absence totale de pratique jusqu'à l'utilisation quotidienne à la maison. Tous comportent l'emploi à demi-temps seconde à la maternelle et son emploi à demi-temps — dans le régime actuel ou en projet — de la première à la sixième. Tous ces cours sont conformes au programme agréé, mais donnés en partie par l'intermédiaire d'une langue seconde. En général, les matières enseignées dans cette langue sont les disciplines langagières, les sciences sociales, les arts, la musique et l'éducation physique. Ils se prêtent à une admission tardive en première et uniquement dans des circonstances spéciales par la suite, sauf si l'élève peut faire état d'une compétence dans la langue seconde au moins égale à celle des élèves qui suivent déjà le cours.

L'ukrainien : première nord-américaine

Le plus ancien cours bilingue, dit « Ukrainian Bilingual Programme », a débuté dans des maternelles en janvier 1974. À compter de septembre de la même année, le Conseil des écoles publiques et celui des écoles catholiques ont pris à leur charge la maternelle et la première; c'était la première fois que des écoles publiques donnaient un tel enseignement en Amérique du Nord. Le cours est donné dans cinq écoles élémentaires, une école secondaire I (7^e à 9^e) et une secondaire II (10^e à 12^e); en 1983-1984 la plus haute classe est la dixième. Les inscriptions étaient de 382 (de la maternelle à la 10^e) en 1982-1983.

À l'élémentaire, l'enseignement en anglais de la lecture et de l'écriture débute en première. En ukrainien, il commence en 2^e. De la 7^e à la 9^e, le quart de l'enseignement ou à peu près se donne en ukrainien, et porte sur les disciplines langagières, les sciences sociales et une discipline culturelle facultative. Etant donné le faible effectif, la 10^e ne comporte plus que des cours de langue et de littérature ukrainiennes.

Les craintes des parents :

Facteur de ralentissement ?

À un moment où les inscriptions dans les établissements publics ne cessent de diminuer, les externats juifs ont réussi à maintenir et, dans certains cas, à accroître leurs effectifs. En général, c'est l'élément hébreu qui incite les parents à inscrire leurs enfants à ce programme. Les réactions à l'enseignement laïc sont partagées. Bien que conscients des résultats des recherches, la plupart d'entre eux s'inquiètent de ce que leurs enfants ne soient pas en mesure de saisir des sujets enseignés dans une langue seconde qu'ils n'ont pas encore maîtrisée. En outre, bien que l'utilité d'être compétent en français est généralement reconnue, nombre de parents craignent une diminution des cours en anglais dans les externats juifs, facteur qui expliquerait peut-être l'application restreinte du programme.

Les dossiers linguistiques

et pédagogiques

La mise en oeuvre des programmes de cours immersifs soulève un problème de taille : convenaient-ils à l'ensemble de l'effectif scolaire ? En général, les élèves qui ne réussissent pas en immersion sont muets dans des classes anglaises traditionnelles. On a l'impression que l'enseignement en langue seconde désavantage les enfants ayant des problèmes d'apprentissage ou souffrant de troubles émotifs. Bien que les recherches tendent à démontrer que, dans la plupart des cas, ces craintes sont sans fondement, le débat demeure ouvert en ce qui a trait aux programmes de cours immersifs bilingues.

Il faut aborder le problème sous deux angles. Premièrement, ce programme comporte l'apprentissage de deux langues secondes. L'enfant doit non seulement composer avec un système linguistique supplémentaire, mais il doit développer les aptitudes nécessaires pour empêcher le chevauchement des deux systèmes. Deuxièmement, il y a le contenu du programme d'études. Les contenus laïc et juif du programme imposent aux élèves un horaire plus long et une charge de travail accrue. Comme les maisons d'enseignement se

trent-elles d'affaires ? Apparemment très bien. Les transferts dans des écoles anglaises traditionnelles sont presque inexistantes et la majorité des élèves sont acceptés dans l'école secondaire de leur choix. Certains soutiendront, il va sans dire, que la plupart des élèves en classes immersives bilingues sont intellectuellement et socio-économiquement favorisés. Mais les portes de ces écoles sont ouvertes à tous ceux qui désirent recevoir une éducation dans la tradition juive. En fait, si les externats ont décidé de se conformer aux demandes du gouvernement du Québec et d'accroître le nombre d'heures d'enseignement en français dans le cadre du programme II, c'est pour conserver les subventions qui leur permettent d'octroyer des bourses aux enfants dont les parents ne peuvent défrayer les frais de scolarité. Bien que relativement peu d'élèves appartiennent à cette catégorie, rien ne permet d'affirmer que leur taux de réussite est inférieur à celui de leurs camarades des cours immersifs en deux langues.

Une seconde question liée à l'efficacité des programmes de cours immersifs bilingues est le niveau de compétence en langue seconde que développe l'élève en français et en hébreu. Leur capacité de s'exprimer en français, nous l'avons mentionné, semble égaler celle de leurs confrères en immersion totale, du moins dans les classes supérieures au primaire. Mais dans quelle mesure pouvons-nous parler de « compétence » ? Les résultats de recherches effectuées au Québec et en Ontario semblent indiquer que les élèves des programmes d'immersion développent une compétence quasi originale en ce qui a trait aux aptitudes à comprendre (écouter et lire) mais non aux capacités productives (parler et écrire). Une analyse approfondie de la production verbale des étudiants en immersion tant unilingue que bilingue révèle nombre d'erreurs grammaticales en français dont beaucoup sont attribuables à l'influence de l'hébreu dans le cadre des programmes de cours immersifs en deux langues. Il est contraignant de constater que ces fautes résistent à l'appren-

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Mais étant donné que le problème de l'exactitude linguistique est commun aux deux programmes, la valeur de l'immersion bilingue en tant que modèle pour la mise en oeuvre efficace de classes trilingues n'est nullement diminuée. Bien que ces formules ne conviennent pas à tous les contextes où la sauvegarde de l'identité ethnique commande l'acquisition d'une troisième langue, les programmes de cours immersifs en deux langues peuvent s'avérer utiles pour l'élaboration d'autres programmes scolaires multi-ethniques au Canada.

Cependant, cette différence s'estompe lorsque les cours en anglais débutent dans le cadre du programme I (en troisième ou quatrième année). En outre, dans les classes supérieures au primaire, les élèves des deux programmes de cours immersifs bilingues réussissent aussi bien aux épreuves d'anglais que leurs confrères d'écoles anglaises traditionnelles de Montréal. Les résultats des examens de mathématiques, surtout celui des mathématiques, est dispensé en anglais pour la majeure partie du programme. Contrairement au programme I, celui-ci n'a pas été évalué. Il découle plutôt des recherches effectuées par le gouvernement du Québec auprès des externats de Montréal pour qu'ils accroissent le degré d'habileté en langue hébraïque tend à être supérieur dans le cadre du programme I. Toutefois, dans les deux cas, l'aptitude à communiquer en hébreu est plus lente à se développer que la capacité expressive en français. Cela peut être attribuable à plusieurs facteurs : les heures de cours en français sont plus nombreuses qu'en hébreu ; les élèves qui habitent Montréal ont plus de possibilités de pratiquer leur français à l'extérieur de la classe, tandis que l'hébreu demeure, dans la plupart des cas, une expérience scolaire ; il se peut que l'apprentissage du français par des Anglophones d'origine soit

Les résultats des évaluations des cours immersifs bilingues se distinguent très nettement des rendements linguistique et scolaire obtenus dans le cadre de programmes mis en oeuvre par certaines écoles américaines et visant à préserver l'héritage linguistico-culturel d'un groupe ethnique. D'aucuns affirment que cela provient du fait que les jeunes Canadiens en immersion appartiennent à la classe moyenne ou favorisée et que leur langue maternelle est celle de la majorité. Ces enfants éprouvent donc une entière sécurité sociale et linguistique.

Les recherches portant sur les répercussions des programmes de cours immersifs sur la perception qu'ont les élèves de l'identité linguistique et culturelle révèlent que l'immersion en français semble favoriser une certaine affiliation linguistique aux notions de « Francophones » et de « Canadiens français ». Par contre, le programme d'études hébraïques semble insuffler un sentiment accru d'appartenance au concept religieux de « juif » plutôt qu'à celui purement linguistique de « personne de langue hébraïque » (Adiv, 1977).

linguistique de ces élèves se compare à celle des étudiants en immersion totale (Genesee et Lambert, 1983).

Le degré d'habileté en langue hébraïque tend à être supérieur dans le cadre du programme I. Toutefois, dans les deux cas, l'aptitude à communiquer en hébreu est plus lente à se développer que la capacité expressive en français. Cela peut être attribuable à plusieurs facteurs : les heures de cours en français sont plus nombreuses qu'en hébreu ; les élèves qui habitent Montréal ont plus de possibilités de pratiquer leur français à l'extérieur de la classe, tandis que l'hébreu demeure, dans la plupart des cas, une expérience scolaire ; il se peut que l'apprentissage du français par des Anglophones d'origine soit



facilité en raison des nombreuses caractéristiques structurales et lexicales qu'ont en commun les deux langues. Il ne s'ensuit pas nécessairement que la compétence en hébreu des élèves en classes d'immersion bilingues accusera un retard par rapport à celle des étudiants d'externats juifs où l'enseignement en français est négligeable ou inexistant. En fait, les résultats d'études récentes révèlent que la capacité d'expression en hébreu des élèves en immersion bilingue à Montréal est sensiblement la même que celle de leurs confrères d'externats juifs à Toronto offrant des programmes d'études hébraïques similaires, mais ne dispensant aucun enseignement en français. Les compétences en anglais sont plus développées dans le programme II.

cond type de programme de immersifs bilingues (ci-après le programme II) est une extension du régime d'immersion partielle. Dans ce cas, l'enseignement à la maternelle est dispensé simultanément en langue première, en français et en hébreu. Le temps consacré à l'enseignement des mathématiques, surtout celui des mathématiques, est dispensé en anglais pour la majeure partie du programme. Contrairement au programme I, celui-ci n'a pas été évalué. Il découle plutôt des recherches effectuées par le gouvernement du Québec auprès des externats de Montréal pour qu'ils accroissent

le nombre d'heures de cours en français. Le programme II vise donc beaucoup plus d'établissements et le programme tend à varier d'une école à l'autre selon les différences philosophiques et orientations juives.

Programmes I et II : les contrôles

programme I n'a pas échappé aux contrôles dont ont fait l'objet les élèves. Il a été évalué à plusieurs reprises et scolaire des élèves ont comparés à ceux des participants au programme II dont le cursus est semblable. Peu d'écartes importants ont été relevés entre les programmes en ce qui a trait à la maîtrise du français. En outre, dès la même année, la compétence

Soucieux de préserver et de mettre à l'honneur l'héritage culturel de leur élèves tout en tenant compte du caractère français du Québec, les externats juifs de Montréal offrent « l'immersion » en deux langues. Les jeunes s'en portent très bien, et leur anglais n'en souffre pas.

Trois dans deux

ELLEN ADIV



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Montréal, l'usage de deux langues secondes (le français et l'hébreu) à titre de technique pédagogique première entraîne l'élaboration de deux types de programmes de cours immersifs bilingues. Ceux-ci s'inscrivent dans le cadre du système d'externats juifs et poursuivent un double objectif : développer la compétence dans les deux langues officielles et transmettre l'héritage juif par le truchement de la langue ancestrale. D'un point de vue religio-culturel, ils se rapprochent de nombreux programmes scolaires multi-ethniques, sauf que l'enseignement de l'hébreu ne vise pas à préserver une langue maternelle, la majorité des élèves étant Anglophones d'origine.

Le premier programme de ce genre (ci-après appelé programme I) a été lancé en 1971. Antérieurement, les externats juifs de Montréal avaient un cursus fondamentallement bilingue anglais-hébreu ou, dans certains cas, trilingue anglais-hébreu-yiddish. En général, on consacrait quotidiennement 30 à 45 minutes au cours de français. Toutefois, au début des années 70, les parents et les administrateurs ont dû reconnaître que cet enseignement ne préparait pas la jeune génération à faire face à un milieu où le français était appelé à devenir en bonne partie la langue du travail et des affaires. Ils ont donc décidé de mettre sur pied un programme d'études primaires qui s'inspirerait de celui de l'immersion longue en français, mais dont l'élément hébreu ferait partie intégrante.

Le programme scolaire hébreu est consacré à l'étude cette langue et des sujets religio-culturels comme la Bible et l'histoire juive. L'enseignement, il va sans est dispensé en hébreu. Dans ce cas, on se sert soit de textes destinés aux locuteurs hébraïques d'origine en Israël, soit du matériel spécialement conçu pour l'apprentissage de l'hébreu langue seconde. Comme pour le français, les cours traditionnels sont peu nombreux, l'accent étant plutôt mis sur la compétence communicative.

Au début, le programme I n'a été mis en oeuvre que un externat juif ; quelques années plus tard il s'étendait à un second, et à l'heure actuelle un troisième est envisagé de l'adopter.

recruter des enseignants compétents, à réorganiser leurs écoles et à trouver les fonds nécessaires. Ils ont eu le courage de prendre des décisions politiques difficiles malgré une opposition souvent farouche. Mais les résultats ont fini par leur donner raison, comme en témoignent les travaux de recherche poussés dans le domaine ainsi que l'enthousiasme des élèves, des parents et du personnel.

Les parents ont imposé ces programmes aux conseils scolaires, et il faut les en féliciter, car ils avaient vu juste. Ce sont cependant les conseils, les administrateurs et les enseignants qui en sont les artisans, malgré les difficultés. Rendons-leur hommage pour leur rôle clé dans la réussite de cette méthode bien de chez nous qui appuie le bilinguisme canadien.

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place un peu erratique, leur succès démontre bien le pouvoir des parents lorsqu'ils sont résolus, la grande facilité d'adaptation du système scolaire lorsqu'il est acculé à le faire et la valeur des principes de base de l'immersion. On sait bien que les élèves apprennent plus lorsque de bons enseignants, forts du soutien des parents, présentent une matière aussi intéressante que stimulante. Dans la formule à l'étude, l'acquisition de la langue seconde se fait tout en apprenant les mathématiques, les études environnementales et d'autres matières essentielles. Les enfants se rendent vite compte de la différence de cet enseignement et savent l'importance que leurs parents y attachent. De leur côté, les enseignants sont conscients du rôle qu'ils jouent, non seulement parce qu'ils participent à une expérience pédagogique de grand intérêt, mais surtout parce qu'ils contribuent directement à l'émergence d'une nouvelle génération de Canadiens qui acceptent le bilinguisme comme partie intégrante de leur vie.

On accuse souvent les administrateurs et les conseils scolaires de se laisser tirer l'oreille avant de donner le feu vert à des programmes immersifs. Mais devant l'ampleur des problèmes que ceux-ci entraînent inmanquablement, les parents devraient faire preuve d'un peu plus de réalisme dans leurs attentes. Quoi qu'il en soit, la plupart des conseils qui ont fait le pas ont réussi à se doter de programmes, à

alistes qui remplacent pour une de quotidienne les enseignants uels coûte plus cher qu'un ramme immersif, avec moins de tats.

tant, les programmes immersifs ont davantage, c'est un fait, du pendant la phase d'implantation, mais plus important encore, ils ont plus de poids par les commissions hésitantes, les enseignants qui trouvent déjà les taxes trop élevées. Il est à souligner que la nouvelle entente fédérale-provinciale de trois ans sur le financement des programmes de l'enseignement contribue à atténuer les objections d'ordre financier. En vertu de l'entente, les provinces reçoivent plus de fonds, doivent par contre en justifier l'emploi au titre des frais supplémentaires découlant des programmes d'immersion. Les conseils scolaires devront probablement entretenir leurs demandes de financement de cause si oui ou non programmes justifiés. De toute évidence, les parents des enfants en immersion ont déjà fait leur choix !

grés les problèmes que posent les programmes immersifs, malgré leur mise en

collègues déjà expérimentés en place un peu partout au Canada. Nombre de ces « vétérans » acceptent d'animer des ateliers et certains pourraient agir comme personnes-ressources auprès des conseils scolaires qui adoptent ce régime d'enseignement. Malheureusement, il y a un revers à la médaille. C'est le problème délicat du personnel en poste qui n'est pas capable d'enseigner dans un programme immersif et qui risque donc de se retrouver en surnombre. Certains professeurs possédant les aptitudes et la motivation pourraient, grâce à la réadaptation professionnelle, acquérir la compétence voulue pour enseigner le français de base, voire même en immersion. De même, les directeurs, les directeurs adjoints et les chefs de service doivent développer les compétences voulues pour superviser des programmes en français. Ceux qui refusent ou sont incapables de se recruter ne doivent pas assumer la responsabilité de programmes immersifs.

En boudant la formation linguistique, le personnel risque le congédiement ; il incombait toutefois aux conseils scolaires de défrayer une partie des coûts encourus, afin de retenir les professeurs chevronnés. Les conseils devraient donc effectuer une évaluation systématique des exigences linguistiques de tous les postes et chercher des cours de langue adaptés aux besoins reconnus. Les administrateurs et le personnel anglophones des écoles qui proposent un programme immersif peuvent, pour peu qu'ils le désirent, pratiquer leur français régulièrement avec l'aide compréhensive de leurs collègues francophones et des élèves enchantés de jouer ce rôle.

Par contre, certains unilingues ne réussissent jamais, quoi qu'ils fassent, à acquérir les qualifications requises, aussi faudra-t-il peut-être les renvoyer de leurs services. Les fédérations d'enseignants ont tenté de négocier des clauses mettant leurs membres à l'abri de tels renvois, mais les conseils doivent rester fermes : le système scolaire existe pour le bien des enfants et non pas pour garantir

l'emploi des enseignants. Si les parents réclament un programme immersif, les conseils sont tenus de recruter un personnel compétent.

Le programme : défi majeur

Toujours selon le sondage de l'ACE, après les problèmes de personnel, l'élaboration et l'acquisition d'un programme sont les principaux défis à relever. Du moins, tel était le cas pour les pionniers, car aujourd'hui, grâce à leur travail et à l'intérêt croissant des éditeurs du secteur privé, la situation a changé. En effet, le conseil qui désire mettre un programme sur pied peut facilement obtenir de l'aide en s'adressant aux directeurs ou aux conseillers francophones de tout grand conseil comptant déjà un programme immersif. La plupart acceptent de vendre leur matériel didactique et en permettent l'utilisation ou l'adaptation. Habituellement, ils autorisent aussi à des enseignants expérimentés ou à des conseillers de donner des ateliers ou même de brèves cours qui aideront à lancer d'autres programmes.

N'empêche qu'il faut quand même assurer le suivi du service et adapter dans une certaine mesure le programme au milieu. Les conseils qui adoptent ce régime pédagogique ont un coordonnateur francophone capable d'organiser le programme et autres activités scolaires, et d'expliquer aux directeurs et surintendants des programmes qui leur sont nouveaux ou incompréhensibles. En l'absence de directives émises par les ministères provinciaux de l'éducation, ils doivent élaborer leurs propres objectifs et fixer leurs normes. En outre, leurs enseignants doivent constamment perfectionner et réviser les programmes.

Pour les auteurs de programmes, l'immersion pose un problème de taille. Au début de la scolarité, il faut inculquer des notions et des connaissances à des enfants qui ignorent presque tout des structures et de la syntaxe du français et qui ne possèdent qu'un vocabulaire restreint. Les livres et les documents préparés à

Le coût : élevé à l'implantation

programme.

L'intention des Francophones se traduit trop souvent par des programmes en anglais. Il existe rarement des versions françaises des manuels de référence quand il y a quatre manuels à simplifier. En quatrième année, certains en cinquième année, certains manuels et autres documents d'écoles françaises peuvent être utilisés dans les classes immersives, mais à relever. Du moins, tel était le cas pour les pionniers, car aujourd'hui, grâce à leur travail et à l'intérêt croissant des éditeurs du secteur privé, la situation a changé. En effet, le conseil qui désire mettre un programme sur pied peut facilement obtenir de l'aide en s'adressant aux directeurs ou aux conseillers francophones de tout grand conseil comptant déjà un programme immersif. La plupart acceptent de vendre leur matériel didactique et en permettent l'utilisation ou l'adaptation. Habituellement, ils autorisent aussi à des enseignants expérimentés ou à des conseillers de donner des ateliers ou même de brèves cours qui aideront à lancer d'autres programmes.

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Organisé dans un centre qui lui réserve, un programme immersif complet constitue probablement l'enseignement de langue seconde plus économique si, bien sûr, le nombre d'élèves est suffisant pour former des groupes normaux. Le poste budgétaire qui l'emporte sur rémunération des professeurs, que soit la formule retenue. Un de français de base dispensé par

Bien que les établissements de formation aient tardé à offrir des programmes adaptés, beaucoup d'élèves-professeurs de français langue seconde ont acquis une excellente maîtrise grâce à des bourses de programmes immersifs d'été ou parce qu'ils ont passé un an en France ou au Québec. Aussi sont-ils prêts à se lancer dans l'aventure. Devant la baisse des effectifs scolaires au Québec, en Ontario et au Nouveau-Brunswick, beaucoup d'enseignants francophones sont disposés à suivre les cours d'été nécessaires pour occuper des postes dans les programmes immersifs. Tous ces néophytes ont besoin des conseils et de l'aide de

tion est fort complexe
qu'enquêtant : il s'agit de
travaux réservés à l'im-
pression personnelle, des res-
sources et un budget exclusifs. Il
n'est alors possible de former des
enseignants et de leur faire
des spécialités, le programme se rapproche du
niveau idéal et le milieu d'apprentis-
sage est mieux reçu autant par les
enseignants que par les apprenants.

La création de classes immersives peut être une aventure cauchemardesque. Ceux des administrateurs scolaires qui n'ont pas hésité à relever le défi méritent sûrement notre admiration.

Les systèmes scolaires mis au défi

W. RUSSELL MCGILLIVRAY



W. Russell McGillivray a récemment pris sa retraite après 34 ans dans des postes de professeur, de directeur d'école et de surintendant dans le système scolaire de l'Ontario. Il a pris charge des programmes d'immersion du Conseil scolaire de Carleton dès leur introduction, en 1970. Il est titulaire de diplômes des universités du Manitoba, de Toronto et de l'Alberta.

Les enseignants ont la réputation d'être réfractaires au changement. Qu'il s'agisse d'un nouveau programme (les mathématiques nouvelles, par exemple), de méthodes didactiques novatrices (nécessaires dans les établissements « ouverts »), ou de moyens techniques de pointe (par exemple, les rétroprojecteurs), il faut semble-t-il des années pour que le corps professoral et les systèmes scolaires s'y adaptent, même si la plupart des innovations pédagogiques émanent bel et bien d'enseignants.

L'adoption rapide du programme immersif partout au Canada depuis quinze ans est une remarquable exception à la règle. D'autant plus que l'introduction de classes de ce genre crée toute une série de difficultés, puisqu'il faut revoir complètement les programmes de cours, remplacer ou recycler la presque totalité du personnel, redéterminer les secteurs de fréquentation des écoles et, du moins au départ, engager des dépenses supplémentaires considérables. Très peu de ministères de l'Éducation ont établi des lignes directrices appropriées, les programmes de formation des enseignants ne sont pas toujours adaptés et il n'existe sur le marché que très peu de matériel didactique spécialement conçu pour les programmes immersifs.

En outre, signalons que ce ne sont pas les éducateurs qui ont réclamé à cor et à cri cette innovation, mais bien des parents qui exigeaient que l'expérience commence

sur-le-champ. Malgré ces obstacles qui auraient dû m'inciter à l'échec, l'avenir de ces programmes est tout droit à l'échec, l'avenir de ces programmes est maintenant assuré. Pourquoi ? À cause de leur popularité partout au Canada, et compte tenu des résultats toujours favorables des travaux de recherche sur le sujet menés des linguistes et des psychologues de renommée internationale.

Devant des conclusions aussi positives, auxquelles s'ajoutent les pressions exercées par les parents, très peu d'administrateurs et de conseils scolaires sont en mesure de résister longtemps à la poussée de l'immersion. On peut cependant leur en vouloir d'hésiter à se créer de nouveaux problèmes, car ce n'est pas ce qui leur manque de revenus, progression des programmes d'éducation spéciale et avènement de l'informatique. Ce n'est donc pas une mince affaire que de prendre une telle décision. Mais au Canada, la plupart des conseils scolaires ne peuvent en vérité y échapper, parce que les parents revendiquent de meilleurs programmes de français afin que leurs enfants profitent des avantages évidents du bilinguisme. Malgré l'opposition farouche certains parents à l'instauration de programmes immersifs dans leurs écoles, beaucoup d'autres, qui ont des enfants en âge d'être inscrits, se démènent pour forcer la main des conseils scolaires.

Les centres immersifs : difficultés à vaincre

Logiquement, un programme d'immersion devrait être organisé dans l'école du secteur où réside le plus grand nombre de parents intéressés, mais ce n'est pas toujours la solution la plus judicieuse. Si, par exemple, l'école choisie est petite, le programme anglais est vite déstabilisé. Si, d'autre part, elle fonctionne déjà à pleine capacité et que les élèves d'autres secteurs sont acceptés en immersion y a vite surpopulation. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre

totalité de leurs études secondaires

es cours novateurs dépeints plus

- facteurs ont été
Collège, visait à
programmes de
Pour de plus en
des langues sec
H.H. Stern, « L
Universités in
Valden, « Beco
Langue Revisi
Valden, « Biling
Time for Action
University Teach
pp. 5 et 8.
- Outre les cours
dans les program
note 1, d'autres
d'autres matières
l'Université de
l'Université de
Simon Fraser de
communications)

hensible dans un milieu favorable, pour qu'ils s'attachent au sens plutôt qu'à la forme et accroissent sensiblement leurs capacités langagières.

Comme pour l'immersion, on devra pousser plus loin l'expérimentation afin de déterminer 1) les niveaux de compétence langagière qui permettront aux étudiants de profiter au maximum de pareil enseignement, 2) les matières qui s'y prêtent, 3) quelle proportion de l'enseignement langagier doit faire partie du programme et 4) combien de temps la « protection » sera nécessaire pour que les étudiants puissent suivre sans désavantage les cours universitaires destinés à des locuteurs d'origine¹⁵.

Il y a aussi intérêt à établir si les diplômés de l'enseignement immersif et les diplômés de l'école secondaire bilingue auront besoin de cours de transition de ce genre ou pourront passer immédiatement à des cours destinés à des locuteurs d'origine. De fait, le plus fort de la clientèle des cours protégés viendra peut-être des diplômés en français de base.

Administrativement, bien sûr, ces programmes exigent la bonne volonté et la collaboration des diverses facultés intéressées et supposent ses facultés intéressées et supposent en outre des professeurs maîtrisant parfaitement la langue des cours et disposés à effectuer les adaptations nécessaires auprès des usagers de la langue seconde. Les résultats de cette expérience sont assez encourageants pour inspirer les autres facultés et universités souhaitant créer des cours de langue seconde à des niveaux supérieurs pour des étudiants qui ne suivent pas de cours de langue comme matière principale. C'est effectivement pas uniquement composé de nationaux de l'autre langue maternelle, mais aussi d'étudiants étrangers qui ordinairement doivent faire leurs études en situation de submersion relativement à l'une des deux langues officielles — et cela souvent avec un désavantage langagier considérable. Un cours « protégé » dans les débuts de la vie d'un étudiant peut développer nettement ses aptitudes dans la langue universitaire seconde ainsi que sa confiance en lui.

d'anglais, langue seconde, d'une durée de 45 heures. Et contrairement aux étudiants en langue qui n'avaient pas évolué, ils ont déclaré, eux, être plus conscients de leur compétence dans la langue seconde et ressentir moins d'anxiété quant à son emploi dans la vie courante.

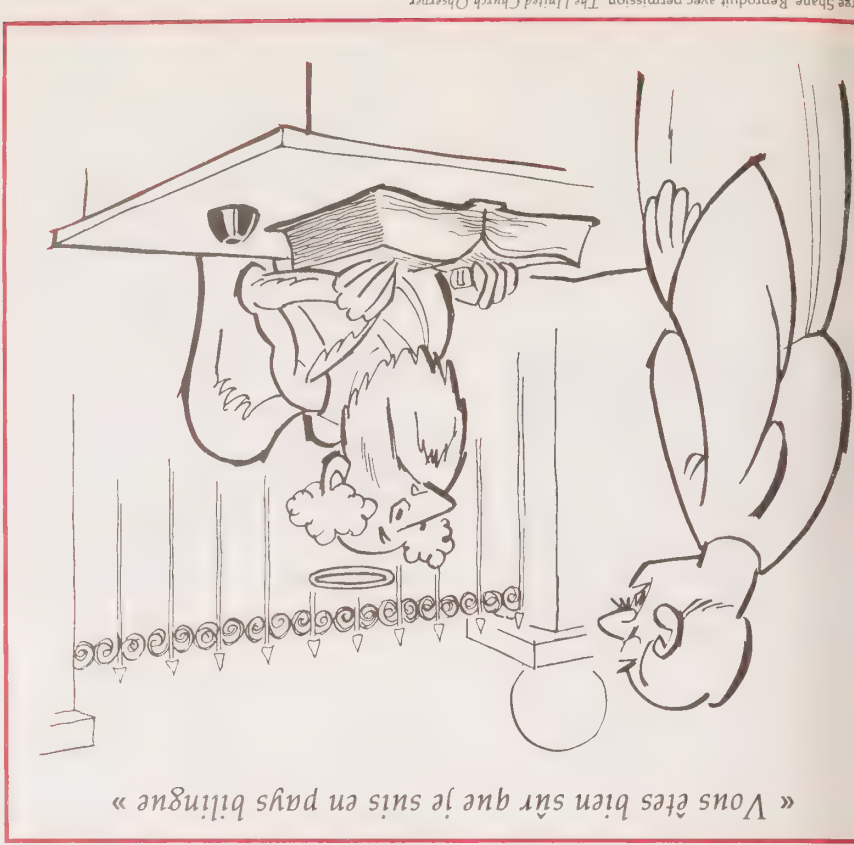
Les observations des étudiants à la fin du cours montraient également que la plupart éprouvaient une grande satisfaction à « faire quelque chose d'authentique » dans la langue seconde et la pratiquaient plus qu'jamais auparavant hors de la classe¹⁴. Les étudiants des classes protégées ont donc, pour l'essentiel, été avantagés sans contrepartie négative. Ils maîtrisaient la matière au programme et, ce faisant, développaient leur compétence dans la langue seconde et leur confiance en soi dans son utilisation. Ce résultat a été acquis sans étude de la grammaire ni beaucoup d'exercices en expression. Il apparaît donc que les cours universitaires peuvent être structurés et dispensés de façon que les étudiants soient exposés au rayonnement d'une langue seconde comprise

premier semestre et autant que les étudiants qui reçoivent dans leur langue l'enseignement des mêmes professeurs ?

Est-ce que leur compétence en français ou en anglais s'est accrue et s'est-elle améliorée autant que chez leurs homologues des cours ordinaires de langue ? Ont-ils acquis plus de confiance dans l'emploi de leur deuxième langue et était-il plus probable qu'ils en fassent usage hors de la classe ?

réponses à questions

épreuves ont établi que les étudiants des sections protégées ont réussi aussi bien au dernier men de psychologie et pour ne scolaire qu'au premier semestre dans l'ensemble un peu mieux les étudiants des groupes de contrôle du secteur général. Ils ont pressé sensiblement dans la langue seconde — à peu près autant que les étudiants de même compétence les bons cours de français ou



s'écarter des normes ayant cours chez les locuteurs d'origine. Les cours immersifs doivent être considérés comme une étape initiale assurant le milieu d'appui et le langage accessibles dont ont besoin les élèves débutants et de niveau intermédiaire ; une fois que ceux-ci seront assez forts et ne pourront plus bénéficier du milieu protégé, ils pourront passer aux milieux de submersion et poursuivre ainsi leur progrès.

L'université :

Le milieu s'y prête-t-il ?

Pour l'université, il s'agit de savoir si ce type d'enseignement peut être fructueux auprès d'étudiants formés plus âgés. Bien sûr on peut citer des cas où une discipline est enseignée dans une langue seconde — par exemple les cours avancés de littérature dispensés aux étudiants qui ont pris la langue seconde comme matière principale ou les programmes de formation des professeurs de langue, mais il s'est fait peu de recherche pour établir si ces cours contribuaient à la maîtrise de la langue seconde et, le cas échéant, dans quelle mesure. Jusqu'ici, seules quelques études établissent des progrès parallèles dans la maîtrise de la langue seconde et dans une autre matière. Nous citerons notamment un cours de formation de cinq mois pour des professeurs d'anglais francophones au Québec où l'enseignement était dispensé en anglais⁸ uniquement, et un cours en atelier protégé pour des immigrants du Québec où on donnait en français⁹ une formation touchant le travail et les moyens de subsistance.

Pour la catégorie des adolescents, on a fait une étude analogue d'un cours secondaire bilingue au conseil scolaire d'Ottawa où les élèves anglophones faisaient en français la moitié des matières de la neuvième à la onzième (du secondaire II au secondaire IV). Ces élèves, comme dans les deux cas mentionnés plus haut, progressaient de façon satisfaisante dans les diverses matières et réalisaient des améliorations mesurables dans la maîtrise du français¹⁰. Ces trois programmes, qui s'adressaient à des élèves plus âgés qu'en immersion

longue et courte, comportaient encore un bain prolongé de langue seconde.

Le programme de

l'Université d'Ottawa

Le programme expérimental mis sur pied à l'Université d'Ottawa en 1982¹¹, différait de ceux examinés plus haut en ce qu'il comportait moins de 40 heures de cours. Il avait pour objet de fournir aux étudiants de niveau intermédiaire en français ou en anglais — comme langue seconde — le moyen de passer du cours de langue proprement dit aux cours donnés dans les autres disciplines aux locuteurs d'origine, dans cette université bilingue. Suivant ce programme, un groupe d'étudiants anglophones et un groupe d'étudiants francophones faisaient le second semestre d'introduction à la psychologie (Introduction to Psychology) dans des sections protégées où les inscriptions étaient réservées à des usagers de la langue seconde. Donnés dans leur langue maternelle par les professeurs de psychologie de l'université, ces cours permettaient aux deux groupes d'étudiants de couvrir le même domaine que dans l'enseignement ordinaire et de se présenter au même examen final, proposé dans les deux langues à tous les étudiants inscrits.

Les adaptations pédagogiques pour les étudiants dont la connaissance de la langue est limitée sont diverses : large place accordée aux exposés écrits, attention spéciale aux capacités perceptives (audition et lecture), emploi de questionnaires hebdomadaires sur le contenu de la matière enseignée plutôt que le contrôle par des travaux de recherche. Les professeurs de psychologie étaient secondés respectivement par un professeur de français et un professeur d'anglais qui enseignaient environ 15 minutes par cours (bi-hebdomadaire) de une heure et demie. Ce bref enseignement ne portait pas précisément sur la grammaire, mais tendait à aider les étudiants à lire et à prendre plus efficacement des notes, à élucider divers points du cours et leur fournissait en outre l'occasion d'exprimer leurs idées dans une atmosphère détendue.¹²

De plus, l'analyse des enregistrements magnétoscopiques de cours de psychologie dispensés aux sections protégées et aux sections bilingues a révélé que les enseignants effectuaient inconsciemment de nombreux adaptations langagières dans l'enseignement protégé. Par exemple, le langage des cours, tout différent entre professeurs anglophones et professeurs francophones, comportait un vocabulaire et une structure nettement plus simples, accusés nettement plus d'explication de la structure des idées plus explicitement que dans les autres traductions. Le distinguait des exposés à l'adresse des locuteurs d'origine. L'enseignement d'une langue L'intermédiaire d'une autre discipline à l'université — et dans une mesure au secondaire — semble passer le niveau de l'immersion après des jeunes élèves dans des modèles conçus pour les locuteurs d'origine. Cela tient à la nature de l'enseignement universitaire. Pour l'essentiel, le professeur fait un cours, et parfois le complément de films ou d'un exposé par un invité ; l'étudiant écoute. Un élément important de ce cours consiste en la lecture prescrite aux étudiants. Les textes rédigés pour des locuteurs d'origine. Durant le cours donné par le professeur de langue, selon la formule de l'Université d'Ottawa, a généralement plus d'interaction dans la classe, mais le professeur assure la quasi-totalité du discours demeurant ainsi la source principale de l'apport langagier. Si, sous ce régime, les étudiants ne s'exercent guère à la conversation, ils reçoivent en bonne proportion le don de locuteur d'origine ; ils sont donc moins exposés à l'influence de la langue seconde parlée par les camarades que dans les programmes scolaires de cours immersifs.

De nombreux tests auprès des 45 élèves du programme expérimental et des classes de contrôle au cours de la fin du second semestre d'ont été consacrés à trois questions :

- Est-ce que les étudiants ont autant en psychologie qu'au

lingués par les universités dans

ordre de leurs programmes

tionnels.

Immersion en Français :

succès incontestable

Immersion, qui compte parmi les

ides innovations pédagogiques

notre époque, fait l'objet des

recherches les plus poussées. Elle a

crédit un double succès :

quisition appréciable de la langue

nde ; une étude aussi fructueuse

autres matières que dans la

que première, et parfois davan-

lats ?

premières expériences ont eu

tr mobile principal la conviction

l'acquisition d'une deuxième

que devait commencer dès le plus

l'âge, période « critique » pour la

ation du langage. On considérerait

me essentiel que l'enfant prenne

tain prolongé de langue seconde

e à des échanges avec un

leur d'origine. Si possible, la

ne seconde serait utilisée dans les

es activités et dans l'étude

autres matières, plutôt que de faire

et même de l'enseigner.

si le programme novateur de

tu, prévoyaient-ils un enseigne-

français n'y étant introduit qu'après

leurs années. L'enseignerement du

çais n'est pas pour autant banni,

il n'est qu'une matière parmi

autres ; les élèves l'apprenant par

« subsidiairement » à l'occa-

des cours de mathématiques,

ts, etc.

Immersion se caractérise aussi par

portance accordée aux capacités

lives et par la création d'un

eu protégé où tous les élèves ont

commun le handicap d'une « com-

nce » minimale dans la langue

cours. L'anglais demeure leur

seconde, les conditions *essentiels* au

progrès sont les suivantes (voir

Krashen) :

• ambiance langagière et contacts

avec un locuteur d'origine dans un

cadre où la langue seconde est

la norme en usage pour les cours

dispensés à des Francophones d'ori-

gine du même âge. À mesure que les

élèves partent leur compétence en

français, l'enseignant donne de plus

en plus ses cours comme s'il s'adres-

sait à des Francophones. Cette

démarche va de la structuration

minutieuse des tâches quotidiennes

au recours généraux à la gestuelle et

au contexte immédiat, sans compter

nombre d'adaptations et de répétit-

ions dans l'emploi du langage.

L'enseignant immersif comporte

donc, au mieux, ce que Krashen

appelle « le contenu compréhén-

sible », et cela à un niveau dépassant

légèrement les capacités langagières

de l'apprenant (voir l'article de

Krashen). Ajoutons que les cours

immersifs de bon rendement sont

dispensés, en général, à des enfants

dont la langue première est celle de la

communauté ambiante, ce qui assure

le progrès continu dans cette langue.

Bien des formules ont été éprouvées

et évaluées : cours pour adolescents,

cours pour l'école maternelle, varia-

tion dans le temps consacré à la

langue maternelle et à la langue

seconde, variation dans les milieux

socio-économiques d'origine et

diversité des langues enseignées. Il y

a eu constance notable dans les

résultats obtenus. Les élèves de

l'enseignement par immersion attei-

gnent des niveaux de compétence en

langue seconde considérablement

plus élevés ; ils ne sont pas sensible-

ment désavantagés à long terme en

ce qui concerne leur langue mater-

nelle et les autres matières ; d'une

manière générale, ils ont une attitude

plus positive à l'égard de la langue et

de la culture secondes.

Quels sont les points essentiels parmi

tous ceux qui précèdent ? D'après les

théories touchant l'acquisition de la

langue seconde, si un début plus

précoce et des contacts intenses et

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le progrès continu dans cette langue.

Bien des formules ont été éprouvées

et évaluées : cours pour adolescents,

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tion dans le temps consacré à la

langue maternelle et à la langue

seconde, variation dans les milieux

socio-économiques d'origine et

diversité des langues enseignées. Il y

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plus élevés ; ils ne sont pas sensible-

ment désavantagés à long terme en

ce qui concerne leur langue mater-

nelle et les autres matières ; d'une

manière générale, ils ont une attitude

plus positive à l'égard de la langue et

de la culture secondes.

Quels sont les points essentiels parmi

tous ceux qui précèdent ? D'après les

théories touchant l'acquisition de la

langue seconde, si un début plus

précoce et des contacts intenses et

prolongés peuvent déterminer le

degré de maîtrise ultime de la langue

seconde, les conditions *essentiels* au

progrès sont les suivantes (voir

Krashen) :

• ambiance langagière et contacts

avec un locuteur d'origine dans un

cadre où la langue seconde est

la norme en usage pour les cours

dispensés à des Francophones d'ori-

gine du même âge. À mesure que les

élèves partent leur compétence en

français, l'enseignant donne de plus

en plus ses cours comme s'il s'adres-

sait à des Francophones. Cette

démarche va de la structuration

minutieuse des tâches quotidiennes

au recours généraux à la gestuelle et

au contexte immédiat, sans compter

nombre d'adaptations et de répétit-

ions dans l'emploi du langage.

L'enseignant immersif comporte

donc, au mieux, ce que Krashen

appelle « le contenu compréhén-

sible », et cela à un niveau dépassant

légèrement les capacités langagières

de l'apprenant (voir l'article de

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Bien des formules ont été éprouvées

Et les universités alors ?

MARJORIE BINGHAM WESCHE

Un nombre de plus en plus grand de diplômés de l'enseignement immersif frappent à la porte des universités. Certaines ont répondu à leur appel, dont l'Université d'Ottawa.

Le professeur **Marjorie Bingham Wesche** est chef de la recherche et de l'évaluation à l'Institut des langues vivantes de l'Université d'Ottawa. Ses travaux portent surtout sur le bilinguisme, l'apprentissage des langues secondes et l'évaluation ; elle a signé bon nombre d'articles sur ces sujets. Le professeur Wesche coordonne le projet décrit dans l'article ci-dessous.



es programmes de cours immersifs en français font désormais partie de l'enseignement canadien. Et, très novateurs, ils se répartissent d'au moins trois façons sur les universités canadiennes.

Tout d'abord, celles-ci accueillent dans les années à venir un nombre croissant d'Anglophones possédant une compétence fonctionnelle en français. La plupart voudront conserver leur acquis, voire l'enrichir. Poussés par le désir d'une égale aisance dans les deux langues ou même celui de s'intégrer à un milieu francophone, certains fréquenteront des établissements de langue française ou bilingues¹. Mais, pour des raisons d'argent et de distance, la plupart ne pourront se permettre ce choix ; en outre, ils préféreront peut-être poursuivre leurs études dans des établissements anglophones par souci de leur identité culturelle ou du fait d'une spécialisation.

Ainsi que le démontrent des enquêtes récentes effectuées à l'Université Carleton ou menées par les Canadian Parents for French (section de Calgary)², les élèves des cours immersifs ou des cours de français de base exercent une pression croissante auprès des universités anglophones pour qu'elles assurent des moyens plus variés, plus avancés et plus vivants d'apprendre le français ; il s'agirait entre autres de dispenser les cours en français dans certaines disciplines comme complètement aux programmes de lettres traditionnels. Les universités commencent tout juste à répondre à ces besoins³.

La deuxième influence s'exerce principalement sur les facultés d'éducation et a trait à la formation de professeurs de français pour l'enseignement immersif. Dans nombre de régions, les universités sont déjà soumises à de fortes pressions en faveur de cours destinés à des professeurs exercice ou préparant leur licence. L'enseignement immersif exige une très bonne maîtrise du français — comme peut en posséder par exemple un Francophone d'origine — et une préparation pour enseigner telle matière aux élèves de l'autre langue. Les professeurs maîtrisant le français comme un locuteur d'origine ou peu près ne se trouvent pas en nombre suffisant pour satisfaire les besoins de certaines régions ; de plus, il leur faut une formation pédagogique dans la discipline en question et en fonction d'élèves qui ont une compétence minimale en français. Généralement, les cours traditionnels de préparation à l'enseignement de la langue seconde ne peuvent répondre à ces nouveaux besoins. Aussi des programmes prometteurs sont-ils en voie de création⁴.

Quant à la troisième influence, elle n'est pas aussi immédiate ni aussi manifeste que les deux premières, elle pourrait bien être la plus importante à long terme. L'enseignement de la langue seconde dans les universités Est-ce qu'elle peut s'appliquer aux cours de langue ? Et que les succès obtenus peuvent se reproduire auprès d'étudiants forcement plus âgés ? Est-ce qu'on peut apprendre une langue par l'intermédiaire d'une discipline complexe et hautement spécialisée ? Y aura-t-il progrès dans la maîtrise de la langue seconde si l'étudiant ne peut suivre qu'une faible partie de ses cours dans cette langue ? La suite du présent article sera consacrée à ce dernier point. Nous examinerons d'abord les principales caractéristiques de l'immersion pour ensuite rendre compte d'expériences récentes suivant lesquelles les principes de l'enseignement immersif pourraient, semble-t-il, être



ez le guide

saux objectifs des éducateurs. Elle commençait également les élèves. Qu'ils septième année, ils ne cachent pas leur fierté et sont reconnaissants envers leurs parents de leur avoir donné l'occasion de maîtriser leur langue maternelle comme tout autre Anglophone de leur âge et, en plus, de manipuler avec aisance l'autre langue officielle du Canada.

À l'instar du sculpteur qui vient de dégrossir sa pierre, il s'agit maintenant de figurer l'oeuvre, une oeuvre dont on n'a pas encore vu toutes les répercussions, mais dont les premiers effets laissent présager une meilleure harmonie dans la société canadienne.

NOTES ET RÉFÉRENCES

1. Tâche très lourde, la rédaction des programmes d'études passe graduellement de l'école primaire à l'école secondaire. À ce stade, la chose se complique parce que la nature et le contenu des matières offertes en français aux élèves des classes immersives des écoles secondaires tendent à varier d'une province à l'autre. Outre le français, l'histoire et la géographie sont les matières qui y sont généralement enseignées. On espère que la création prochaine d'un Réseau canadien d'information linguistique/Canadian Information Network « dans Contact, Revue canadienne destinée aux professeurs de français 2-1, février 1983). Voir aussi l'article de Mian dans ce numéro.
2. Obadia André, Robert Roy, Brian Saunders, Rhoda Tallor et Florence Wilton, *Étude nationale sur la formation et le perfectionnement du professeur d'immersion française*, Association canadienne des professeurs d'immersion, novembre 1983.
3. Cette définition fut proposée dans mon article « Programme d'immersion : croissance phénoménale et pénible » publié dans la *Revue canadienne des langues vivantes* 37-2, janvier 1981, pp. 269-282. Voir également dans cet article les obstacles qu'on oppose habituellement à la création de classes d'immersion.
4. Voir une des premières études sur la formation des professeurs de classes d'immersion au Canada, intitulée *A survey of teacher training in French immersion in Canada* par Diane Coulombe, Faculté d'éducation, Université Simon Fraser, 1983.

équivalant à celle d'un Francophone) et passer une épreuve écrite. Les candidats à l'enseignement du français de base doivent également se soumettre à des tests d'entrée.

Ce programme diffère quelque peu de celui de la plupart des universités, où les cours et les stages consacrés à l'enseignement immersif viennent se greffer sur la formation classique, habituellement sous forme de période de spécialisation. À l'Université Simon Fraser, cette formation fait partie intégrante de l'année de préparation de l'étudiant. Il faudrait que l'on arrive très bientôt à coordonner tous les efforts, en s'adaptant à ce nouveau concept de « professeur d'immersion », que certains formateurs de professeurs de langue ont encore du mal à saisir.

Compte tenu des recherches et de l'expérience acquise, les spécialistes sont de plus en plus convaincus que la préparation pédagogique devrait constituer une formation en soi et non un raptéage hâtif. Elle aurait sa propre structure, philosophique et pédagogique, tout comme la formation classique pour les écoles anglaises ou françaises. L'immersion en français, telle qu'on la connaît au Canada, est un moyen très efficace qui a fait ses preuves et mérite aujourd'hui, sous l'angle de la formation des enseignants, de recevoir ses lettres de créance.

Ce n'est évidemment pas la seule formule pour rendre des élèves bilingues, mais elle semble correspondre aux souhaits des parents et

diant de déterminer s'il est ment dans sa voie et, de retour à université, de relier certains concepts théoriques à un vécu récent. Le maître qui se prépare à l'enseignement immersif en français aura 25 pour cent de son temps dans classes anglaises.

402 : L'étudiant va maintenant pendant environ deux mois s'inscrire en cours, dont trois en français, qui traitent des éléments fondamentaux de pédagogie générale et de pédagogie spéciale et de

405 : Quatre mois de stage pédagogique. L'étudiant, sous la supervision de l'assistant pédagogique et du maître d'application, s'occupe pendant quatre mois dans classe d'immersion française ou, mieux, dans une classe française composée de Francophones. (Voir le tableau indiquant la répartition des

404 : De nouveau à l'université quatre mois d'études.

fin de son année, l'élève-maître a passé environ 80 pour cent de son temps en cours de pédagogie (anglais) traitant de l'immersion et en cours pédagogiques en anglais.

conque veut s'inscrire en immersion doit subir une entrevue avec le professeur de faculté et doit être accepté ceux qui font preuve d'une très bonne maîtrise,

de la journée. L'élève se rend dans toutes les activités. L'élève se rend très vite compte qu'il peut aisément manipuler une autre langue, qu'il l'enrichit et l'améliore de jour en jour dans un cadre réel. Cette langue permet en effet d'apprendre des équations algébriques, l'histoire de la Confédération, le principe des vases communicants et le relief du Canada. Elle devient un outil de travail. L'instrument axé sur le contenu de la matière plutôt que sur la langue. Pour l'élève comme pour l'enseignant, l'horizon s'élargit avec les jours. Le premier maître de plus en plus la langue et le second oublie avec le temps qu'il s'adresse à des Anglophones. Les résultats linguistiques obtenus dans une classe d'immersion sont plus tangibles, donc plus satisfaisants et plus encourageants pour l'enseignant et pour l'élève que ceux obtenus dans une classe de français de base traditionnelle.

La formation : encore beaucoup d'improvisation

La majorité des professeurs des classes d'immersion proviennent de facultés d'éducation française ou anglaise qui préparent leur langue maternelle à enseigner dans la langue maternelle des enfants. Les cours de didactique des langues secondes (français ou anglais) viennent généralement se greffer à cette période de formation. Une étude⁴ sur la formation des professeurs d'immersion révèle que 36 pour cent des facultés offrent déjà un ou plusieurs cours spécialisés pour les professeurs, et que 16 pour cent, à l'ouest de l'Ontario surtout,

ont l'intention de les imiter d'ici cinq ans. Cependant, le temps consacré à l'immersion par rapport aux cours de formation classique varie de 9 pour cent dans un établissement, à 67 pour cent dans un autre, preuve qu'il y a encore beaucoup d'improvisation et un manque évident d'organisation.

Quant au temps consacré aux stages pédagogiques, il varie aussi, d'une semaine à six mois. Ces stages peuvent faire partie de ceux de l'année de formation classique, ou être pris comme stages supplémentaires. Le nombre d'élèves-maîtres se destinant à l'immersion au Canada est passé de 428 en 1979 à 790 en 1982, une augmentation de 84,6 pour cent ! Cinquante-six pour cent des facultés prévoient un accroissement des effectifs, et 50 pour cent, une augmentation des professeurs chargés de leur formation.

Qu'il s'agisse de la durée des études, du nombre et du contenu des cours ainsi que de la prolifération des élèves-maîtres, les écarts constatés reflètent paradoxalement une certaine lenteur, due peut-être à une perte de souffle de la part des facultés et des ministères d'éducation chargés de la formation et de la sanction officielle des brevets d'enseignement. D'après l'étude déjà citée², les professeurs des classes d'immersion ont trouvé que les cours qui se rapportaient à la méthodologie et aux techniques ainsi que les stages pédagogiques étaient « les plus valables et les plus utiles ». L'enseignement et la méthodologie en immersion venaient aussi en tête dans la section du

Les douze mois de formation

Globalement, l'année se divise en six mois de cours et en six mois de stages pédagogiques.

Cours 401 : Des le mois de septem

après une semaine d'orientation à la faculté, l'élève-maître se trouve plongé en salle de classe, une vraie immersion « immersion » pendant deux mois environ. Ces dix-huit mois de formation sont fréquemment pendant cette période Ces premiers mois permettent à

perfectionnement, donc parmi professeurs en exercice. Plus spécifiquement, ils aimeraient apprendre davantage sur les ce d'activités, l'orthopédagogie, l'enseignement de l'expression orale et la lecture. Sur une liste de 33 sujets l'ordinateur occupe le 14^e rang et l'linguistique, le 29^e seulement !

Un modèle unique à Simon Fraser

La formation des enseignants en français langue seconde (immersion ou français de base) à la faculté de sciences de l'éducation de l'Université Simon Fraser est tout fait unique au Canada, non seulement pour la structure du corps enseignant, qui remonte à la création de l'université en 1965, mais aussi pour la division des douze mois de formation professionnelle. Le corps enseignant se compose de :

- professeurs, dont le rôle est semblable à celui de tout autre universitaire ;
- assistants pédagogiques détachés de leur conseil scolaire pour un an ou deux, qui assurent des tâches de nature surtout didactique et de cadrage des élèves-maîtres à un niveau primaire ou secondaire. Chaque assistant encadre une douzaine d'étudiants ;
- maîtres d'application, qui reçoivent chacun un ou deux stagiaires de leur classe.

Marquée par ce trio, la formation de l'élève-maître s'effectue dans un cycle d'échanges continus formant — dont bénéficient également les trois autres participants.



Il faut se mouiller...

L'école est un moyen d'éduquer un enfant principalement dans une langue autre que sa langue maternelle³, on convient que ce n'est plus une classe habituelle de « langue étrangère », mais un enseignement qui englobe le développement physique, cognitif et affectif de l'enfant. Il faut donc un éducateur complet, un pédagogue qui a reçu une formation générale et spécialisée et non un simple professeur de langue.

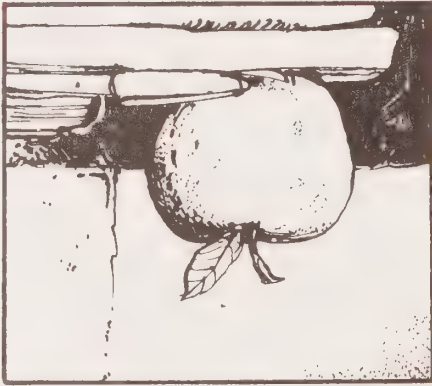
Trois ou quatre

distinctions essentielles

Il est important ici de distinguer le rôle du professeur de français de base de celui, bien différent, du professeur de classes d'immersion.

Le premier s'efforce, à raison de 15 à 30 minutes quotidiennes, d'enseigner les rudiments de la langue à sept ou huit classes, c'est-à-dire à environ 250 élèves par jour. Il veut leur apprendre à communiquer oralement et, à un degré moindre, à lire et à écrire. Il essaie de créer des situations où l'élève est appelé à utiliser un nombre de structures relativement limité et un vocabulaire aussi fonctionnel que possible. Le rythme de la leçon, la motivation et l'attention des enfants doivent être constamment soutenus. La variété est un élément clé et l'enseignant est constamment sur le qui-vive. Il veille à son débit, son vocabulaire doit rester à la portée des enfants. Il lui faut aussi de l'imagination, un sens de l'humour, et beaucoup de patience et... de réalisme quant aux objectifs linguistiques qu'il peut atteindre.

La situation du professeur des classes immersives au cycle primaire (pour le cycle secondaire, voir l'article de Mian, dans ce numéro) est tout autre. D'abord, il n'enseigne qu'à une trentaine d'élèves avec lesquels il travaille toute la journée. Son objectif dépasse celui de l'enseignement de la langue française pour englober celui de matières telles que les sciences, les mathématiques, l'histoire, la géographie, etc. La langue seconde devient un véhicule naturel de communication dans toutes les activités



La pomme de discorde

Les postes d'enseignants, devenus rares aujourd'hui, continuent d'attirer les candidats bilingues qui, grâce à ces nouveaux programmes, voient augmenter leurs chances de trouver un emploi. Détachant une moyenne de 1,9 en diplôme universitaires ou brevets d'enseignement, les enseignants de l'étude citée comptent 9,4 années d'expérience, ce qui est surprenant par rapport à la moyenne nationale qui est de 12,5 années (Statistique Canada, 1981-1982). Étant donné la nouveauté de ce régime pédagogique au Canada, on se serait attendu à moins, mais elle semble attirer des enseignants d'expérience qui exerçaient jusqu'ici dans d'autres domaines.

Lorsqu'on les compare à l'âge moyen au primaire et au secondaire, ces professeurs sont plus jeunes. Quatorze pour cent ont 25 ans et moins, contre 4 pour cent à l'échelle nationale pour la même tranche d'âge (Statistique Canada, 1981-1982). Soixante-quatre pour cent ont 35 ans ou moins, contre 42 pour cent pour l'ensemble du corps professoral. La majorité d'entre eux (69 pour cent) enseignent toute la journée à des élèves qui ont commencé l'immersion soit entre la maternelle et la 3^e année (81 pour cent), soit entre la 4^e et la 6^e (10 pour cent) ou encore en 7^e ou 8^e (8 pour cent). Les méthodes de formation des enseignants ne sont pas encore bien arrêtées. Il va de soi qu'il ne suffit pas de bien maîtriser la langue française. Si l'on accepte notre définition que « l'immersion à

enseignants et parents vont-ils peu en perdre leur bel en-
siasme au fil des années ?
es ? C'est difficile à prédire.
s chose certaine, on croit tou-
s avec ferveur à cette méthode,
a de plus en plus d'adeptes
les petites villes. Sociologi-
ment parlant, il est intéressant
noter les retombées de
mmersion » des enfants sur les
illes. Certains parents se met-
à suivre des cours de français,
sister des endroits où l'on parle
ngais et à se rapprocher des
ncophones. Nous avons d'ail-
s entrepris une enquête à ce
et au Canada.

titulaire des
sses immersives :
personnage-orchestre
est-ce qu'un « professeur
mmersion » ? D'où vient-il ? Quelle
nation a-t-il reçue ?
n que ce ne soit pas une condition
nt des Francophones canadiens.
en trouve d'origine française
urope, d'Afrique ou d'autres pays
s en plus d'Anglophones, du
ada ou d'ailleurs, qui se con-
ent à cette tâche. Ils reflètent donc
ez fidèlement la mosaïque
adienne.

près une étude récente², on
ient la ventilation nationale
vante des professeurs : 73 pour
t de langue française, 20 pour cent
langue anglaise, 5 pour cent
llaphones et 2 pour cent se récla-
nt des deux langues officielles.
plus forte concentration des
glophones se retrouve en
ombie-Britannique (40 pour cent)
Ontario (33 pour cent), la plus
é et au Québec (3 pour cent) et
askatchewan (5 pour cent).
te étude, où plus de
questionnaires ont été dépouillés,
èle aussi que 44 pour cent des
laïres de classes d'immersion
ient entrepris leurs études péda-
ngues en français, 28 pour cent en
çais et 27 pour cent dans les deux
gues.

river à sa table de travail, préparer une bonne quantité de café et passer de longues heures à établir ses buts et ses objectifs, sa répartition annuelle et ses leçons quotidiennes. Pour ces pionniers obscurs, les nuits blanches n'étaient pas rares.

Les programmes d'études : un mouvement dynamique

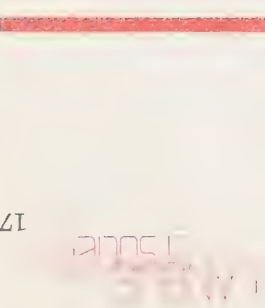
Les conseils scolaires qui disposaient d'un coordonnateur ou d'un conseiller pédagogique ont remué ciel et terre pour essayer de faciliter la tâche des enseignants. Ceux de Montréal et d'Ottawa-Carleton notamment ont abattu un travail phénoménal, menant des recherches fébriles et rédigeant sans relâche, créant un fonds supplémentaires du Secrétariat d'État, des programmes d'études habituellement rassemblés ont commencé à voir le jour. On est loin des quelques feuilles des premières années, puisque les conseils s'enorgueillissent maintenant de volumes de 500 à 1 500 pages complètes par du matériel pédagogique original. Après une période d'attente prudente, les maisons d'édition

commencent à s'intéresser à la montée du bilinguisme, phénomène typiquement canadien, du moins dans les écoles primaires et secondaires. Les revues professionnelles annoncent déjà des publications (livres ou textes) utilisables dans les classes d'immersion. D'ailleurs, ces maisons d'édition devraient de plus en plus, si elles ont ces classes comme public cible, s'inspirer des expériences vécues dans les classes d'immersion plutôt que de celles fréquentées par les Francophones. En effet, on s'aperçoit de plus en plus que les difficultés et les besoins linguistiques diffèrent sensiblement entre les classes pour Francophones et les classes d'immersion. Le professeur des classes immersives est aujourd'hui soutenu dans sa tâche par des parents beaucoup plus informés et organisés, dont bon nombre sont membres d'une association de parents connue sous le nom de Canadian Parents for French (CPF). (Voir

l'article de Gibson dans ce numéro) Ces parents veillent attentivement à l'éducation de leurs enfants, sont de précieux alliés. À l'initiative de la CPF, les titulaires de certificats d'immersion ont formé leur propre association, l'Association canadienne des professeurs d'immersion (ACPI), qui réunit aujourd'hui quelque 1 200 membres. Des commissions provinciales de l'ACPI commencent à se créer, ce qui permet de resserrer la communication entre tous les membres. Il n'est que d'assister à un congrès annuel de ces deux organisations pour constater le succès du dynamisme et l'optimisme des participants. Les premières années de l'immersion sont dépassées de façon remarquable. Quel tour de force vingt ans ! Cette réussite est l'oeuvre d'enseignants qui, au début, n'avaient rien, ni formation spécialisée, ni matériel pédagogique, ni liste de tatonnement sont devenus des professeurs n'est plus seul. Quel chemin parcouru en moins de vingt ans ! Quel tour de force ! atouts en main.

Programme de formation des enseignants de français langue seconde à l'Université Simon Fraser

Classes d'immersion ou classes pour Francophones				Français de base											
Ecole primaire				Ecole secondaire											
401	Stage d'observation et préliminaire (2 mois)	La plus grande partie du temps se déroule dans des classes immersives ou francophones	La plus grande partie du temps est passée dans des classes anglaises avec observation de quelques classes de français	402	Cours (2 mois)	3 cours en français 1 cours en anglais	1 cours en français 2 cours en anglais	403	Enseignement pratique (4 mois)	Se fait entièrement en français	On augmente la fréquence d'enseignement de classes de français	404	(4 mois)	2 cours en français	1 cours en français 3 cours en anglais



liement appuyés par les parents, les professeurs
l'enseignement immersif attendent des universités qu'elles
connaissent officiellement cette discipline et
entent sur pied des programmes d'études en conséquence.

es piliers du nouveau bilinguisme

ANDRÉ A. OBADIA



André A. Obadia est professeur agrégé à la Faculté d'éducation de l'Université Simon Fraser où il s'occupe des programmes de français obligatoire et de la formation des professeurs d'immersion. Son domaine de recherche actuel recoupe l'analyse des modèles de discours chez les jeunes en programme d'immersion et les aspects socio-linguistiques de l'immersion au Canada.

e métier d'enseignant n'est pas une sinécure... Passer six à sept heures par jour avec une trentaine de jeunes pour leur inculquer des connaissances tout en pourvoyant à leurs besoins sociaux et émotifs est une tâche redoutable. Pourtant, certains professeurs semblent tenir mieux le coup que d'autres, ne craignent pas perdre le dynamisme et l'enthousiasme à toute heure qui les anime. Il s'agit des « professeurs d'immersion » ou d'immersion », désignation qui vient de plus en plus courante au Canada.

la fait maintenant une vingtaine d'années que l'on parle d'immersion en français, méthode relativement nouvelle pour rendre les jeunes Anglophones bilingues. Or les nombreuses analyses décrivant les résultats marquables obtenus, il est temps de réfléchir sur le rôle de ceux qui sont presque toujours restés dans l'ombre, que soit pendant les remous socio-politiques et administratifs qui ont accompagné (et qui accompagnent encore) les débuts du programme, ou pendant la période d'euphorie triennale des parents devant les effets bénéfiques de ce mode de scolarisation.

scientistes des responsabilités qui leur étaient confiées, les professeurs des classes d'immersion ont su courber l'échine pour laisser passer l'orage ou s'effacer lorsque les enseignants canadiens, parmi les plus éminents, leur ont fait part de leurs travaux « d'un océan à l'autre ». Aujourd'hui encore, rares sont les chercheurs qui étudient

les problèmes de ces artisans de l'ombre, leurs tâches, leurs difficultés, leurs besoins, leurs inquiétudes et leurs joies.

Pourtant, dès l'introduction de ce régime pédagogique, la réussite du programme a reposé principalement sur l'enseignant. Les premières générations d'enfants qui ont commencé leur maternelle en français sans connaître un mot de cette autre langue officielle étaient peut-être dépayés, mais n'étaient certainement pas les seuls à se retrouver « dans le bain ». Très conscient du défi et des aléas de cette formule toute nouvelle et, dans sa forme actuelle, peut-être unique au monde, l'enseignant se sentait plus « immergé » encore.

Il devenait tout d'un coup le point de mire de parents anglophones attendris et inquiets, et d'administrateurs concédant, mais plutôt incrédules. On lui donnait une classe sans lui fournir la moindre directive pédagogique précise, sans qu'il ait reçu de formation spécialisée.

Comme il était souvent lui-même bilingue, il savait en son for intérieur que l'objectif visé était réalisable. Son principal souci était son groupe d'enfants et ce qu'il fallait lui enseigner. Il savait que l'expérience pouvait réussir, il le sentait.

Mais, comment allait-il s'y prendre ? Quels outils utiliserait-il ? Les programmes et les manuels des écoles françaises du Québec ? Ceux des classes de français de base où le jeune Anglophone fait de 15 à 30 minutes de français par jour ? La première formule semblait difficile, surtout pour le début de l'année, la seconde, trop rigide, trop monotone pour utiliser un tel schéma tout au long de l'année scolaire. Il n'y avait qu'une solution, celle que connaissent bien les vétérans de cette époque, et peut-être à un degré moindre encore ceux d'aujourd'hui ! Il fallait se

haut calibre. Grâce aux subventions fédérales et provinciales, Lawrence Park a pu se constituer une collection impressionnante de livres et de matériel audiovisuel en français, qui sont mis à la disposition non seulement des élèves des classes immersives mais de tous les élèves des cours de langue. Le programme a aussi permis d'enrichir la cinémathèque française du conseil scolaire de Toronto. En outre, les méthodes pédagogiques insistent sur le fait que tout professeur, en plus d'inculquer des connaissances spéciales, enseigne aussi la langue, que ce soit le français ou l'anglais, et cela peut avoir des retombées favorables sur tous les départements de l'établissement.

La première promotion du programme immersif recevra au printemps de 1984 son Certificat de bilinguisme, ce qui marquera la fin de la phase initiale du programme au niveau secondaire. La seconde, celle de la consolidation, est déjà entamée. Elle inclura un examen approfondi du programme, et élèves, enseignants et parents seront invités à évaluer les réussites et les échecs qui ont jalonné les quatre dernières années. Nous suivrons de très près les projets de carrière et d'études universitaires de nos diplômés ainsi que les plans des universités elles-mêmes, puisque cela nous guidera dans la modification et l'amélioration de notre programme. Le succès de l'immersion à l'élémentaire et l'intérêt manifesté pour cette initiative dans l'enseignement comme à l'extérieur nous convainquent que ces programmes sont établis en permanence et que le défi à relever est d'en accroître l'efficacité. Pour l'instant, nul ne doutera qu'ils réalisent leur objectif principal : à leur sortie de l'école secondaire, des jeunes issus de milieux exclusivement anglophones sont compétents dans les deux langues officielles. Nous souhaitons que le bilinguisme serve non seulement à enrichir leur vie personnelle, mais à leur permettre de faire une contribution importante à la cause de l'unité nationale que poursuivent tous les Canadiens.

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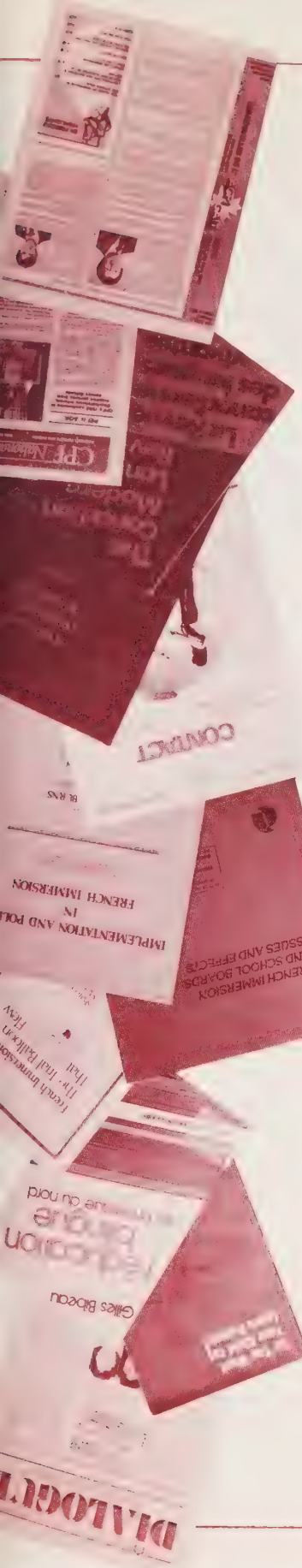
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Comme experts, les professeurs d'immersion ont par ailleurs une tâche très lourde. Ils doivent dans l'ensemble préparer plus de cours et d'examens que leurs collègues. En outre, l'école accueille fréquemment des visiteurs et reçoit de nombreuses demandes de résumés de cours et de matériel de la part d'autres établissements et de conseils scolaires. Les parents manifestent aussi beaucoup d'intérêt et exercent parfois de fortes pressions parce que leurs enfants sont dans un programme expérimental : ils veulent être rassurés, c'est bien compréhensible, sur les progrès accomplis.

Mais il s'agit là de douleurs de croissance, qui sont plus que compensées par la grande satisfaction de participer à une initiative valable, qui donne des résultats. Les élèves sont capables de s'exprimer librement, même si ce n'est pas toujours correctement, et les réactions des Francophones lors de séjours au Québec, ou encore des visiteurs, nous confirment que nos élèves maîtrisent relativement bien le français. Il faut reconnaître que leur volonté de se perfectionner et de respecter un engagement pris à l'âge de cinq ans est vraiment admirable. Entre la 9^e et la 10^e année, le taux d'abandon est nul; par la suite, il n'est que très faible. Le rendement aux épreuves et aux examens ainsi que le nombre de prix et de récompenses décrochés sont supérieurs à la moyenne dans les matières enseignées tant en anglais qu'en français.

Quant aux activités et sports parascolaires, il ne fait aucun doute que les élèves des programmes immersifs y participent avec enthousiasme et succès. Bref, ils sont membres à part entière de Lawrence Park même si, dans certains secteurs de l'école et avec certains enseignants et camarades, ils vivent en français. Les avantages du programme pour l'école apparaissent de plus en plus clairement. En cette époque où l'on assiste à une baisse des inscriptions, les participants à l'immersion constituent une clientèle précieuse et de

compte des objectifs, du contenu et des méthodes du cours, et les notes données revêtent une signification véritable pour les élèves et leurs parents. Il s'agit maintenant que ces notes soient comprises par les milieux extérieurs, par exemple par les responsables de l'admission dans les universités. On nous accuse à tort de gonfler de 10 à 15 pour cent les notes des élèves en immersion. Pourtant, l'université ne se donne même pas la peine, dit-on, de prendre connaissance de nos rapports sur la nature des cours. Se pourrait-il que ces élèves soient pénalisés pour avoir suivi un programme plus exigeant ? Il est intéressant de noter que les Canadian Parents for French ont organisé récemment une conférence en Ontario sous sur le thème de l'enseignement universitaire bilingue pour les Anglo-Ontariens. Ce n'est que lorsque les universités auront établi leurs propres programmes immersifs que l'on commencera à se rendre compte des réalisations de nos diplômés.

Le personnel du programme immersif s'est aussi demandé si les cours donnés en français étaient les bons et s'ils suffisaient. Le contenu linguistique des cours d'art et d'éducation physique est-il acceptable ? Il semble, d'après nos observations, que nous ayons réussi, jusqu'ici, à faire en sorte que les cours demeurent intéressants tout en ayant un plus grand contenu linguistique que leurs équivalents anglais. Faut-il enseigner les mathématiques et les sciences en français alors que l'anglais devient de plus en plus la langue internationale de la technique ? Encore une fois, il semble, d'après nos observations, qu'il se fasse un grand transfert de terminologie entre l'anglais et le français, mais les élèves eux-mêmes ont tendance à ne pas prendre ces matières en français en 11^e et 12^e années. Pour ces raisons, et d'autres encore, il faudra de toute évidence réexaminer le programme, puisque la première promotion va bientôt être diplômée.

ressance phénoménale des programmes immersifs dans toutes les villes socio-économiques de la province, elle sera de moins en moins justifiable. Enfin, peu de personnes ont exprimé la crainte que matières enseignées en français ne soient pas bien transmises; d'ailleurs, il n'a été assez facile de dissiper la crainte puisque les programmes ont été établis par des spécialistes, la surveillance de chefs de département et suivant les lignes directrices prescrites. De plus, des liens communs administratifs tant qu'élèves en immersion qu'aux autres ont démontré que dans les programmes immersifs, le français était intelligemment la langue d'enseignement et ne constituait pas le sujet de

préoccupations du corps enseignant rattaché au programme d'un autre ordre. Les professeurs s'interrogeaient sur le lien entre la grammaire, la littérature et la langue dans les cours de français et le rapport entre ceux-ci et toutes autres matières. Ils se langaient de longues et parfois pénibles discussions sur le choix des romans à ce niveau : comment trouver des thèmes rédigés dans une langue acceptable et présentant des thèmes intéressants et valables ? Comment lever l'équilibre entre les littératures française et canadienne-gaie, moderne et classique ? L'anglais d'Eugénie Grandet déplaçait-il les élèves de 9^e tandis que *Le Cid* attirait les délices de la 11^e ? Les cours que persistent à faire les élèves sur certains points de base, tout à l'écrit, tracassent aussi les enseignants. t à notre avis exagérée d'affirmer, que les détracteurs des programmes d'immersion, que les élèves n'ont à y massacrer la langue rom du bilinguisme « foncnel » ; mais nous n'allons pas prendre avoir trouvé la formule qui mène à la fois la spontanéité et la flexion de l'expression. problème le plus épineux est de l'évaluation. Nous avons au point, pour nos propres méthodes qui tiennent

correspondent au niveau de compétence en français des élèves. Depuis deux ou trois ans, l'on trouve beaucoup plus de livres d'histoire en français, ce qui signifie que les professeurs ne sont plus obligés, comme auparavant, de rédiger leurs textes. Mais étant donné le rythme auquel sortent les publications et l'expérience que nous accumulons, il faut constamment effectuer des mises à jour.

Pratiques

Coût et frais de démarrage

Ce facteur et les frais de démarrage des élèves du programme font de l'immersion une entreprise coûteuse. Après avoir entendu pendant quatre ans des demandes de fonds accrus pour le programme de français desomais relativement généreux, enrichi, le conseil scolaire se montre spécialement pour la création de classes nouvelles. Mais ce n'est que cette année, au moment où le premier groupe d'élèves en immersion entre en douzième, que l'on a adopté une formule souple et à long terme. La principale pierre d'achoppement a été la définition d'une « classe ». Pour le conseil, cela désigne simplement un groupe d'une trentaine d'élèves. Mais selon l'école, il faut multiplier ce nombre par le nombre de matières enseignées, chacune exigeant des textes et du matériel audiovisuel spéciaux. Il a aussi fallu obtenir des fonds pour la Bibliothèque et le Centre de ressources qui mettent à la disposition des élèves la documentation nécessaire pour leurs travaux de recherche et des livres pour leurs loisirs.

La dotation des postes constitue une préoccupation constante. Les autorités se sont demandées s'il fallait exiger des enseignants à la fois Francophones et spécialistes. Evidemment, l'idéal eût été qu'ils possèdent ces deux qualités, mais il fallait tenir compte de la réalité ontarienne. Elles ont donc décidé de réclamer que seuls les professeurs de français soient francophones, les autres devant être spécialisés dans leur domaine et maîtriser le français presque comme les locuteurs d'origine. La première année du programme, les professeurs de français,

d'histoire et d'arts se trouvaient déjà à l'école : les deux premiers avaient été embauchés pour enseigner dans le programme de français enrichi, et le troisième — qui avait appris le français par lui-même — avait par la suite manifesté le désir de se joindre au programme.

Le professeur de mathématiques avait été muté d'un autre poste au sein du conseil scolaire. Dans les deux ou trois années qui ont suivi, plusieurs autres personnes ont été affectées au programme, de sorte que maintenant 12 enseignants sur 75 y sont rattachés, bien que seuls deux travaillaient exclusivement en français. Ces personnes faisaient déjà partie de l'effectif ou encore ont été embauchées pour combler des vacances créées par suite de mutations, de départs ou de promotions. Le corps



En matière d'immersion

Il ne fait aucun doute que la superposition des programmes d'immersion et de français enrichi a transformé l'école. Les enseignants qui n'y participaient pas directement ont fait preuve d'une tolérance empreinte de réserve. Ils s'inquiétaient en effet pour leurs emplois et craignaient que la taille réduite des classes et le caractère facultatif de certains cours du programme immer-

sif ne limitent les cours facultatifs d'Égypte, de Grèce et d'Italie. Nouveau-Brunswick, de l'Ontario, des provinces de France, du Québec, du

comprend des collaborateurs originaux un groupe cosmopolite qui

devenu un groupe cosmopolite qui cent est francophone, est maintenant

sion de Lawrence Park, dont 50 pour

enseignant du programme d'immer-

regulier. On a ajouté 0,5 enseignant

la formule de dotation et cela a per-

sur les élèves du programme ang-

plesses s'est évidemment réperc-

autres cours. Ce manque de sou-

assez limité dans l'agence d'imm-

donnés qu'une fois par jour) était

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devait prendre de trois à cinq con-

offertes. L'élève en immersion qui

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partois de la pure acrobatie, étan-

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Préoccupation primordiale,

de la pure acrobatie

L'établissement de l'horaire :

possible le personnel.

jusqu'ici de perturber le moins

fonctionner en français — a per-

enseignants désireux de se per-

pondère — incluant le recyclage

planification à long terme, atten-

blème ; cependant, un effort de

solution toute faite pour ce pro-

domaines vus. Il n'existe pas

produisent pas exactement dans

mouvements de personnel ne se

disponibles, chacun savait que l'

mesure qu'il y aurait des postes

autant que possible au fur et à

reprises que l'expansion se ferait

l'école ont eu beau déclarer à ma-

crainies. Les administrateurs de

toute évidence les plus grandes

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l'acquisition du français. Mais c'

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Quant à l'accusation d'élitisme, e-

est assez difficile à réfuter et est

l'instant. Mais, compte tenu de la

en français et les élèves.

divers départements offrant des c-

rapports entre l'administration

grammes de français chargé de l'a-

nommé un coordonnateur des p-

tenter d'aider les intéressés, on a

ayant trait aux cours requis. Pour

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d'orientation et les secrétaires de

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Outre le jonglage difficile avec les

la difficulté, sans toutefois l'élimi-

la formule de dotation et cela a per-

regulier. On a ajouté 0,5 enseignant

sur les élèves du programme ang-

plesses s'est évidemment réperc-

autres cours. Ce manque de sou-

assez limité dans l'agence d'imm-

donnés qu'une fois par jour) était

facultatifs (dont plusieurs n'étaient

devait prendre de trois à cinq con-

offertes. L'élève en immersion qui

donné les quelque 150 matières

partois de la pure acrobatie, étan-

l'établissement des horaires a ter-

Préoccupation primordiale,

de la pure acrobatie

L'établissement de l'horaire :

possible le personnel.

jusqu'ici de perturber le moins

fonctionner en français — a per-

enseignants désireux de se per-

pondère — incluant le recyclage

planification à long terme, atten-

blème ; cependant, un effort de

solution toute faite pour ce pro-

domaines vus. Il n'existe pas

produisent pas exactement dans

mouvements de personnel ne se

disponibles, chacun savait que l'

mesure qu'il y aurait des postes

autant que possible au fur et à

reprises que l'expansion se ferait

l'école ont eu beau déclarer à ma-

crainies. Les administrateurs de

toute évidence les plus grandes

sécurité d'emploi qui suscitait d'

l'acquisition du français. Mais c'

la matière serait sacrifiée en faveur

dans certains cas, l'apprentissage

d'être élitiste et prétendait qu'

accusaient souvent le program-

effets beaucoup plus nombre-

anglais à un créneau réduit avec

Quant à l'accusation d'élitisme, e-

est assez difficile à réfuter et est

l'instant. Mais, compte tenu de la

en français et les élèves.

divers départements offrant des c-

rapports entre l'administration

grammes de français chargé de l'a-

nommé un coordonnateur des p-

tenter d'aider les intéressés, on a

ayant trait aux cours requis. Pour

laire et tout un ensemble de règle-

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facultatifs (dont plusieurs n'étaient

de guides pédagogiques à proposer pour les cours immersifs de français. Les enseignants de Lawrence Park ont donc effectué des recherches à Ottawa, à Montréal et à l'école secondaire Étienne-Brûlé de North York ; ils ont passé beaucoup de temps à observer leurs futurs élèves pendant que ces derniers étaient en septième et huitième année et ils ont discuté avec les professeurs et avec des conseillers du conseil scolaire de Toronto. Enfin, ils utilisèrent des périodes libres supplémentaires pendant l'année et signèrent des contrats à court terme d'établissement de programmes pour rassembler pendant l'été tous les éléments qu'ils avaient réunis, les adapter et concevoir des programmes acceptables.

Le cours immersif de français comprend plusieurs éléments : langue et grammaire, littérature, culture, exercices audiovisuels et lectures

deux autres se déroulent en dehors des heures de classe, parallèlement à d'autres cours et activités. C'est ainsi que les élèves ont formé un groupe de conversation française et un ciné-club, assistent à des pièces de théâtre et mangent dans des restaurants français, ils participent à toutes sortes d'échanges, pendant l'année scolaire et l'été, avec des jeunes du Québec, de Suisse et de France;

moniteurs/monitrices pour leur faire faire des exercices supplémentaires de conversation française. Une caractéristique du cours est que l'on utilise le français comme s'il s'agissait de la langue maternelle des élèves. On n'y parle jamais anglais et la difficulté des romans lus et des compositions demandées équivalant à celle des cours de langue et de littérature anglaises du même niveau. Elèves et professeurs communiquent toujours entre eux en français, en classe ou à l'extérieur.

En ce qui concerne l'histoire et les autres sciences sociales, l'on pouvait s'inspirer des guides pédagogiques du ministère, mais il s'agissait de trouver des textes et du matériel audiovisuel qui respectent celles-ci et

l'option éducation physique et hygiène étant ajoutée en 1983. En onzième, les matières à étudier seraient le français, l'histoire ou la politique, les mathématiques ou la physique, et en douzième, le français, l'histoire et les mathématiques ou la chimie. En treizième, l'école offrirait le français et l'histoire, mais à titre facultatif. Cette structure était nouvelle pour le secondaire et malgré sa conformité aux vœux exprimés par les élèves et aux exigences linguistiques du programme, elle présentait des inconvénients, sur lesquels nous reviendrons plus tard. À la fin de la douzième, les élèves devaient recevoir un certificat de bilinguisme, délivré par le conseil scolaire de Toronto, attestant qu'ils avaient obtenu 12 crédits dans des cours donnés en français sur les 27 exigés pour le diplôme d'études secondaires de l'Ontario. On s'inspirait ainsi d'Ottawa en attribuant aux élèves un symbole de réussite.

Les cours de français et de sciences sociales incluent dans le programme étaient qualifiées d'« enrichis », en raison de la quantité et de la qualité du travail attendu des élèves. En mathématiques, les élèves n'avaient accès aux cours enrichi que si le justifiaient leurs connaissances de la matière, et non seulement leur compétence en français. Pour les arts, ainsi que pour l'éducation physique et l'hygiène, on n'a pas senti la nécessité d'une désignation spéciale. Autre point à noter : pour les cours facultatifs et le cours de sciences sociales au niveau supérieur, les élèves en immersion devaient se mêler à ceux du cours de français enrichi. Sinon idéale du point de vue linguistique, cette solution permet de remédier au problème des classes peu nombreuses et de mêler sociale-ment les deux groupes. Elle a sûrement amélioré les résultats des élèves du cours de français enrichi.

Les défis à relever : multiples et difficiles

Les principaux défis qu'on pose la création et l'expansion du programme immersif ont été l'établissement des cours, le financement et la réaffectation des postes d'enseignants. Le ministère n'avait, par exemple, pas

l'histoire à enseigner en français : ceux des élèves et de leurs opinions, exprimées lors de sondages et de recherches, les modèles trouvés dans les systèmes scolaires (Tawa-Carléon et les ressources humaines de l'établissement. Les élèves de la première vague et leurs parents ont réclamé instamment le minimum de français possible, point sur appuyé par la recherche. Néanmoins, l'expérience acquise dans la région d'Ottawa avait appris aux administrateurs que, même si les élèves avaient d'abord souhaité que toutes les matières fussent enseignées en français, les élèves ne courus dans la langue seconde pendant une année, ce nombre d'élèves supérieures. Quant aux ressources humaines, elles demeurent le plus difficile à prévoir et à mesurer.

immersion était une innovation à Lawrence Park, mais non les spectacles de français. En effet, ans plus tôt, l'école avait mis en place un programme de français bilingue, qu'on pourrait aussi qualifier de « immersion partielle courte » : cela crée un précédent en incitant les services que celui des langues modernes à s'intéresser à l'enseignement du français. Pour le Ministère de l'Éducation, les programmes « enrichis » n'exigent pas nécessairement que d'une seule autre langue soit enseignée en français ; alors que dans le cas de l'immersion, il y a partage à égalité entre les deux langues. L'obligation d'offrir quatre cours en français à chaque niveau aurait eu des conséquences profondes sur la structure d'une école secondaire anglaise. Le programme d'immersion fut donc mis en place, les élèves étudiaient le français, l'histoire et les mathématiques, les autres étant facultatifs. Dans le même groupe, 75 pour cent des élèves ont suivi les quatre cours en français. En 1982, l'école en a ajouté un cinquième, facultatif également, l'éducation physique et l'anglais. En dixième, les élèves avaient étudié le français, l'histoire et la géographie, les mathématiques

L'enseignement immersif au secondaire

CLAIRE MIAN

Le programme immersif du Lawrence Park Collegiate a été établi avec soin et, si la dotation des postes d'enseignants fait encore problème, les difficultés de croissance ont bel et bien été surmontées.

Née en Egypte de parents italiens, Claire Mian a appris le français, l'italien et l'anglais dès son enfance. Diplômée de McGill et de l'Université de London, elle a enseigné à Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute en 1975. Elle a été chargée de cours dans les programmes de français langue seconde à l'Université de Toronto et à York.



oro onto ne compte, à l'heure actuelle, qu'une école secondaire offrant l'immersion en français, le Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute, situé dans le secteur nord de la ville. C'est le prolongement du programme d'immersion longue que le conseil scolaire de Toronto a amorcé à l'école primaire locale en 1971, en réponse aux demandes pressantes de parents.



Lawrence Park est un quartier de classe moyenne, largement anglo-saxon, qui peut sembler de prime abord se prêter mal à une initiative du genre. Pourtant, bien informée, cette communauté a très rapidement perçu les avantages du bilinguisme. Elle a compris aussi, forte de l'expérience de Montréal et d'Ottawa, que l'acquisition d'une langue seconde devait commencer tôt et se faire d'une façon intensive. Motivés par des facteurs politiques aussi bien que personnels, ces parents ne pouvaient ignorer que le bilinguisme pouvait bien devenir une condition d'accès au marché du travail canadien. Ils estimaient aussi que l'acquisition de l'autre langue officielle servirait à préserver l'unité canadienne et contribuerait à l'épanouissement personnel. Le programme fut donc ouvert à tous les enfants de la collectivité, sans la moindre sélection.

Mais quel était le bagage français des élèves acceptés à l'école secondaire offrant l'immersion en français. Les trois premières années, le cours suivi à l'élémentaire s'était déroulé exclusivement en français ; en quatrième,

immersif. Quatre critères ont été retenus pour déterminer Lawrence Park a établi avec soin son programme enseignées en français

De plus, les enfants désiraient ardemment apprendre français, ce qui en faisait d'excellents sujets. Ils manifestaient une énergie et une créativité débordante et épuisantes. Comme à l'école primaire on avait attaché beaucoup d'importance à l'écoute et à l'expression, les élèves étaient particulièrement forts à l'oral. Il s'agissait donc, au secondaire, de développer leur aptitude à lire écrire, et de pousser leur compétence générale pour qu'ils soient bilingues au terme du cours.

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- aptitude à composer, à prendre des notes et à faire résumés, malgré certaines erreurs ;
- connaissance de certains aspects culturels de la France et du Canada français, et réceptivité à l'égard des francophones.
- compréhension de textes pouvant être fort complexes, porter sur des sujets très divers. Aptitude à lire des nouvelles et des romans de difficulté moyenne ;
- aptitude à composer, à prendre des notes et à faire résumés, malgré certaines erreurs ;
- connaissance de certains aspects culturels de la France et du Canada français, et réceptivité à l'égard des francophones.

dynamisme du programme. Des groupes comme les Canadian Parents for French doivent demeurer actifs et prévenir les dangers très réels de la suffisance. Si les cours immersifs continuent à satisfaire aux critères stricts que nous imposons, peut-être léguerons-nous à nos petits-enfants le don d'une langue seconde.

Et mes enfants alors ? Erin, 12 ans, veut apprendre l'espagnol. Elle envisage une carrière d'agent de bord ou de guide où elle pourra se servir des trois langues. Garth, 9 ans, a l'intention de devenir programmeur et songe à élaborer des programmes spécialement conçus pour les classes immersives. Dans un avenir plus rapproché, ils espèrent économiser suffisamment d'argent pour amener leurs parents visiter le Québec, où ils seront sans doute d'excellents guides et interprètes.

et provinciaux un engagement à long terme en matière d'immersion; accroître les possibilités d'interaction de nos enfants, surtout ceux de la sixième à la douzième année, avec des Francophones par le biais d'échanges ou d'autres activités hors programme intéressantes et stimulantes.

Aujourd'hui, c'est précisément le succès phénoménal de l'enseignement immersif qui risque de nuire à son progrès. En effet, parents et enseignants, favorablement impressionnés, pouvaient très bien relâcher leur vigilance et perdre de leur zèle. Nous devons insister pour que la qualité et le pourcentage d'enseignement en français soient maintenus, voire accrus, et surtout ne consentir à aucun compromis soi-disant opportuniste qui saperait éventuellement le

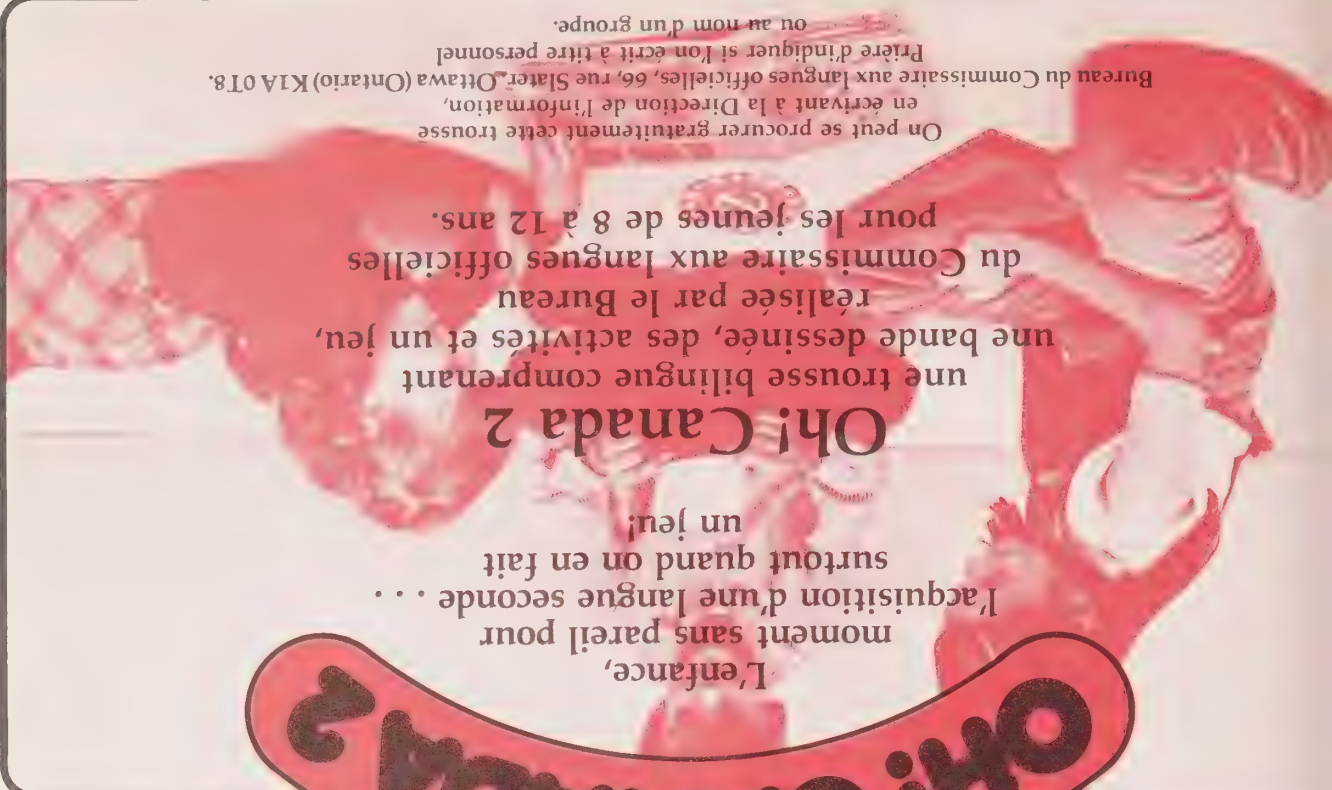
établir les conditions optimales pour la formation linguistique, y compris les méthodes pédagogiques, le nombre et la nature des sujets à être enseignés en français et le contexte scolaire (à deux ou à quatre heures pédagogiques ou en immersion totale); former un nombre suffisant de professeurs compétents; assurer l'accès à des services orthopédagogiques comme à des activités enrichissantes; éliminer les listes d'attente, les priorités et toutes autres formes de contingence dans les cas où l'accès au cours immersif est restreint; élargir l'éventail des sujets enseignés en français au secondaire; convaincre les universités de dispenser certains cours en français; obtenir des gouvernements fédéral

Oh! Canada 2

L'enfance, moment sans pareil pour l'acquisition d'une langue seconde . . . surtout quand on en fait un jeu;

Oh! Canada 2 une trousse bilingue comprenant une bande dessinée, des activités et un jeu, réalisée par le Bureau du Commissaire aux langues officielles pour les jeunes de 8 à 12 ans.

On peut se procurer gratuitement cette trousse en écrivant à la Direction de l'information, Bureau du Commissaire aux langues officielles, 66, rue Slater, Ottawa (Ontario) K1A 0T8. Prière d'indiquer si l'on écrit à titre personnel ou au nom d'un groupe.



La publicité du bouche à oreille est encore la meilleure. La création d'un groupe de soutien national comme les Canadian Parents for French n'a fait qu'accélérer le processus, permettant ainsi à des milliers de familles de faire un choix averti — car elles ont bel et bien le choix.

Régime pour

parents énergiques

La décision d'inscrire Erin et Garth au programme de cours immersifs a changé nos habitudes. Par exemple, l'école qu'ils fréquentent est à plus de trois kilomètres de la maison. Lorsqu'Erin et Garth étaient à la maternelle, je devais faire l'aller et le retour trois fois par jour. En septembre Erin devra prendre deux autobus pour se rendre à l'école secondaire offrant ce régime pédagogique. Mais je connais des parents qui voyagent quinze fois plus loin, jour après jour, année après année, parce qu'ils tiennent à ce que leurs enfants apprennent le français. Et que dire de ceux qui ont des enfants dans trois écoles différentes. Les transports ne facilitent pas les activités parallèles au programme. Néanmoins, mes enfants déjeunent avec leurs camarades de classe et participent aux activités prévues pour l'heure du midi. Ils rencontrent des enfants du voisinage aux réunions des guides et aux matchs de soccer. Ils ont des copains dans les quatre coins de la ville — amis non seulement parce qu'ils sont voisins mais parce qu'ils ont des intérêts communs. Il va sans dire que le kilométrage de la voiture et le nombre d'enfants invités aux anniversaires s'en trouvent accrus. L'immersion n'est certes pas un régime pour les parents paresseux !

Non plus est-il pour ceux qui manquent d'assurance. Il peut être décourageant d'être repriés, patiemment mais fermement, par un enfant de six ans lorsqu'on tente de faire valoir un français légèrement « rouillé ».

« rouillé ».

Enrichissement pour la famille

Le fait d'avoir des enfants en classe d'immersion incite de nombreux parents à prendre des cours de français. Le rendement de l'enfant ranime leur désir d'acquiescer une langue seconde. Certains parents veulent aider avec les devoirs. Un nombre croissant d'Anglophones, qui en d'autres circonstances n'auraient pas été tentés de le faire, ont des échanges avec des Francophones et participent à des événements culturels français (les enfants font souvent office d'interprètes). Le résultat : un enrichissement pour toute la famille.

Le fait d'avoir des frères ou des sœurs dans des écoles anglophones ne semble pas favoriser un climat de tension ou de rivalité. Dans bien des cas, ces enfants sont incités à s'inscrire en immersion courte.

s'inscrivent en immersion courte.

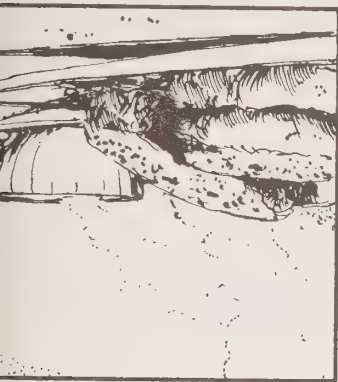
Voici quelques-unes des mesures imposées :

- fixer des objectifs précis et mesurables pour les cours immersifs aux fins de recherche et de prise de décision;

Les élèves et diplômés du secondaire qui ont participé à un programme d'immersion longue reféteraient l'expérience et n'hésitent pas à recommander. Ils auraient aimé plus de sujets enseignés en français, discuter plus souvent avec des Francophones. Leurs commentaires viennent étayer les préoccupations exprimées par de nombreux parents quant à l'avenir du programme.

« English Muffins ».

« Fries » ils répondent gaiement à la langue. Aux rallées de « French ceux qui ne comprennent pas la



Contrairement à ce que l'on peut penser, les conflits dans la cour d'école sont rares. Les établissements qui offrent à la fois des programmes traditionnels et des cours immersifs (communément appelées écoles à deux régimes pédagogiques) font des efforts pour intégrer les deux par le biais d'une participation à des assemblées, des excursions, des clubs. Nombre de directeurs reconnaissent l'opportunité de favoriser coopération et bonne entente entre les deux groupes « distingués ». Les élèves du programme immersif eux-mêmes s'efforcent de créer un climat harmonieux. Erin dit qu'elle ne parvient pas à la récréation afin de ne pas être impoli envers



Du hic

comprendre sa conversation avec votre enfant.

Nous tentons de multiplier les contacts avec le milieu francophone en dehors des heures de cours : camps d'été, cinéma, pièces pour enfants et Francofête. Nous encourageons Erin et Garth à choisir des livres français, sans trop de succès je dois dire. Ayant appris à lire dans les deux langues à quelques semaines d'intervalle, le vocabulaire anglais leur est beaucoup plus familier. Toutefois ils ont vite fait de comprendre que je suis plus tolérante dans le cas d'émissions de télévision en français, qu'il s'agisse de dessins animés ou de la Patrouille du Cosmos.

L'adopter. Mais aujourd'hui, grâce à la CPF, les familles qui s'y intéressent ont à leur portée documentation et témoignages. Conférences, colloques et manuels offrent aux parents (et aux enseignants) des résultats de recherches, des statistiques, des renseignements pratiques et, surtout, le soutien moral dont ils ont besoin.

Notre famille a découvert les bienfaits de l'immersion par hasard. Mais aujourd'hui notre bibliothèque locale et notre centre de loisirs affichent en français l'horaire des contes, des cours d'artisanat et même du hockey intérieur. Initiative que nous devons à notre section des Canadian Parents for French. Des parents ayant des enfants en classe immersive prennent la parole aux réunions organisées par les prémâternelles en coopérative et le district scolaire. Les écoles, les cliniques et les « comités d'accueil » diffusent tous de l'information sur l'immersion. Des articles traitant de ce sujet sont publiés dans la presse locale. Il est difficile de trouver un parent au sein de notre collectivité qui ne soit pas au courant du programme. Grâce aux efforts de la CPF, des Canadiens de toutes les couches de la société sont maintenant renseignés sur le programme de cours immersifs en français.

Nous avons inscrit Erin à ce programme en nous appuyant sur le résumé des recherches effectuées, la recommandation d'une voisine et l'intime conviction qu'elle en bénéficierait. Maintenant, avant de prendre une décision, les parents peuvent consulter un ouvrage publié par la CPF et intitulé *So You Want Your Child to Learn French!* Une fois leurs enfants inscrits en classes immersives, ils peuvent obtenir la brochure *How To Be an Immersion Parent*. Ils recevront aussi des bulletins les tenant au fait des nouveautés, des résultats de recherches et leur proposant des idées et des activités enrichissantes hors programme. Lorsqu'une famille déménage elle peut recourir à l'annuaire de la CPF pour trouver une nouvelle école.

Il va sans dire que la demande croissante pour les cours immersifs en français découle de leur succès.

Si nos enfants ont la chance de participer à cette expérience, c'est que nous étions au bon endroit au bon moment. Deux ans auparavant, soit en 1974-1975, le centre d'immersion la plus près était à 20 kilomètres de la maison, dans le même district scolaire mais dans une autre municipalité. À l'époque, en Colombie-Britannique, l'enseignement immersif était dispensé dans seulement six écoles, soit dans les districts de Vancouver, Victoria et Coquitlam.

C'était d'ailleurs une denrée tout aussi rare dans les autres provinces. Étant donné que les chances que des voisins nous renseignent sur l'immersion étaient très minces et toute aussi mince la probabilité que le dossier d'information d'ailleurs incomplet, vienne à notre attention (on pouvait se le procurer le jour des inscriptions à la maternelle soit au comptoir, soit auprès du directeur à condition d'en connaître l'existence), Erin et Garth auraient très bien pu être unilingues par défaut.

Les classes immersives en français au Canada ont vu le jour — à la demande et à l'inspiration des parents et non des enseignants — dans le milieu des années 60. Depuis le programme n'a cessé de s'étendre, essor qui est, dans une large mesure, attribuable aux efforts des parents membres de l'association des Canadian Parents for French (CPF).

À la recherche de la qualité

Crée en mars 1977 par 35 parents des quatre coins du pays, la CPF est une association bénévole qui regroupe plus de 6 500 familles travaillant à accroître les possibilités d'apprentissage du français langue seconde, qu'il s'agisse de cours de français de base ou enrichi, de régimes d'enseignement immersif ou d'activités hors programme.

La CPF travaille aux échelons national, provincial et local pour garantir que des programmes de qualité supérieure seront accessibles aux élèves éventuels de cours immersifs. Malgré le succès phénoménal de la méthode immersive, nombre de commissions scolaires refusent de

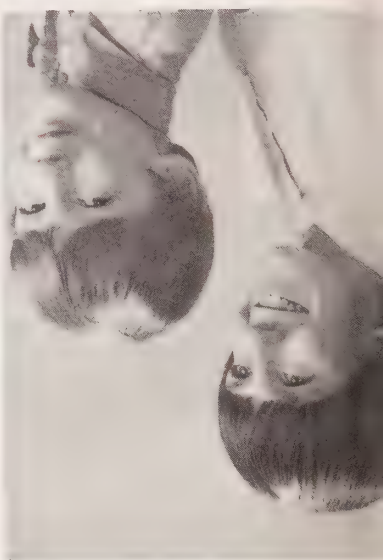
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Erin et Garth

Une famille se bilinguise...

JUDY GIBSON



Judy Gibson est membre fondateur et ancienne présidente de la section de Canadian Parents for French de Colombie-Britannique et a été, de 1978 à 1981, membre du Conseil national d'administration. On lui doit quelques articles sur les programmes de français obligatoire et les programmes d'immersion en français, qui ont paru dans les publications de l'association.

Bien qu'impressionnée par les progrès de ses deux enfants, une mère de Port Ccquitlam, en Colombie-Britannique, met en garde parents et enseignants contre la complaisance. À ses yeux, l'enseignement immersif n'est pas encore la panacée.

Depuis sept ans l'immersion fait partie de notre vie. En effet notre petite famille s'y est fait comme d'autres s'habituent aux cours de musique, aux récitals et aux séances matinales d'entraînement au hockey.

Mon mari et moi avons été mis sur la piste de ce régime pédagogique par une voisine enthousiaste. Elle nous a expliqué que les élèves apprenaient le français sensiblement de la même façon qu'ils acquièrent leur première langue, c'est-à-dire en s'imprégnant auditivement et en en faisant usage dans le quotidien. De la maternelle à la deuxième année toutes les matières sont enseignées en français, il en est de même pour la troisième année sauf en ce qui a trait à la langue maternelle (soit l'anglais). De la quatrième à la douzième année (secondaire V) la moitié du programme est dispensé en français. Cela nous semblait une méthode beaucoup plus naturelle et surtout moins pénible pour acquérir une langue seconde que la traditionnelle demi-heure quotidienne qui ne nous avait légué à mon mari et moi que les rudiments de la grammaire française. Il va donc sans dire que notre habileté à converser dans la langue de Molière était quasi nulle. . . .

Lorsque notre fille, Erin, nous a demandé de fréquenter la même école que son amie Julia où elle pourrait apprendre des chansons françaises, car elle en connaissait déjà la version anglaise, nous avons commencé à songer sérieusement à l'inscrire à un cours immersif. Au cours

La motivation des parents

La connaissance d'une langue seconde, surtout sans contrepartie négative, serait sans conteste un avantage pour nos enfants. Qu'ils en fassent usage pour travailler pour voyager ou simplement pour avoir accès à un éventail plus vaste de documentation et d'oeuvres littéraires, Erin et son jeune frère Garth auront acquis compétence précieuse. Nous espérons aussi que ce de culture étrangère » stimulerait leur curiosité et leur apprendrait la tolérance et la compréhension d'autrui nous n'avions pas les moyens de voyager, nous pourrions au moins leur ouvrir une fenêtre sur le monde.

Les facteurs qui incitent les parents à inscrire leurs enfants en classe d'immersion longue sont nombreux. Le plus évident est le désir, pour une raison ou une autre, de son enfant développer sa compétence en français, mais c'est rarement le seul motif. Certains craignent que la maternelle traditionnelle ne pose aucun défi pour un enfant de cinq ans qui sait déjà lire. D'autres croient qu'elle ne présentera aucun intérêt après deux ans de prématernelle.

Nombre de parents sont aussi convaincus que les élèves des écoles secondaires n'acquièrent pas des capacités d'expression et de développement suffisantes. Peu disposés à envoyer leurs enfants à l'école privée, ou dans l'impossibilité de le faire, ils profitent d'un programme offert dans le cadre du système public, qui par sa nature, devrait mettre l'accent sur ces aspects de l'enseignement. Quelques familles préféreraient que

Le nombre d'élèves inscrits aux programmes d'immersion en français, classes où ces programmes sont assurés et nombre d'écoles les dispensant, selon les provinces, en 1976-77, 1978-79, 1980-81 et 1982-83.

PROVINCE-NOUVE		Elèves inscrits	Classes	Ecoles
PROVINCE-NOUVE	1976-1977	56	M et 1	1
	1978-1979	193	M à 4; 6 à 8	5
	1980-1981	392	M à 5; 7 à 8	5
	1982-1983	819 ^b	M à 10	10
	1976-1977	304	1 à 3; 7	6
PRINCE-ÉDOUARD	1978-1979	820	1 à 5; 7 à 9	13
	1980-1981	1 280	1 à 11	14
	1982-1983	1 644	1 à 12	16
	1976-1977	46	P; 6 et 7	2
	1978-1979	363	P à 8	10
NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE	1980-1981	590	P à 7	12
	1982-1983	869	P à 12	15
	1976-1977	2 504	M à 8	32
	1978-1979	3 763	M à 9	35
	1980-1981	5 532	M à 12	47
NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK	1982-1983	8 759 ^b	M à 12	81
	1976-1977	d	d	d
	1978-1979	d	d	d
	1980-1981	18 000	M à 11	d
	1982-1983	17 472 ^b	M à 11	d
ONTARIO	1976-1977	12 363	M à 8	156
	1978-1979	15 042	M à 8	160 ^b
	1980-1981	17 119	M à 8	180 ^b
	1982-1983	53 982	M à 13	359
	1976-1977	1 290	M à 8	14
QUÉBEC	1978-1979	2 521	M à 10	21
	1980-1981	4 286	M à 12	32
	1982-1983	7 580	M à 12	50
	1976-1977	338	M à 8	2
	1978-1979	1 208	M à 12	13
SASKATCHEWAN	1980-1981	1 603	M à 12	14
	1982-1983	3 287 ^b	M à 12	30
	1976-1977	862	M à 7	10
	1978-1979	2 094	M à 10	24
	1980-1981	4 368	M à 12	45
COLUMBIE-BRITANNIQUE	1982-1983	7 756	M à 10	72
	1976-1977	17 763		233 ^c
	1978-1979	26 004		281 ^c
	1980-1981	53 170		335 ^c
	1982-1983	102 168		633 ^c

^a L'Alberta, qui ne différencie pas les programmes d'immersion en français des programmes destinés aux francophones, n'apparaît pas dans ce tableau.

^b Données fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

^c Comme dans les autres provinces, les programmes d'immersion en français s'adressent exclusivement aux enfants de langue maternelle autre que le français.

^d Les données ne sont pas disponibles.

^e Ne comprend pas le Québec.

Ce qu'en pensent les universitaires

vous donnez ensuite la parole à des universitaires connus qui ont réfléchi longuement sur l'immersion. Gilles Bibeau, ne se laissant pas emporter par les courants élogieux, parfois trop empreints d'émotivité, soulève divers points critiques et pose des questions pertinentes qu'on ne saurait éluder. Certains arguments qu'il fait valoir

reviennent d'ailleurs chez deux autres spécialistes. Sharon Lapkin et Merrill Swain, chercheurs très en vue depuis nombre d'années en la matière et auteurs récents d'un bilan de dix années de recherche sur l'immersion en Ontario⁹, résument leurs principales conclusions et suggèrent de nouvelles interrogations. Leur texte est assorti d'intéressantes observations par des élèves des cours immersifs.

Birgit Harley, partageant peut-être
 certains doutes énoncés par Gilles
 Bibeau, se demande dans quelle
 mesure ces élèves apprennent le
 français. Elle examine les degrés de
 compétence atteints par divers
 groupes d'enfants, mais en s'appli-
 quant sans cesse à demeurer
 équitable et objective.

Stephen Krashen, spécialiste américain de grand renom en linguistique appliquée, a passé récemment un congé sabbatique à l'Université d'Ottawa. Ayant pu observer de près l'immersion, il en traite dans une perspective internationale et donne une appréciation théorique de sa signification pour la didactique de l'enseignement des langues.

Enfin, Dominique Clift, journaliste et observateur de la vie politique canadienne, expose sa réflexion sur l'enseignement immersif dans le contexte du pluralisme culturel et des tensions entre régionalisme et centralisme qui marquent la vie sociopolitique du Canada contemporain.

Au terme de ce survol, il nous semble que le présent numéro de *Langue et*

difficultés auxquelles il se heurte.

1. Le sujet a été traité dans le numéro 5 de *Langue et Société* en 1981 sous le titre de « L'immersion linguistique : une expérience pédagogique fascinante », pp. 3-6.
2. Pour l'histoire de l'immersion et les recherches à son sujet, voir W. F. Lambert et G. Tucker.

3. G.E. Burns et P. Olson ont étudié les in-
sociales des cours immersifs dans une re-
Canada, soit le Nord de l'Ontario, voir
Implementation and Politics in French Imme-
Toronto, 1981.
4. Durant les dix dernières années ou à pé-
mentés et les lacunes du « français de b-
« français enrichi » et de l'immersion en
ont souvent été débattus. Une étude po-
ce sujet a été effectuée vers 1975, voir H-
M.I. Swain, R.D. Swain, R.J. Friedman, E-
et S. Lapkin, *Three Approaches to Teaching*
Toronto, Ministères unifiés de l'Éducation
Vous voyez également « Alternatives à l'éducation
Schools of the Carleton and Ottawa Sch-
Boards », préparé sous la direction de B.
lignes trinités novembre 1976. La re-
numero de *Dialogue*, vol. 2, n.º 1, nov.
au Canada.
5. Pour un compte rendu complet de la ré-
sur l'immersion, voir Lambert et Tucker,
M. Swain et S. Lapkin, *Evaluating Bilingual*
Education: A Canadian Case Study, Cleved-
Avon, R.-U.: Multilingual Matters, 1982.
F. Genesee, « Bilingual Education of Major
in Review », *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 1983,
numéro 4, pp. 1-46.
6. Voir le titre de l'ouvrage dans la note 5.

Province
Population
scolaire
inscrits

	3 626 654	114 928
Total	3 626 654	114 928
Terre-Neuve	142 394	819b
Ile du Prince-Edouard	25 203	1 644
Nouvelle-Ecosse	174 505	869
Nouveau-Brunswick	99 684	8 759b
Québec	136 429b	17 472
Ontario	1 694 528	53 982
Manitoba	194 287	7 580
Saskatchewan	200 643	3 287b
Alberta	440 174	12 122d
Colombie-Britannique	498 836	7 756
Yukon	4 524	128b
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	12 760	102
MDN (Europe)c	2 687	408

Source: Statistique Canada, à moins d'indication contraire

Estimation (80% des élèves des écoles où le français est la langue d'enseignement)

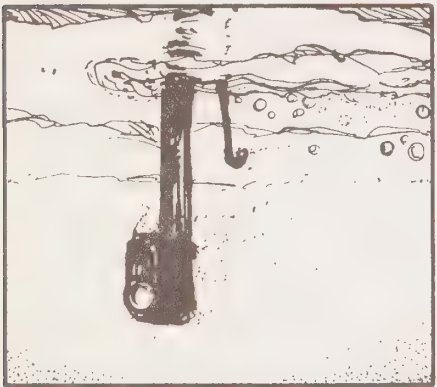
Données fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

Données fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

MLDN) sont compris parmi les effets des primes

classe d'immersion dans une école secondaire de la banlieue torontoise. André Obadia, premier président de l'Association canadienne des professeurs d'immersion, expose les difficultés de cet enseignement et de la formation des maîtres. Russell McGillivray se place dans la perspective d'un administrateur scolaire qui s'occupe de l'immersion depuis des années.

Marjorie B. Wesche examine les répercussions de cette méthode sur l'enseignement des langues à l'université. Elle rend compte en outre d'une expérience immersive prometteuse où des Francophones apprennent l'anglais et inversement des Anglophones le français.



... ou totale

Les deux articles suivants portent sur l'application graduelle de cette méthode à d'autres langues. Ellen Adiv, agent de recherche à la Commission des écoles protestantes du Grand Montréal, décrit la double immersion pratiquée par une école de Montréal dans un cadre trilingue. A Edmonton, James Jones, responsable de l'enseignement des langues secondes dans les écoles publiques de la ville, traite de la méthode immersive mise au service des minorités ukrainienne, allemande, hébraïque, chinoise et arabe.

Les retombées socio-politiques de l'immersion prennent de multiples formes dans les divers milieux de ce vaste pays. Viviane Edwards, coordonnatrice des services de langue seconde au ministère de l'Éducation du Nouveau-Brunswick, fait une

de français a souffert dans l'estime publique de la comparaison avec l'immersion. Aussi, l'on s'est demandé récemment s'il ne devrait pas s'accompagner d'activités qui offri- raient à tous les élèves quelques-uns des avantages de la méthode immersive, plus fructueuse et plus prestigieuse. Ce n'est cependant pas notre propos dans cette livraison⁴.

Ajoutons par ailleurs que les systèmes scolaires francophones n'ont pas, en général, adopté l'immersion pour l'enseignement de l'anglais, langue seconde. C'est que la question linguistique se pose en des termes bien différents pour le Canada français. Deux articles seulement abordent le problème sous cet angle. Il ne faudrait pas en conclure que nous lui accordons moins d'importance qu'aux sujets que nous avons choisi de traiter. L'un fait état, ce qui était prévisible, de l'enseignement immersif au Nouveau-Brunswick ; l'autre, qui couronne ce numéro de *Langue et Société*, nous fait entendre une voix du Québec. Bref, étant donné le thème auquel nous nous attachons ici, la difficile question de la formation langagière des Francophones ne pouvait faire l'objet de toute l'attention qu'elle mérite.

Les mérites et les problèmes

Quoi qu'il en soit, deux décennies d'enseignement immersif nous ont beaucoup appris sur ses mérites et ses problèmes. D'ailleurs, il a fait l'objet depuis ses débuts de beaucoup de recherche — probablement plus que toute autre innovation pédagogique.

Pour ce qui est du présent numéro, il reflète non seulement cette recherche, mais l'expérience acquise par les parents, les enseignants, les administrateurs, voire les élèves eux-mêmes. Il s'agit d'une sorte de bilan et d'une interrogation sur les voies de l'avenir.

Judith Gibson, de Vancouver, exprime le point de vue de la mère de famille qui a des enfants en immersion. Claire Mian rend compte de son expérience comme titulaire d'une

des anglophone. Il y a aussi des titres d'immersion » dans certaines localités où l'immersion en français occupe tout l'établissement. méthode immersive a été mise à l'œuvre en 1965 dans une école de l'Église méthodiste, la St. Lambert Elementary School, à l'initiative d'un type de parents (page 50). Elle s'est répandue dans tout le Canada au cours des dix années qui ont suivi. Un nombre d'élèves inscrits atteint aujourd'hui les 115 000². (Voir le tableau page 7).

Les méthodes classiques

alors cependant que d'autres modes, plus classiques, d'enseignement du français en tant que



... immersion peut être partielle

rière parmi d'autres se sont également répandues ; elles appartiennent à la catégorie dite « français de » ou « programme cadre de français ». De fait, la grande majorité des enfants de l'élémentaire et du secondaire s'initient au français de façon. De la sans doute le fait que l'on fait à l'immersion soit introduit un élément d'élitisme dans les écoles canadiennes. retrouvera ce thème dans quelques articles du présent numéro.

tain systèmes scolaires ont adopté une voie médiane, soit le français enrichi, qui assure cette langue l'enseignement d'une matière, donc un contact plus régulier avec le français dans une éducation quasi immersive. Injustement peut-être, le programme cadre

L'immersion : une expérience singulière

H.H. STERN

Méthode novatrice d'apprentissage des langues secondes, « l'immersion » a donné naissance à une génération de jeunes Anglophones qui n'ont pas à rougir de leur français. Les voies et les étapes de cette quasi-révolution nous sont ici retracées par des parents, des éducateurs, des administrateurs scolaires et des chercheurs.

Expert en didactique des langues étrangères, sommité en matière d'enseignement immersif, bouillonnant conseil-
ler linguistique, **H.H. (David) Stern** est professeur émérite au Centre des langues modernes de l'Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario. Fondateur du Centre, il en fut directeur de 1968 à 1981. Son dernier ouvrage s'intitule *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*.



Le présent numéro de *Langue et société* a pour thème unique l'immersion en français. Cette forme novatrice d'enseignement bilingue qui a tellement influé, dans notre pays, sur le débat linguistique et le climat socio-politique ne saurait laisser indifférents nos lecteurs qui, sûrement, s'intéressent à la politique des langues, à l'éducation langagière, voire au bilinguisme canadien.

Si l'enseignement immersif résulte d'une situation propre au Canada, sa valeur et sa signification ne connaissent pas de frontières. L'expérience acquise ne pourra que profiter à d'autres collectivités bilingues et à la didactique de l'enseignement des langues secondes un peu partout dans le monde.

« Immersion » est un terme devenu familier pour nombre de familles et d'éducateurs du Canada anglais, mais non sans doute à l'ensemble de nos lecteurs. Aussi convient-il de le définir tout de suite.

L'immersion en français a pris naissance dans les systèmes scolaires anglo-canadiens. Elle découle d'un effort résolu pour vaincre les difficultés et les vieilles inhibitions qui y faisaient obstacle à l'acquisition du français. Les classes immersives s'adressent en conséquence aux enfants qui ont l'anglais ou une langue autre que le français pour langue maternelle, et qui sont disposés à faire en français une bonne partie de leurs études, avec l'accord de leurs parents.

Il ne s'agit donc pas d'un cours de français proprement dit, mais d'un programme d'études où sont enseignées cette langue diverses matières : mathématiques, histoire, arts et éducation physique, par exemple. L'objectif est d'assurer l'acquisition du français par le biais d'autres disciplines plutôt que par un cours de langue classique. Nous examinerons ici l'immersion sous divers aspects dont l'origine, la clé et l'étendue de ses succès.

L'enseignant : locuteur français d'origine

comparable de la langue. Il s'exprime en français, mais demeure bien conscient de s'adresser à des non-Francophones. Il cherche à amener ses élèves en dou l'usage du français. En maternelle ou en première année, est seul à parler en français au début, mais les élèves viennent dans les contacts avec lui, puis de plus en plus entre eux par la suite. Dans l'immersion dite « totale » fait bien entendu exception pour l'anglais comme matière enseignée est dispensé uniquement en français. L'année entière, voire deux ou trois. Subséquentement, bilinguisme s'installe de façon progressive. Dans cette qualification de « partiel », les cours en français et en anglais s'équilibrent davantage dès le début.

On trouvera dans l'article de Lapkin et Swain, page 5, tableau qui illustre trois types classiques d'immersion : L'immersion longue commence à la maternelle, en première ou en deuxième année ; l'immersion de durée moyenne, en quatrième ou en cinquième ; l'immersion courte, en sixième ou en septième. Ces deux derniers cycles sont précédés ordinairement de quelques années d'enseignement traditionnel du français.

L'enseignant immersif est libre, c'est-à-dire offert comme option parallèlement au cours ordinaire en anglais. Il constitue le plus souvent un cycle particulier dans un

enseignement immersif en français, percée canadienne en didactique des langues

Il y ont accès et pour la plupart des Canadiens — à l'exception de ceux qui sont étroitement liés à l'enseignement des langues — cela relève encore du mystère. Nous espérons que ce numéro contribuera à les éclairer.

Percée canadienne inégale en didactique des langues, « l'immersion » a attiré chez nous des chercheurs de nombreux pays. Pour les Canadiens,

au-delà de sa signification purement pédagogique, l'enseignement immersif aura été une révélation en matière de changement social. Le mérite en est dû non seulement aux parents intéressés et aux associations comme la Canadian Parents for French, mais

aux enseignants, aux commissaires d'écoles et aux agents compétents des divers ministères de l'Éducation qui ont eu la sagacité et le courage de s'engager dans cette voie avec un dynamisme impressionnant.

Évidemment, ce régime fait l'objet de contestations non dénuées de fondement, que l'on parle de sa valeur pédagogique ou de son efficacité en tant qu'instrument de rapprochement entre les deux communautés de langues officielles. Le professeur Stern en a dûment tenu compte, comme vous le verrez à la lecture de ce numéro. Quoiqu'il en soit, il est indéniable que l'enseignement immersif a profondément modifié le climat linguistique du pays et continuera de marquer la vie de bien des Canadiens.

Puisse ce numéro, qui nous apporte les vues, les réflexions et les conclusions d'un groupe impressionnant de personnes qui ont participé activement à cette expérience, éclairer et aider nos lecteurs.

Maxwell Valden

Depuis sa création en 1979, *Langue et Société* a abordé un nombre impressionnant de dossiers. Dans tous les cas, nous nous proposons d'attirer l'attention de nos lecteurs sur la pluralité et la richesse de notre vécu linguistique. C'est pourquoi nous sommes forcés d'être aussi éclectiques que possible.

Nous nous rendons cependant bien compte qu'il est impossible de traiter de certaines questions et réaliser des linguistiques dans le cadre d'un, de deux, voire trois articles. Traiter par exemple de l'enseignement immersif en français supposait bien davantage. Nous avons donc décidé de consacrer ce douzième numéro de *Langue et Société* à cette innovation pédagogique qui, plus que toute autre réalisation, aura sans doute contribué à modifier le climat linguistique au Canada au cours des quelque vingt dernières années.

Enfin, H.H. Stern d'avoir accepté de le prendre en charge. Ancien directeur du Centre des langues modernes de l'Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario, expert en didactique des langues étrangères internationalement reconnu et sommité en matière d'enseignement immersif, le professeur Stern nous réunit treize collaborateurs de haute qualité qui nous apportent sur l'immersion autant de points de vue et de perspectives.

Les professionnels du bilinguisme et de la politique linguistique ont sans doute l'impression que l'enseignement immersif en français n'a plus de secrets pour personne. Mais la réalité est tout autre. Malgré son caractère remarquable, seul un petit nombre de jeunes

LANGUE ET SOCIÉTÉ

tion et d'option, est une publication trimestrielle du Commissaire aux langues officielles, Max Yalden. Elle a pour objet d'alimenter la réflexion et de servir de tribune pour l'examen des grandes questions linguistiques qui se posent au Canada et à l'étranger.

Les opinions exprimées ne reflètent pas nécessairement celles du Commissaire et n'engagent que leurs auteurs.

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COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES
COMMISSIONER
OFFICIELLES
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L'ENSEIGNEMENT IMMERSIF
EN FRANÇAIS

Numéro spécial préparé
sous la direction du professeur
H.H. (David) Stern

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Le Canada anglais se dote d'un instrument
efficace pour soutenir la gageure du bilinguisme

L'ENSEIGNEMENT IMMERSIF

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Editor's Note

Much has been recently written and said on the linguistic situation in Manitoba and the expansion of French-language services. The situation which exploded into national prominence last September is being heatedly discussed by the media, politicians, and the general public.

To provide an impartial historical perspective, the historian Cornelius Jaenen has been invited to write the lead article. Jaenen's thorough account of the beginning and development of bilingualism in Manitoba makes interesting reading and the Select Bibliography provides useful background sources on the much debated question.

Raymond Mougeon's article focuses on the maintenance of French among the Franco-Ontarian community. The Government of Ontario authorized the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools in 1968, thus making it possible for students to receive their education in French up to the end of their secondary school level, and yet, Mougeon deplores, anglicization is on the increase.

In the next article, Alison d'Anglejan discusses the needs of immigrants in the acquisition of either official language and stresses that we have all much to gain by helping them take the difficult steps along the road of social integration and language learning. The responsibility, suggests d'Anglejan, should not be placed on the shoulders of the language teachers alone.

Two other articles focus on the use of TV: John Daniel discusses the role television plays in distance education and how distance education has greatly increased the quality and quantity of learning materials available in many local languages; Liam Ó Murchú shares with us his experience in developing language programmes for Irish TV.

In the closing article, John Davidson delights in suggesting ways and means in our attempt to communicate with extra-terrestrials.

As I begin my new task as Editor, I would hope that readers of *Language and Society* will find this issue as interesting and informative as past ones.

Anthony Mollica



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ent events surrounding the language debate in Manitoba
e led Canadians to wonder about the underlying causes.
article traces the linguistic and cultural development of
Province and shows clearly that the dualism and bilingualism
ch characterized Manitoba in 1870 were home-grown phenomena.

The history of French in Manitoba: a local initiative or external imposition?

NELIUS J. JAENEN

Nelius J. Jaenen is a professor of history at the University of Ottawa whose professional interests focus on the French colonial period to native peoples, ethnic groups and minorities. He was a member of the Manitoba Advisory Committee on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and holds an honorary doctorate from the University of Winnipeg.

The status of the French language in Manitoba has followed a pattern parallel to the historical eras that have marked that region's evolution. French was the first European language to be introduced into a largely Algonquian-speaking region. Along with the Amerindian tongues, French was the language of trade penetrating into the West from Lake Superior, where a French administration for the "Mer du Nord" region was established in the 1730s. Not surprisingly, Francophones were in the majority at Red River when the area became a part of the newly "federated" Canada in 1870.

French and European language had been introduced into the region through the fur trade on the Hudson Bay shores. Although many of the Europeans in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company (whose original penetration into the northern bay owed much to two French Canadians — Pierre and Jacques Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart des Groseillers) spoke Gaelic, the official language of its fur trading operations was English. The Charter of the Hudson's Bay Company stipulated that justice would be administered according to the laws of England, which meant that justice was to be administered only according to the Imperial Act of 1731. With the settlement at Red River under the Earl of Selkirk's administration in 1814, both Gaelic and English were implanted in the fur trading posts of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. The English language and English law were used initially by the Hudson's Bay Company of Assiniboia which constituted the first

government in the region recognized by the British. Before long, this body began to use French as well and adopted some local customary law.

Origins of dualism

In other words, shortly after European penetration into the North-West there was a consciousness of the duality of the nascent community. This dualism may be traced first of all to the mixed-blood communities that arose out of the fur trade contacts. Since the early 1600s there had been some *métissage*, or inter-marriage, between the French and Native peoples among whom they travelled and lived. By the eighteenth century sizeable communities of mixed-bloods — later called Métis — were to be found along the shores of Lake Superior. As the French fur trade and military expeditions moved into the Prairie West in the 1730s, some Métis settled in the valleys of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. Although the French withdrew their military garrisons from this region in 1755, the fur trade continued after the cession of Canada to Britain. Montreal continued to direct a remunerative fur trade which spread ever farther north-westwards into the Athabasca region, and more and more Métis settled at Red River. Not surprisingly, Catholic missionaries established permanent missions there in 1818.

The Hudson's Bay Company claimed all of the region under the terms of its monopoly charter since 1670, but it was not until the Selkirk settlers arrived in the early nineteenth century that its presence became important here. Around a number of its tidewater posts on Hudson Bay a mixed-blood population had grown up. This Home Guard population and other "half-breed", a term from the Carolinas which was introduced by the North-West Company people into the Canadian West, formed an English-speaking counterpart to the Francophone Métis population. The Church Missionary Society of the Anglican Church came to Red River in 1820.

Thus, four elements had converged to create a dualistic community at Red River. There were Europeans of British and French origin, and there were mixed-blood peoples who were also perceived as being Anglophone and Protestant or Francophone and Catholic.

The community grew up essentially around a number of missions, called "parishes" (although they did not enjoy legal existence until after the creation of the province). The first French and Catholic parish was on the east bank of the Red River opposite the Forks, called St. Boniface in honour of the patron saint of the Germanic people of the

De Meurons regiment who settled there. Its school in time became St. Boniface College. Four years later, in 1824, the Anglicans founded a parish on the west bank of the Red River below the Forks, which they called St. John's. Its school, known as Red River Academy, developed into St. John's College. St. Boniface in 1848 became the seat of the Catholic bishopric, and the following year St. John's became the seat of the Anglican bishopric.

The second French parish was founded in what became American territory in 1818, so it was relocated at White Horse Plains on the Assiniboine River. St. François-Xavier, as it

was styled, was largely a Métis community. Among its better known citizens were Cuthbert Grant, the Warden of the Plains, and the warrior and celebrated bard Pierre Falcon. At the delta of the Red River the Anglicans had a purely Indian parish, St. Peter's, for the band of famous chief Peguis. The Catholic Indian parish was Baie St. Paul, above St. François-Xavier on the Assiniboine River. It is significant that both the English and French parishes were along the river route of communication, like the seigneuries of New France, and both were laid out in long river lots reminiscent of French Canadian settlements.

RECENT EVENTS IN MANITOBA

JULY After the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in favour of Georges Forest, the government of Premier Sterling Lyon passed Bill 2 which designated English and French as "official languages" of Manitoba and promised to undertake the translation of all relevant legislation into French.

MARCH As a protest against the very slow progress being made in translating provincial statutes, Roger Bilodeau appealed to the Supreme Court to rule on the validity of two pieces of Manitoba legislation. Subsequently, the Attorney General of Canada was granted leave to intervene in this case in support of Mr. Bilodeau's position.

MARCH The Manitoba government, under Premier Howard Pawley, indicated it would take measures to restore the status of French in Manitoba and to extend French-language services beyond those prescribed in the Manitoba Act, 1870.

MAY Premier Pawley announced that an agreement delimiting French-language services and on the text of a proposed constitutional resolution had been worked out with the Société Franco-Manitobaine and representatives of the federal government. Legislation would be introduced in the provincial legislature. The opposition Conservative party and an organization called Grassroots Manitoba declared their intention to block any entrenchment of French rights in the province.

SEPTEMBER

Franco-Manitobans demonstrated their support for the language rights package at a mass rally at Ste. Anne des Chênes.

OCTOBER

The forces opposing the entrenchment of French-language rights were victorious in a plebiscite during the Manitoba municipal elections.

JANUARY

The Pawley government introduced two separate actions: 115, which would define and circumscribe French-language rights in Manitoba, and a constitutional resolution reaffirming the status of French and adding nine articles to Section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870, which would give the provincial government ten years to translate existing statutes. Laws enacted after 31 December 1985 would require all laws enacted after that date to be printed and published in both official languages.

JANUARY

The Conservative opposition used procedural devices in an attempt to stall passage of Bill 115 and adoption of the constitutional resolution to be sent to Ottawa for enactment by the federal parliament as an amendment to the Manitoba Act.

Confederation bilingualism

alism in the West was based on demographic reality of bilingualism. The English had been in Hudson Bay, the French first on the River. Both came together at the beginning of the nineteenth century at the Forks and soon the Anglophone and Francophone communities became almost equal in number, with the French-speaking population being slightly more numerous.

Each community had its own schools, even with provision for religious studies. Each community was the centre of episcopal jurisdiction. It seemed only natural

that there would be demands for equal recognition in the political and judicial spheres.

The French right to full participation in the government established by the Hudson's Bay Company was asserted in 1848 when a petition came from the French parishes to name delegates from the Francophone communities to the Council of Assiniboia, which administered the district within a radius of fifty miles of Fort Garry since 1835. The request for dual representation was agreed to and sent on to the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company for action. It requested: "The infusion into the Council of Assiniboia of a certain

proportion of Canadian and half-breed members." French-speaking magistrates were thereafter appointed for Catholic parishes. On 31 May 1849, the Council of Assiniboia recognized French as a language of judicial proceedings by the following order:

The conducting of all judicial business through the medium of a judge who would address the Court in French as well as the English language.

Thereafter, the Council minutes indicate that petitions were received in French as well as in English.

For practical reasons, the Council of Assiniboia had to use French to communicate with the Métis and Canadian origin population. The decisions seem to have been promulgated and published in both languages. The consolidation of the General Enactments of the Governor and Council in 1852 was published in both languages, and so was the consolidation of 1862. Sometimes dual appointments had to be made to public office in order to serve both linguistic groups. Thus, in May 1856, for example, there was a demand for a Francophone surveyor because "the Canadian population were dissatisfied with the present surveyor, that they could not understand him."

Pre-Confederation equality

It was the demographic nature of the small colony that accounted for the division into an equal number of Anglican (Protestant) and Catholic parishes. This became the basis for representation and for distribution of public funds. The schools established by the Catholics and Anglicans were missionary in origin, but soon became parochial and so identified with the local administrative and electoral unit. When the Presbyterian settlers at Kildonan eventually obtained a minister of their own denomination, to replace the Anglican missionary, they petitioned for funding from the Council of Assiniboia for their school. In 1851 the Council accorded them a modest sum, without any stipulation that it would become a permanent grant,

FEBRUARY

Publicly sponsored by Grass-roots Manitoba was held at the Peg Convention Centre to advise the Pawley government to withdraw its proposed legislation.

FEBRUARY

The Pawley government decided to withdraw its proposed legislation to amend the order paper. Although the provincial government had won an all-party vote of support in Ottawa in the autumn, opposition in Manitoba was strong enough to lead to constitutional amendment. The local opposition maintained that it was not opposed to bilingual services in French for Manitobans, but it objected to the "eastern Canadian" and "1/2" concept of a bilingual population being "forced" on Manitoba through constitutional amendment of bilingualism.

APRIL Roger Bilodeau decided to proceed with his case before the Supreme Court of Canada. In the meantime, several traffic violations had been successfully contested because the summonses had been printed in English only.

APRIL The Bilodeau court challenge directly questioned the constitutional validity of only two Manitoba statutes. However, it questioned indirectly the validity of all other Manitoba statutes. Since a decision in favour of Mr. Bilodeau would not resolve Manitoba's legal dilemma, the federal Minister of Justice, Marc MacGuigan, asked the Supreme Court of Canada for its opinion on the constitutional validity of all laws enacted by the Manitoba legislature since 1870, and this became known as the *Reference* case.

JUNE The Supreme Court of Canada heard the submission of the parties in the *Reference* case and in the *Bilodeau* case and will render its decision in the fall.

and "without prejudice, however, to the recognized equality in the premises between the Protestants as a whole and the Roman Catholics."

The Roman Catholic grant, accordingly, was increased to equal the amount allocated for the Anglicans and Presbyterians. Education was in the control of the respective denominations but it did receive "public" funding on a basis of bi-confessionality and equality.

The principle of equality between the two sectors of the community came to mean that on major issues there was an attempt to obtain the majority support of each sector. Even petitions were circulated in both English and French versions in the respective parishes. French and English petitions came before the Council on such matters as cutting timber, the sale of liquor to the Indians, the levying of duty on imported liquor, and the raising of a defence force.

Red River Resistance movement

The Francophone community at Red River, especially the Métis, had many fears and doubts when the North-West Region was transferred to Canada without any consultation with the local inhabitants. The Resistance of 1869-70 rested on the premise that Canada had no legal rights or powers in the region because there had been no consultation and the transfer had not been legally completed. Therefore, since Hudson's Bay Company rule had been terminated and no legal government had been established, the people at Red River, under the law of nations, had the right to set up a provisional government. The Resistance was a move to negotiate with Canada on the terms of the region's entry into Confederation. The dualism of the community came into play once again as on 24 November 1869 John Bruce as President and Louis Riel as Secretary tried to unite all segments of the population to draw up a "Bill of Rights". In January 1870 a Convention of delegates from both the English and French parishes was elected to prepare terms of union to be negotiated with Ottawa.

A resolution of the Council of the Provisional Government on 15 March 1870, now under the leadership of Louis Riel, repeated that "the loyalty of the people of the North-West toward the Crown of England remains the same", but added the following pregnant phrase: "provided the rights, properties, usages and customs of the people be respected." What did the inhabitants of Red River believe these rights and customs to be?

The Convention, made up of an equal number of members from each language group, elected three delegates who would go to Ottawa to negotiate with the federal Cabinet the terms of entry into Confederation. With Louis Riel, the elected President of the Convention of representatives of all the Red River parishes, the delegates drew up a third version of the "Bill of Rights" which set out the region's demands. It included the following clauses relative to language:

16. That the English and French languages be common in the Legislature, and in the courts, and that all public documents, as well as all Acts of the Legislature, be published in both languages.

17. And whereas the French- and English-speaking people of Assiniboia are so equally divided in numbers, yet so united in their interests, and so connected by commerce, family connections, and other political and social relations, that it has happily been found impossible to bring them into hostile collision, although repeated attempts have been made by designing strangers, for reasons known to themselves, to bring about so ruinous and disastrous an event.

And whereas, after all the trouble and apparent dissensions of the past, the result of misunderstanding among themselves, they have, as soon as the evil agencies referred to above were removed, become as united and friendly feeling among all classes, we deem it expedient and advisable;

That the Lieutenant-Governor who may be appointed for the Province of Assiniboia, should be familiar with both the English and French languages.

18. That the Judge of the Supreme Court speak the English and French languages.

In a fourth version of the Bill of Rights used by the negotiators in Ottawa, the two introductory paragraphs of clause 17 justifying the need for a bilingual Lieutenant-Governor were omitted. The approximately 12,500 inhabitants of the region, about 6,500 of whom were Francophones, had expressed themselves unequivocally on the language issue.

Federal action on Union

In Ottawa the Crown lawyers began to put the terms of the Bill of Rights and of the agreements reached through negotiation with the three delegates into the legal terminology of a bill to be introduced in Parliament. When the bill was introduced into Parliament not a single member on either side of the House opposed the provisions for the use of the French language. Indeed, Adam Archibald of Nova Scotia called the bill a "deed of partnership between French and English Canadians in the development of the North-West." Historians and politicians would later debate the proposition that Confederation was "a compact between two founding peoples." By a federal act, Manitoba entered Confederation as a Province which was bicultural, bilingual and had a bicameral legislature. It was unique in that it was also to a large degree a Métis province composed of two linguistic sectors. The Manitoba Act was proclaimed on 15 July, 1870. The clause relevant to the language is read as follows:

23. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those languages may

d by any person or in any
ading of Process, in or issuing
n any Court of Canada es-
ished under the British North
erica Act, 1867, or in and from
or any of the Courts of the
vince. The Acts of the Legisla-
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h, French or English, "may be
not "shall be used", in "any
g or Process" from a federal or
ial court. Whether this re-
a fully bilingual court, or
a capability of dealing with
either language, was not
stipulated.

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867 which was an imperial
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1. The Parliament of Canada
clared incompetent to alter the
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o alter from time to time the
ns of any law respecting the

qualification of electors and members
of the Legislative Assembly, and to
make laws respecting elections in the
said Province," but no more.

Post-Confederation dualism

The federal government had the
wisdom to appoint a conciliatory and
bilingual Nova Scotian, Adams G.
Archibald, as first Lieutenant-
Governor of Manitoba. It was he who
proclaimed a new legitimate govern-
ment at Red River on 6 September
1870, who constituted his Council
eleven days later, and in December
held elections for the first provincial
assembly. In all his public actions he
displayed a sensitivity to Western
views and to the racial, linguistic
and religious differences in the
community.

The dualism that had characterized
Red River society was carried over
into Manitoba after 1870 by two
groups in particular, the Franco-
phone and Anglophone Métis.
These two groups, along with the
"old settlers", strongly supported
Lieutenant-Governors Archiblad
and Morris who seemed committed
to maintaining a cultural dualism, a
balance between the two original
linguistic communities. The success
of the R. A. Davis cabinet in 1875 may
be attributed to the fact that he
included representatives of both the
Francophone and Anglophone Métis
population.

The co-operation between
Francophone and Anglophone Métis,
which had been the basis of the
challenge to the Hudson's Bay
Company's commercial monopoly
and of the support of Riel's Pro-
visional government, continued
beyond 1870 too. They joined forces
to retain their land rights, to oppose
division of their river lots, to continue
their traditional herding practices,
and to defeat the principle of repre-
sentation by population. A political
crisis in 1879 would destroy this old
alliance, as well as drive a deeper
wedge between the Métis and
Canadiens components of the
Francophone sector.

The parish system which had
characterized the colony was carried

**English and French
mother tongue
in Manitoba,
from 1931 to 1981.**

	English mother tongue	French mother tongue
1931	399,009	42,499
1941	408,544	51,546
1951	467,892	54,199
1961	584,526	60,899
1971	662,720	60,545
1976	727,240	54,745
1981	735,920	52,560

Source: Statistics Canada

over into Confederation too. The
parishes had been the basis of social,
religious, educational and political
activities and it seemed natural to use
these local ethnic/religious divisions,
twenty in number by 1879, as the
basis for drawing the boundaries of
the 24 electoral districts called for in
the Manitoba Act with "due regard
being had to existing local divisions
and population." Lieutenant-
Governor Archibald consulted both
French and English advisers before
issuing his Proclamation of
16 December 1870 dividing Manitoba
into 24 electoral districts. These
consisted of 20 parishes that had sent
representatives to the Council of the
Provisional Government, with the
four largest parishes being divided in
two. The judicial districts, the school
districts, and even the early
municipalities followed the old parish
lines, either individually or grouped
together. This symmetrical represen-
tation of the English and French
parishes was the natural unit not only
for the provincial legislature but also
for the four Dominion constituencies
which were organized so as to have
one English constituency, one French
constituency, and two constituencies
of about equal mixtures of
Francophones and Anglophones.

This dualism, like the bilingualism which we shall consider next, was retained or created by Manitobans and was not part of a federally or imperially imposed structure.

Post-Confederation bilingualism

The French language seemed firmly entrenched in Manitoba society in the years immediately after Confederation because of the social continuity and demographic strength on which it reposed. Several legislative measures lent support to the idea that the West would develop along bicultural lines and would be a reflection or extension of the dualism of Eastern Canada. The Manitoba Act concerning Municipalities in 1873, which represented a move away from the traditional parish system, did provide that petitions for incorporation of municipalities would have to be published in both official languages in the *Manitoba Gazette*. Two years later, the Manitoba Election Act stipulated that the proclamation of elections and the preparation of voters' lists would have to be carried out in both languages. And the Manitoba Act respecting County Municipalities required that by-laws and official notices be published in French as well as English in municipalities where there was a concentration of Francophones. In 1876, an Act respecting Jurors and Juries provided that when a trial in French was requested, as provided for in the provincial constitution, the court could require that the jury be composed of equal numbers of French- and English-speaking persons.

Perhaps the best known piece of legislation of this period, if only because its amendment in later decades would stir up a national crisis, was the Public Schools Act of 1871. It gave statutory validity to the traditional system of education which had evolved in the region prior to 1870. It was an Act which reflected the will of the people of Manitoba at the time and which was in line with the demands made in the Bill of Rights, which demands were written into the constitutional legislation. All the Protestants were grouped into one system and the Catholics in the

other in a dual confessional system similar to Quebec's. There was a single Board of Education, but in fact it sat in separate Catholic and Protestant sections and each had complete control of its own affairs. This bifurcated Board would "select books, maps and globes to be used in the Common Schools, due regard being had in such selection to the choice of English books, maps and globes for the English Schools and French for the French schools." There was no clause defining English or French schools but the regulations of both sections indicated clearly that some schools operated in English and others in French. Although the two sections received government grants, they were independent of direct political control, and after 1875 were quite independent of each other. The Catholic system was often identified in the public mind as the "French" system because all the French instruction came under its control. When collegiate departments were established in 1885, the legislative amendment stated that the objective was "laying the foundations of a thorough education in the English or French language and literature."

There were also Anglophone teachers and students in the Catholic

jurisdiction, therefore there was teaching in English as well. The Catholic sector moved towards bilingualism as the demographic balance changed in favour of the Anglophones. As early as 1877, there was a fear that the bicultural character of the West would be undermined. Father Lacombe deplored the difficulty in obtaining suitable bilingual teachers for Manitoba's Catholic public schools. He thought Quebec to be an unfruitful source of bilingual teachers, so recruiting was directed to Europe. In 1883, for example, a Breton order of teaching sisters which operated schools in England sent five bilingual teachers to Brandon, five to Prince Albert, four to the Métis settlement of St. Laurent.

The Protestant section came to be seen more and more as a non-sectarian public system for a number of reasons. It served a number of denominations so that the early Anglican ascendancy disappeared.

The arrival of Mennonites and Icelanders in the 1870s gave rise to the assumption that these ethnic settlements eventually would have their schools incorporated into the Protestant/English system. Many

Speakers of official languages in Manitoba, from 1921 to 1981.

	English only	French only	English and French
1921*	382,345	4,295	38,203
1931	600,139	9,280	43,397
1941	647,010	6,069	54,636
1951	685,914	7,869	58,441
1961	825,955	7,954	68,368
1971	881,715	5,020	80,935
1981	915,755	2,615	79,995

*Population of 10 years of age and older only
Source: Statistics Canada

Ontario migrants to Manitoba of Clear Grit persuasion, adherents in many cases of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, who came with them a deep distrust of the English French and Catholic. They did not think (erroneously) of their schools as public common schools but of the Catholic schools as "separate schools", following the Ontario model. In any case, the separate system moved away from an establishmentarianism to a non-sectarianism, which was in Ontario) a kind of common denominator of Protestant unity.

It also reflected the bilingual nature of early Manitoba society. An all-language newspaper, the *Manitoba Free Press*, started publication in 1871 but was never given permission by the Hudson's Bay Company to print the deliberations of the Council of Assiniboia as persistently demanded. It was suppressed by the provisional Government but its successor acquired the *New Nation*, which had replaced it, and published under the name *Manitoban*. This had the distinction of becoming the first Queen's Printer in Manitoba. Its imprint appeared on the early issues of the *Manitoba Gazette*, on the title page of the *Statutes of Manitoba* and the first *Journals* of the provincial legislature. In 1871, the *Manitoba Liberal* was founded, paving the way for the *Manitoba Free Press* the following year.

The first French newspaper in the province was *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle France* (1856-58) coming out of St. V.I. In 1871, at St. Boniface, the *Manitoba* began publication with the objective of working for "the establishment of order and authority among the young and vigorous people of Manitoba because we are convinced that this is the only means of coming from the excellent principles down in the constitution to rule us." It promised to keep the Francophone community, especially business and professional men, informed of public affairs:

...being the only French newspaper in this part of America,

necessarily finds itself appealing almost exclusively to the French population, which, as everyone knows, constitutes a notable portion of the inhabitants of this vast country. We shall publish the announcements of the courts of justice, those of the governments of Manitoba and of Ottawa, and in general all announcements which, emanating from authority, are of a general interest.

After ten years of publication, it was succeeded by *Le Manitoba* in 1881, which appeared regularly until 1926. At least eleven other French newspapers and journals were published in Manitoba in the ensuing decades. The best known was *La Liberté*, founded in 1913, which joined forces in 1941 with *Le Patriote de l'Ouest*, published out of Prince Albert since 1910, to form *La Liberté et le Patriote*.

Demographic changes

Manitoba received an influx of new settlers soon after entry into Confederation. This changed the demographic character of the small province and upset the balance of the old established French/English community. Manitoba was no longer a community of two founding groups, which could conveniently be classified as Catholic and Protestant, or Francophone and Anglophone. The fairly even divisions which had existed in 1870 had been overturned decidedly by the provincial census of 1885-86 which revealed that there were about 73,000 British origin people and 11,000 French and Métis.

The census of 1871 indicated there were 25,228 inhabitants and ten years later the population had almost tripled to 62,260. The proportion of increase was the same in the next decade so that by 1891 there were 152,506 inhabitants. The Métis reserves were far from successful and the efforts to attract Québécois and to repatriate Franco-Americans were no less discouraging. The startling growth was provided by Mennonites — some 7,000 arriving within five years beginning in 1875 — and Icelanders, as well as an augmenting stream of migrants from Ontario and Nova Scotia and immigrants from the

British Isles. It was this demographic revolution which lay at the bottom of the attitudinal changes which soon manifested themselves in Manitoba. These in turn led to the institutional adjustments and eventually to the adoption of legislative measures that amounted to constitutional revisions.

The tables in this article illustrate the dimensions of this demographic revolution. It will be noted that after the dramatic reduction of the Francophone community to about one-fifth of its original proportion of the provincial population there was a levelling off and even a slight increase after World War II. More significant, however, is the decline in those having French as their mother tongue. The growing disparity between the French ethnic origin statistics and the French mother tongue statistics speak volumes about the rate of anglicisation.

Attitudinal changes

Demographic changes resulted in marked attitudinal changes. These attitudes were quickly translated into demands for abolition of the use of the French language in education and in government, the redistribution of legislative seats on the basis of population rather than by communities or parishes, and the secularization of the school system. The concept of the entry into Confederation having been a compact between two founding races was challenged. Even the vocabulary changed just as it had in the United Canadas in the 1840s. Father Lewis Drummond, a French-Irish priest, told the Manitoba Historical Society in 1886:

Thirty years ago, we who speak French were called by every one purely and simply "Canadians"; others were known as English, Scotch or Irish. Lately the fashion has grown up of calling others Canadians and distinguishing us as French.

A pamphlet calling for the exclusion of French "from our legislature, from our courts, from our statutes, and from our public schools" was widely circulated and provoked much discussion.

In 1888, the Franco-Manitobans were somewhat reassured by the pledge which allegedly had been given by the premier and prominent members of the provincial Liberal administration that they would maintain the official status of French and the dual confessional school system. On the other hand, demands for a fundamental shift away from the principles of duality and equality which had characterized the early community became more frequent and better documented. It was the Anglo-Canadian newcomers from the eastern provinces, not the European immigrants, who spearheaded the movement for institutional changes.

Institutional changes

In 1874, it was necessary to amend the original balance of Anglophone and Francophone parishes and electoral districts. The old parishes had to give up two seats to new settlements inhabited largely by newcomers. Then, the following year, the Davis government divided the province

into three categories for representation, giving each eight seats: first, the "French", who were largely Métis but whose numbers were being augmented by an influx of some Québécois and Franco-Americans; second, the old English community made up of Anglophone "half-breeds" and Selkirk settlers; third, the new settlers, mostly Ontario migrants. Premier R.A. Davis also appointed two Métis to his cabinet, the Anglophone John Norquay and the Francophone Charles Nolin. In January 1876, the Legislative Council was abolished.

Such change did not go unchallenged. The attempt of Joseph Royal in 1879 to obtain some recognition of "French power" was based in good measure on a consciousness of the erosion of the role of the Francophones in provincial affairs, and on a desire to assert the Franco-Manitoban conviction that they had some inherent and historical right to the same proportion of seats in the Legislative Assembly and portfolios in the

government as they had previously had. Was it an assertion of the principle of "double majority", or need for both founding communities to give their consent on major legislation? Or was it an attempt to introduce the national party system into provincial politics? It seems to be behind Royal's attempt to overthrow the Norquay government, which succeeded the Davis administration. There was a growing disagreement between Francophone Métis and French Canadians about appointments to public office, land policy and political representation. Norquay was not overthrown. Rather, the "French" ministers — Royal and Delorme — had to resign. But Norquay did not wish to eliminate traces of the French language, culture and representation in Manitoba. The redistribution of seats retained six and seven seats for areas of predominantly French settlement and a Francophone was given a cabinet post. The crisis of 1879 marked a serious deterioration in the inter-

Origins of the population of Manitoba, from 1881 to 1981

	Total population	French		English		Indian & Eskimo		Métis		German
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
1881	62,260	9,688	15.6	37,155	59.7	4,590	7.0	*		8,427
1891	152,506	*		*		*		*		*
1901	255,211	16,021	6.3	164,239	64.4	15,419	6.0	*		23,047
1911	461,394	31,293	6.8	276,259	59.9	12,603	2.7	*		22,602
1921	610,118	40,908	6.7	350,992	57.2	13,605	2.2	*		13,001
1931	700,139	47,039	6.7	368,010	52.6	15,231	2.9	*		21,698
1941	729,744	52,996	7.3	360,560	49.4	15,474	2.1	8,692	1.2	41,479
1951	776,541	66,020	8.5	362,550	46.7	21,050	2.7	*		54,251
1961	921,686	83,936	9.1	396,445	43.0	48,074	5.2	*		91,846
1971	988,247	86,515	8.8	414,125	41.9	43,035	4.4	17,025	1.7	123,070
1981	1,013,705	74,045	7.3	373,995	36.9	59,920	5.9	*		108,140

*No figures available.
Source: Statistics Canada

of the Franco-Manitoban community, a growing rift between the English and French Canadian sectors, and that it was not the doing of Premier Robt. Howard.

There was also an attempt to delay the printing of public documents such as orders of the day, annual papers and other reports in French. This measure, known as Bill 25, "An Act respecting Public Printing", was reserved by Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Robt. Howard on the grounds that it was unconstitutional *ultra vires*. He informed the Attorney-General, the Marquis of Dufferin, of the circumstances:

Unintentionally the Bill had been passed through the Assembly before it was shown to me or I had seen it at all, otherwise the Attorney-General might probably have averted it; but as the case then stood there was no other alternative left to me, but to veto it, and to run the risk of producing a

possible graver result, or to reserve it for the signification of your Excellency's pleasure, believing it wiser under all the circumstances, to submit it to the better judgement and greater knowledge of your Excellency's government, and thus to obtain, for all time a guiding precedent and permanent rule for all the Legislatures of the Dominion, similarly situated in relation to the same question.

No action appears to have been taken and the measure was dropped for the moment. A number of observers believe that the virtually bankrupt Province of Manitoba had introduced Bill 25 as a measure of economic restraint, and therefore, the federal government's increased subsidy may have undermined the measure. The larger question of the implications of official bilingualism was avoided and no "guiding precedent and permanent rule" which would serve for all region and "for all times" was forthcoming from Ottawa.

The pressures for change increased in the 1880s. The extension of the provincial boundaries northwards and westwards in 1881 increased the population by approximately 16,000 at one stroke. There were demands that Manitoba become official unilingual and that its institutions be modelled more on those of Ontario, a province which it now resembled demographically. The *Manitoba Gazette* went to an English only format by order-in-council in September 1889. Early the following year, a statute removed Catholic holy days from the calendar of public holidays. The right of a Francophone defendant to a jury which was at least one-half French-speaking was also removed. These changes indicated that an attempt to alter the provincial constitution was virtually inevitable.

Constitutional changes

Two aspects of the constitution were altered in 1890 in such a manner as to prejudicially affect the rights and privileges of the Francophone minority. Firstly, there was a unilateral repudiation of official bilingualism insofar as provided for in Section 23 of the Manitoba Act. Manitoba did not attempt to have that constitutional act amended, but proceeded instead to legislate its own "Act to provide that the English Language shall be the Official Language of the Province of Manitoba." There was obviously some hesitation about the competence of the Legislature to abrogate a fundamental constitutional provision in a federal statute which was the result of negotiated terms of union and which had been validated by an imperial act. The Official Language Act, which was assented to on 31 March 1890, read as follows:

1. Any statute or law to the contrary notwithstanding, the English language only shall be used in the records and journals of the House of Assembly for the Province of Manitoba, and in any pleadings or process in or issuing from any courts in the Province of Manitoba. The Acts of the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba need only to be printed and published in the English language.

ch	Polish		Scandinavian		Ukrainian		Icelandic	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0.8	*		539	0.9	*		*	
*	*		*		*		*	
0.3	1,455	0.6	7,428	2.9	3,893	1.5	*	
0.5	6,939	1.5	10,779	2.3	25,740	5.6	*	
2.9	9,559	1.6	17,712	2.9	35,587	5.8	7,001	1.1
3.0	22,621	3.2	18,792	2.9	50,658	7.2	7,712	1.1
5.4	36,550	5.0	*		89,762	12.3	13,954	1.9
5.5	37,933	4.9	32,921	4.2	98,753	12.7	13,649	1.8
5.2	44,371	4.8	37,746	4.0	105,372	11.4	14,547	1.6
3.6	42,700	4.3	35,110	3.6	114,415	11.6	*	
3.3	28,445	2.8	25,175	2.5	99,795	9.8	10,170	1.0

2. This Act shall only apply so far as this Legislature has jurisdiction so to enact, and shall come into force on the day it is assented to.

Although English was to be the sole language of the legislature and courts, the law curiously still did not restrict the statutes to English only.

The Francophone minority could challenge the Official Language Act in the political arena or in the courts. It did neither with much vigour. Six Francophone members of the Legislature petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor not to give assent to the act. They together with a "Convention" of community leaders petitioned the Governor-General for disallowance. Neither of these moves were followed up by the petitioners with any persistence, probably because both they and the politicians at Winnipeg and Ottawa became embroiled in the second aspect of the provincial assault on the constitutional arrangements of 1870. The school question dominated discussions and even the motion for papers in both the House of Commons and the Senate resulted in no discussion of the official language legislation.

The Francophone minority, which by 1890 had been reduced from a majority at the time of union to a mere 7 per cent of the provincial population, did not challenge the Official Language Act directly in the courts. In 1892 there was a case in a county court concerning a municipal election petition during which the validity of the Act was queried. In 1909, Judge L.A. Prud'homme in the case *Bertrand v. Dussault* said that the Official Language Act of 1890 was unconstitutional. The provincial government ignored the decision and no one in the Franco-Manitoban community seems to have been disposed to carry through at that time to force a restoration of French language rights.

This may have been because at that time French language rights in education — the field which primarily interested the clerical leaders in the community — were improving markedly. In 1916, in the case of

Dumas v. Baribault, there was an application to compel a court to accept a written plea in French. The case went up to the Court of Appeal where it was not proceeded with. The only other form of challenge offered by the Francophone community was when from time to time their MLAs would speak in French in the Legislature.

In March 1890 two major changes were made to the provincial school system. An Act respecting the Department of Education provided for the abolition of the Board of Education and Superintendents of Education and its replacement by a Department of Education consisting initially of the Executive Council or a committee appointed by the cabinet. This effectively dismantled the dual confessional system. The second act, an Act respecting Public Schools, made "all Protestant and Catholic school districts" subject to its provisions and set up free public common schools:

5. All Public Schools shall be free schools, and every person in rural municipalities between the age of five and sixteen years, and in cities, towns and villages between the age of six and sixteen, shall have the right to attend some school.

Compulsory attendance at these public schools was not imposed, probably because it was felt this might be an infringement on the confessional rights guaranteed in the Manitoba Act. In fact, provision was made for compulsory religious exercises in the public schools, with a conscience clause allowing parents or guardians to have pupils exempted from attending.

The crucial provision, as far as the Franco-Manitobans were concerned, was the abolition of the Catholic school districts which had been largely under their control in their areas of settlement. The Act said:

179. In cases where, before the coming into force of this Act, Catholic school districts have been established . . . such Catholic

school districts shall, upon the coming into force of this Act, cease to exist, and all the assets of such Catholic school districts shall belong to, and all the liabilities thereof be paid by the public school district . . .

There was no mention of the abolition of the Protestant school districts since it was assumed they had become the public schools. There was no mention of language(s) of instruction in this legislation. Legally, therefore, French could continue as a language of instruction, as a subject of study, and textbooks in this language could still be used unless otherwise directed. It would appear that rather than bring pressure to bear to wipe out French instruction, efforts were made to bring all the Francophone Catholic schools into the common public system.

In 1892 the provincial government asked Inspector A.L. Young to visit all Catholic schools which had not joined the public school system, or "national schools" as some called them. His report on language instruction in these schools bears repeat

English is taught in all schools. The parents and trustees recognize the desirability of having their children study English, consequently those teachers who have a sufficient knowledge of the English language to teach it successfully are in much greater demand than those who understand the French language only.

These schools were continuing to maintain the bilingual quality of the now dissolved Catholic public schools. In 1894, further pressure brought to bear through the passage of another public schools Act which cut off legislative grants from schools which did not conform to all provincial legislation and Departmental regulations and which forbade municipal councils to grant money, levy or collect taxes for the support of such schools.

Unlike in the case of the Official Language Act, the school legislation was hotly contested and gave rise

NITOBA

of the eighteen hundreds, the province of
Nova Scotia was heavily colonized by numerous
groups. This map shows the many cities
and towns that were recognized during this
time as areas of French-Canadian, or
Acadian, settlements.



an interminable series of political manoeuvres. Satisfaction was sought through demands for disallowance, appeals to the courts, a remedial order-in-council, political mediation and proposed remedial legislation. It is noteworthy that two legal cases which proceeded through to the highest courts, *Barrett v. City of Winnipeg* (1892) and *Brophy v. Attorney-General of Manitoba* (1895), were brought by the Anglophone Catholics and not the Franco-Manitobans. The details of the celebrated Manitoba School Question, as the controversy was called, need not detain us here except to remark that for the Francophone Manitobans it represented an assault on their traditional education system and an undermining of the constitutional guarantees they had had under Section 22 of the Manitoba Act.

Bilingual system of education

In November 1896 the federal and Manitoba governments arrived at a "solution" to the Manitoba School Question, described by Catholic authorities as "defective, imperfect, insufficient", which was incorporated into a new School Act in 1897. This so-called Laurier-Greenway Compromise shifted the emphasis away from confessionalism to language and ethnicity. The new clause 10 in the revised legislation said:

When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English, as their native tongue, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bi-lingual system.

This enabled the Francophones to rebuild a network of French schools within the public system. Shortly thereafter they had their own textbooks, centralized examinations, school inspectors, trustees and teachers' associations, and a Normal School for training local teachers in St. Boniface. The *Manitoba Free Press* later explained what many Manitobans had believed was the purpose of opening the door to multilingualism in 1897:

In order to avoid exciting anti-French prejudices in Ontario and elsewhere, the concession as to bilingual teaching was not limited to the French, but was made general to all non-English residents in the Province of Manitoba in the expectation that it would be taken advantage of only by the French and by them in a limited degree and by a few and diminishing number of Mennonite communities.

In fact German, "Ruthenian" and Polish bilingual schools and programmes also multiplied, and standards improved with the passage of time.

The English public schools seemed to be threatened by the growth of the bilingual schools. There was a fear that the province was becoming balkanized, so that in the wartime context of anti-German, anti-pacifist and anti-alien feelings, there were demands that the bilingual clause, which had become Section 258 in the Public Schools Act as revised in 1913, should be repealed. An Act to Further Amend the Public Schools Act, assented to 10 March 1916, provided as follows:

1. Section 258 of "The Public Schools Act", being Chapter 165 of the Revised Statutes of Manitoba, is hereby repealed.

This meant that the situation which had existed prior to 1897 was restored. In terms of language of instruction, therefore, Manitoba returned to a position best described as a legal vacuum because no language of instruction was set forth in the legislation. It was not contrary to the law to teach in French.

Yet, the general interpretation seems to have been that English was the sole language of instruction in the public schools of the province. The Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba was formed to preserve French instruction in the Francophone areas. Protest rallies were called, funds were subscribed in Quebec to finance private and parochial schools, and a

long battle by correspondence ensued with various school inspectors and the Deputy Minister of Education. Dr. Robert Fletcher, the educational bureaucracy was favourable to French instruction being maintained and attempted to hold back over-zealous inspectors who would have wiped out any of any language other than English. There was also a recognition among the bureaucrats, who were almost all of Anglo-Celtic origins, that the "French" were Canadians of long standing and not immigrants. Though French instruction continued, sometimes somewhat clandestinely, in rural parishes and St. Boniface throughout the inter-war years. St. Boniface College continued to meet the needs for some post-secondary training in French and never lacked students competent in the language. The dismantling of the bilingual school system in 1916 did not have the same repercussions among the Franco-Manitobans as among other ethnic communities, which had availed themselves of opportunities presented by the 1897 legislation. There appears to have been a certain sympathy in Manitoba for the Francophone community understanding that they enjoyed special status, and a hesitation to classify them as just another ethnic group.

Recent developments

Since the 1960s, in the context of nation-wide discussions about the nature of Confederation, bilingualism, multiculturalism, human rights and the constitution, the question of Francophone rights in Manitoba re-emerged. It must be said also that some of that interest was generated within Manitoba itself and was not externally introduced.

The changes began in the field of public schooling, where so much controversy had existed since 1897. The administrative leeway which had always operated in the province in 1916 was given some legislative status in 1947 with the official sanctioning of one hour per day in French as a language of instruction and the legal vacuum with respect to languages of instruction in public

is was drawn to the attention of government of Manitoba in 1952. The evening session, prior to the ratification, when the accumulated amendments of the frequently altered Public Schools Act were re-enacted, a new section 240 was inserted and passed without comment at the time. The bilingual clause in the Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, provided:

(1) Subject to subsection (2), the English language shall be used as the language of instruction in all public schools.

When authorized by the board of trustees of a district, a language other than English may be used in the school in the district

a) during a period authorized herein for religious teaching;

b) during a period authorized in the program of studies for teaching of a language other than English; and

c) before and after the school hours prescribed in the regulations and applicable to that school.

In 1964, Premier Duff Roblin invited and consulted an Advisory Committee on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which was chaired by Professor W.L. Morton. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism did not, to range to say, recommend that Manitoba become a bilingual province. The provincial authorities increasingly came to the view that although provincial society contained an ethnic mosaic, the Franco-Manitoban community occupied an equally distinctive role along with the Anglo-Celtic founders. Not surprisingly, in 1967 another major amendment to the Public Schools Act, popularly known as "Bill 59", made French an official language of instruction.

The 1967 legislation repeated in substance Section 240 of the 1952 Act, adding nine more subsections. The most relevant for our purposes were:

(3) Subject as herein provided, the French language, being one of the two languages to which reference is made in the British North America Act, 1867, may be used in the public schools as a language of instruction.

(4) A board of a district, area or division may request the minister to approve a proposal to use, subject as herein provided, the French language in the instruction of social studies and such other subjects as the minister may, by regulation, stipulate, in a school in the district, area or division, as the case may be . . .

This legislation did not limit French as a language of instruction to Franco-Manitoban communities, but it did grant the Minister of Education very wide discretionary powers in limiting the use of French, in controlling programmes and in prescribing the qualifications of teachers who taught in French. The legislation, in referring to the bilingual clause in the British North America Act, 1867, had been careful not to refer to Section 23, the bilingual clause in the Manitoba Act, validated by the British North America Act, 1871, which had elevated the Manitoba Act to an imperial statute among other things.

It was not long, however, before attention was drawn to the bilingual provisions in the Manitoba Act, and the question of the competence of the provincial Legislature to unilaterally declare English to be the sole language of provincial legislation and courts was challenged. In 1976, a Winnipeg resident, Georges Forest, questioned the legality of a parking ticket issued in English only and asked the Attorney-General Howard Pawley to refer the question of the constitutionality of the Official Language Act of 1890 to the courts. Premier Edward Schreyer's government declined to pursue that course. When Forest was convicted in magistrate's court, he appealed to the County Court of St. Boniface. Judge Armand Dureault rendered a historic judgement which set in motion legal proceedings which ended in the highest court of the country. Judge

Dureault's conclusions were as follows:

I wish to make one final observation before concluding these reasons: one would have to search far and wide before finding a better example of colourable legislation than the evasive language of Section 2 of the Official Language Act of Manitoba, framed as it is to avoid challenge on jurisdictional grounds.

It follows that for all these reasons, I find it beyond the power of the Legislature of Manitoba to abrogate Section 23 of the Manitoba Act and the provisions for the Official Language Act for Manitoba particularly sub-sections (1) and (2) of Section 1 are *ultra vires* its jurisdiction.

The provincial government decided not to appeal the Forest case "at this time" because it wished to avoid the political repercussions which might follow. Forest did get a hearing before the Court of Queen's Bench which ruled the 1890 legislation "inoperative insofar as it abrogates the right to use French in the courts of Manitoba." The Attorney-General of Manitoba now felt obliged to appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. This court of last resort handed down its judgement on 13 December 1979. All seven justices agreed that the abrogation of the rights of the French language in 1890 had been unconstitutional and dismissed the appeal of the Manitoba government. The use of the English and French languages had been constitutionally entrenched in the Manitoba Act, and the British North America Act, 1871, had gone beyond validating it by imposing substantial constraints on the amending powers of both the Canadian Parliament and the Manitoba Legislature.

In 1983, the question of restoring full French rights in Manitoba became a controversial political issue as the incumbent administration attempted to couple an affirmation of official bilingualism with a negotiated schedule of restricted but expanding public services in French. Legally, the

question remains about the status of legislation passed since 1890 in the English language only because the constitution of 1870 had made English and French mandatory, not permissive, in a number of domains. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the most recent developments and the various positions being defended. Rather, we have attempted to give a comprehensive overview of the genesis of bilingualism in Manitoba and the genesis of the controversies, constitutional and other, that have marked the province's history.

The status of French has been at issue in two domains: first, in the legislature and courts; secondly, in the public schools. In the early debates, it was the question of French schooling, confused with Catholic schooling in many cases, that held attention. More recently, it has been the constitutional issue of the official status of the French language and its implications not only for the legislature and courts, but also for all public services, that has come to the fore. Whatever the historical arguments that favour full recognition of equality between the two official languages, the demographic realities intrude and bring practical as well as political considerations to bear. Francophones are an official language minority among minorities in Manitoba, and the future of their community may depend, to some extent, on the support and interest of a growing community of Manitobans who are not of French ethnic origin.

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Education is often viewed as a cure for all problems, but the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools has helped to halt the anglicization of Ontario's young Francophones.

Attention of French among young Franco-Ontarians

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In 1968, the Ontario Legislature authorized the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools, thereby making it possible for students to receive their education in French up to the end of the secondary school level. This has hopes that the decline in the use of French in Ontario would slow down if not stop entirely. However, the 1981 census has revealed that anglicization is still on the increase.

Analysis of the census data on mother tongue and languages spoken in the home reveals that French is being spoken at an accelerated rate in provinces with an English-speaking majority. Of the 475,605 people for whom French was the mother tongue in Ontario, the proportion of those who spoke mainly English in the home grew from 27 per cent in 1971 to 34 per cent in 1981.

It is difficult to see if French-language instruction has helped to slow down this phenomenon. At present, this is difficult to calculate because only since 1971 has the issue been taken into consideration the language spoken in the home. In order to have the necessary comparative data, we shall have to wait until 1991.

Many people are concerned that the new language regime has put a brake on the declining use of French. Even though many schools were created following the new language legislation, particularly between 1970 and 1975 (1), it has not been recognized that education is not the only factor

to be considered if we are to remove the phenomenon of transculturation, especially among young people. Socio-economic and demographic factors also come into play.

In the following pages, we examine a number of survey results regarding the language behaviour of school-age students. In particular, we analyse their use of French and their French-language skills.

The use of French among Franco-Ontarian youths

After analysing the results of the 1971 census, Charles Castonguay (2) noted in 1976 that this group was becoming increasingly anglicized. Two years earlier, he and J. Marion (3) had noted that Franco-Ontarians were very little affected by assimilation in localities where they were in the majority. However, in locations where they represented less than 50 per cent of the population, the rates of anglicization were in some instances very high. The authors were thus doubtful that French could hold its own in situations where demography worked to its disadvantage.

Toward the end of 1979, we conducted socio-linguistic surveys of Francophone pupils in seven towns with a minority French population: Cornwall, Ottawa, Pembroke, North Bay, Toronto, Welland and Windsor. These surveys confirmed and complemented Castonguay's study findings, and enabled us to measure the relationship between the frequency with which French was used in the family and the aptitude of students to learn and master the language.

From one generation to the next

In these seven Franco-Ontarian communities, French was used less in conversations among children than in those between parents: 32 per cent of the children always or most frequently used French among themselves, as opposed to 56 per cent of the parents. These figures are

TABLE 1
The use of French among children
in Franco-Ontarian families

	Cornwall		Ottawa		North Bay		Welland		Pembroke		Windsor		Toronto	
Proportion of Francophones	38 %		20.6 %		17.3 %		17.1 %		10.2 %		7 %		1.9 %	
Level	Elementary	Secondary	Elementary	Secondary	Elementary	Secondary	Elementary	Secondary	Elementary	Secondary	Elementary	Secondary	Elementary	Secondary
Use of French and English														
Always or most frequently in French	48.2	46.1	51.9	31.1	34.1	39.2	34.2	12.5	26.3	16.7	31.5	25.8	25.3	4
	157	143	67	170	86	169	67	35	20	12	28	33	19	1
Equal frequency in French and English	23.3	21.3	21.7	24.2	22.6	27.4	21.4	19.6	18.4	12.5	12.3	25.0	8.0	2
	76	66	28	132	57	118	42	55	14	9	11	32	6	4
Always or most frequently in English	28.5	32.6	26.4	44.7	43.3	33.4	44.4	67.9	55.3	70.8	56.2	49.2	66.7	4
	93	101	34	244	109	144	87	191	42	51	50	63	50	4
TOTAL	326	310	129	546	252	431	196	281	76	72	89	128	75	10

somewhat discouraging, for they apply to pupils who were receiving their education in French, and not to all young Franco-Ontarians, as was the case for the Castonguay study.

The law of numbers

Our surveys also revealed that the retention or loss of French among pupils receiving instruction in that language were closely linked to the demographic weight of their community, as may be seen from the statistical data contained in Table 1. This table shows that the use of French between brothers and sisters varies in frequency from town to town: generally speaking, the smaller the Francophone element, the less frequent the use of French. We found the same phenomenon when we used other points of reference: the language used by parents with children, by children with their parents, with their friends, etc. French-language education has clearly not eradicated assimilation among Franco-Ontarians, and its influence is directly related to the demographic weight of the Francophone community.

We have seen that French-language education did not resolve the

problem of linguistic alienation. In addition, the survey conducted with the help of collaborators (4), and other studies by our team, established that the frequency with which French is used in the home in the minority Franco-Ontarian community had clear repercussions on the aptitude of students receiving their instruction in French to learn and master this language. By way of illustration: if students correctly master the use of reflexive pronouns (*il se lève*) during their studies, those who express themselves always or most frequently in French in their families will, by Grade 5, have a sound mastery of this syntactic form. If the contrary is the case, students will not have mastered this usage by the end of secondary school.

Other persistent difficulties include use of the proper gender (*école français*), choice of preposition (*aller à son amie*), agreement between subject and verb (*elles ne veut pas*), phrases based on English syntax (*je suis quinze ans*), and anglicized terms (*un movie*).

Influence of the social milieu

The use of French outside the family is also an important factor. Table 2

contains data on the use of reflexive pronouns by students of elementary and secondary Francophone schools in four towns where the French language is of varying importance: Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay and Pembroke. The Hawkesbury sample does not include students who express themselves mainly in English in the home since this is not a significant phenomenon in this predominantly Francophone town.

Based on the data in Table 2, if we use Brown's criterion (5) of 90 per cent correct usage as indicating mastery of a language, the Hawkesbury students have already achieved this standard for reflexive pronouns when they enter elementary school. Those from Cornwall and North Bay who always or most frequently use French in the home achieve these same skills by Grade 5. In Pembroke, this level is achieved only at the end of secondary school. For children for whom English is the dominant language according to this criterion, the reflexive pronoun is mastered only at the end of secondary school in Cornwall and, for all practical purposes, in North Bay as well; in Pembroke, they finish their studies

out achieving this standard
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cophones in Hawkesbury: the
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ese facts illustrate the impact
mography on the aptitude of
g Franco-Ontarians to learn
master French.

r findings
research also revealed a
omenon we had not considered:
relationship between the fre-
cy in the use of French in the

home and the use of the familiar
language register. In daily conversa-
tion, those who used French very
little in the home, never, or hardly
ever, used the typical forms of
popular Canadian French; by con-
trast, however, those who used
French regularly adapted naturally to
these forms. Since use of the mother
tongue in one's own family is
essential to the acquisition of various
registers of day-to-day language, we
found that those who used French
very little had serious weaknesses in
this respect. As for the demographic
element relating to this aptitude, the
results of our research tend to
confirm what we have noted above.

French, then is becoming a sort of
second language for young Franco-
Ontarians who rarely speak it in the
home; its structure and familiar
registers are largely unknown to
them. The opposite of course, holds
true in cases where French is the
predominant language of use.

Remedies

In our view, the solutions to this
problem are chiefly socio-political
and pedagogical in nature. In pre-
dominantly Anglophone milieux, the
abandonment of French by Franco-

Ontarians is due in part to the low
prestige they attach to this language
given its relative lack of value as a
means of socio-economic advance-
ment. Consequently, any measure
designed to enhance French in the
mind of individuals would have
repercussions on the resistance to
assimilation and on students' atti-
tudes toward their mother tongue.
Such measures have already been the
subject of studies by the Federation of
Francophones outside Quebec and,
in collaboration with Canale and
Bélanger, we have ourselves pub-
lished an article on this question. (6)

In terms of pedagogical solutions, we
would first mention those currently
implemented by some Ontario school
boards. Educators have recourse to
two remedies.

The first is orientation classes.
Students suffering serious weaknes-
ses in French derive benefit from
such classes early in their pro-
gramme, when they receive instruc-
tion especially adapted to their needs
and dispersed in an intensive form if
the teacher is assisted by a monitor.
The second remedy consists of
special "catch-up" classes.

In both instances the objective is the
same: to bring students to a sufficient
level of French so as not to compro-
mise or interrupt the progress of
other students in that language and
in the various subjects taught. (7)

Solutions may also be sought to the
manner in which French is taught.
According to a survey conducted by
Cazabon and Frenette (8) in a
minority Franco-Ontarian environ-
ment, the teaching of French may be
coloured by a normative approach
that tends to discourage students
from usages which do not conform to
correct French and to substitute equi-
valents which correspond to this
standard. Both authors have noted
that very few teachers made a dis-
tinction, for pedagogical purposes,
between "mistakes" in popular
Canadian French (le moineau a
pogné une bibitte) and those that
may be considered "un-French"
(je lève à six heures). Most teachers
found such mistakes equally

TABLE 2
Frequency of the reflexive pronoun among
young Franco-Ontarians in four towns with
large proportional Francophone populations

Table with 8 columns: Age group, Town, Frequency of use of the home language, and Grade. Rows include data for ages 2, 5, 9, and 12 across four towns: Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay, and Pembroke.

Ontario cities identified in the study

French mother tongue population for 1971 and 1981.

	1971	1981
CORNWALL	18,165	15,730
HAWKESBURY	—	8,295
NORTH BAY	8,535	8,355
OTTAWA	65,235	56,550
PEMBROKE	1,680	1,130
TORONTO	15,755	10,040
WELLAND	7,590	6,945
WINDSOR	14,305	10,535

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 census.



view, a more tolerant attitude should be adopted.

The sociolinguistic approach to teaching French, which is the basis of the new programmes designed for Quebec's Francophone students, might be adopted to great advantage by Franco-Ontarian educators. One of the goals of this approach is to encourage students to master "correct local French" by comparing the characteristics of this variety of French with those of familiar Canadian French, and by providing an understanding of the social and stylistic features appropriate to each of the registers. This goal presupposes that we recognize the "system" concept and the major role played by familiar Canadian French.

This new approach will thus tend to eliminate this variety of French, but to use it as a point of departure for mastery of correct Canadian French. We would add that familiar Canadian French might even be used as an objective in a minority Francophone environment because students who scarcely speak French outside of school have a poor mastery of this type of French.

(Adapted from *the French*)

unacceptable and thus worthy of elimination.

Cazabon and Frenette also noted that the teaching of French provided few opportunities for communication and focused on a relatively mechanical learning approach far removed from the context of resources proper to correct language. Attention should be drawn to the weaknesses and inconvenience of this method.

In a majority Francophone community, acquisition of French as a language of communication is largely guaranteed outside the school; this does not hold true for a minority situation. Since language is primarily an instrument of communication, it is particularly important that the school recognize it as such. In our view, the great danger posed by the normative approach is

that it tends to discourage the characteristic features of familiar Canadian French, particularly when those features are common coin among students who still express themselves in French in the home.

As well, we believe that familiar Franco-Ontarian speech is an authentic language system even though it may differ from correct Canadian French. In addition to the fact that it is used for a major portion of all communications, this variety of familiar French is part and parcel of the cultural identity of the Franco-Ontarian community. If the particularities of this language are viewed as errors, this could well increase the trend toward the rejection of French that has been observed to varying degrees among young Franco-Ontarians who are members of a minority community. In our

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Additional second-language programmes for adults are proving to be inadequate for addressing the needs of immigrant workers. For these newcomers, the acquisition of a new language is largely dependent on social and occupational integration.

Learning the language: a critical hurdle for the immigrant worker

ALISON D'ANGLEJAN



After receiving her Ph.D. in experimental psychology from McGill University in 1975, **Alison d'Anglejan** joined the Faculté des sciences de l'Éducation at the Université de Montréal where she is now associate professor. Author and co-author of numerous articles, her teaching and research interests center on the cognitive and social aspects of language acquisition.

Immigration has played an important role in Canada's economic and social development. For many immigrants the decision to settle in Canada is a personal one, motivated by the desire to join other members of the family or to seek desirable employment. In other cases, economic hardships, political strife or acts of God precipitate large-scale displacements of people, some of whom enter Canada under special refugee programmes. A glance at history book will reveal that migration is not a recent phenomenon, but one which has recurred over time in every generation by political and economic events. There is every reason to expect this pattern to continue.

One of the most pressing tasks facing the new immigrant is that of finding employment. This was one of the findings of a study carried out in Vancouver by Mastai (1979). Furthermore, she reported that adult immigrants' success in finding satisfactory employment is closely related to the extent of their knowledge of English. It is not surprising, therefore, that the federal government allocates substantial amounts of money for the teaching of the two official languages to recent immigrants. Indeed, Canada's provisions for language-teaching programmes for adult immigrants are among the most generous in the world. Québec, for instance, the provincial Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration supplements federal funding for language training and administers language teaching centres known as COFIs (Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants).

Immigrants receive a small allowance which allows them to attend classes six hours a day for a 30-week period, after which it is hoped that they will have acquired enough knowledge of French to enter the work-force.

A wide range of evening and part-time programmes are also available free of charge for those who may have found employment but wish to upgrade their language skills. In other parts of Canada, similar programmes are available for the teaching of English, often within the framework of the Community Colleges or within the continuing-education programmes offered by school boards.

Over the years, teachers and administrators involved in immigrant language programmes have come to recognize that there are enormous individual differences in the ability of these adults to benefit from classroom language instruction. Methods and approaches which have proven relatively successful for some learners appear to be of little benefit to others. Recently, the arrival in North America, and indeed in other parts of the world, of large numbers of refugees from Southeast Asia has heightened an awareness of this problem on the part of language-teaching professionals. Regular second-language programmes may not be able to provide the environment conducive to learning which is so desperately needed by many of these newcomers.

Obstacles to language learning

My own interest in the difficulties experienced by adult immigrants in second-language programmes is not new. In 1976, I was invited by the Ministère de l'Immigration du Québec (now known as the Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration) to study the problem of why some immigrants appeared to be virtually unable to communicate in French after receiving 900 hours of language instruction in the COFIs. I do not propose to describe our research in detail (interested readers can find

a full report in d'Anglejan et al, 1981) but some of the findings are useful in helping to understand the special problems of these learners and in working toward the development of alternative programmes more suited to their needs.

Our large-scale investigation examined the pattern of individual differences associated with acute learning difficulties. The results showed that lower levels of schooling, marginal literacy or illiteracy and higher levels of anxiety in the classroom were among the factors which characterized the unsuccessful student in comparison with those who were more successful. Many poor learners were from rural backgrounds and quite unaccustomed to city living. An additional important finding was that those who experienced difficulty generally had very little contact with native speakers of French. Since they tended to live in ethnic neighbourhoods and were not employed, they had little opportunity to establish informal social contacts with the local French-speaking population. Language classrooms appeared to provide their major contact with the French language. While the more educated students had access to books and newspapers to increase their exposure to French, the less literate students were highly dependent on the classroom. Paradoxically, most second-language classrooms provide a poor learning environment for this type of student. The use of methods which focus on the teaching of language *per se*, with an emphasis on drills or on the teaching of grammar, does not appear to set in motion the mental processes necessary for second-language acquisition. Indeed, the emphasis placed on performance that is correctly imitating model sentences or responding with a prescribed structure to the instructor's probe places the learner under considerable stress. In addition, classrooms frequently fail to provide adequate opportunities for the development of listening comprehension, an important activity which involves learners in the search for meaning in spoken language and familiarizes them with the intonation, stress and

syntactic patterns which give meaning to a given code. Perhaps the most serious shortcoming of many language classrooms is that the language is not used in an authentic and meaningful way to communicate about issues of concern to the learners.

The impact of different cultural norms

For some immigrants there are also serious cultural obstacles to classroom learning. The competitiveness among students which is encouraged in many of our western classrooms is at variance with cultural norms which encourage cooperation and sharing. The pressure placed on students to demonstrate their learning, or their ignorance, before the instructor and fellow students may well be culturally unacceptable. Furthermore, those with little or no schooling, may be accustomed to acquiring important skills and knowledge in settings very different from classrooms where active participation in tasks and tacit observation of the performance of others are the privileged modes of learning. To complicate the picture further, some students who have had little school experience and are removed from their cultural setting hold firm views that all learning must come from books and be transmitted explicitly by teachers, whereas others are equally convinced that nothing good can come of spending a six-hour day sitting at a desk. We are only beginning to grasp the impact of these cultural norms and expectations on the adult immigrant's ability to benefit from language-teaching programmes. However, it is reassuring to discover through discussions with colleagues in other parts of Canada, in the United States, in Europe and in Australia that the phenomenon which we are observing in Quebec is a universal one.

The search for alternatives

In our research in Quebec, we proposed two alternative approaches for these learners to be tried out on an experimental basis. Both involved a shift in focus away from the explicit teaching of language toward the provision of opportunities for the

learner to acquire information, knowledge or skills critical for his immediate socio-economic well being, presented through the target language.

This shift in orientation was based on current theoretical knowledge of the second-language acquisition process which indicates that under favourable conditions, well-motivated adults can acquire or "pick up" a second language without it being explicitly taught. Furthermore it drew on the immigrant's need for "survival" or "coping skills" to deal with pressing social integration or employment problems. An experimental programme was set up in which learners were taught how to use the transit system, how to cash cheques, how to enrol their children in school etc. These skills were viewed not simply as a vehicle for the introduction of vocabulary and structures, but as important survival skills and the appropriate learning objectives for adult immigrants.

We were at first surprised to learn that no such programmes were underway, since the language-teaching centres were actually set up with a broader mandate. Responses to our queries as to why socio-cultural objectives seemed to have been set aside were instructive. There appeared to be an assumption that mastery of the language is a prerequisite to the learning of anything else. Since, not surprisingly, few students mastered the language during the 30-week course, there was still a great deal to be done in the language domain without having to turn to other objectives.

The second experimental alternative which we proposed for learners who seemed refractory to classrooms was what we termed a temporary sheltered-workshop approach involving the individual placement of students in carefully prepared French-speaking working environments where they would have unstressful contact with sympathetic native speakers and would at the same time gain first-hand experience of the work world in Quebec. Learners would continue to receive

financial support for a period equal to that for which they were eligible to attend full-time classes. Contact with the language school was to be maintained by means of regular weekly meetings in which two or three learners would meet with teachers to discuss their experiences and receive help with specific language or social-adaptation difficulties. The rationale for this approach is three-fold:

the need for authentic communication with native speakers in an unstressful situation as an input for language acquisition;

the extreme discomfort of some learners at finding themselves in language classrooms; and, perhaps the most critical reason; and

the importance placed on finding employment by virtually all adult learners.

Others such as these suggested that the sheltered-workshop approach is well worth investigating. Unfortunately, only a few weeks after the experimental programme got underway with a few volunteers it was terminated and we were unable to evaluate its impact.

Today the wisdom of teaching "life skills" is becoming widely recognized. Guidelines for such programmes are beginning to be produced. It is recognized, at least in theory, that it is counterproductive to view the teaching of a second language in isolation from the immigrant worker's other critical needs in terms of social services or job retraining. The pre-vocational, occupational and social concerns of immigrants must be addressed if they are to remain effectively involved in second-language programmes. If this is so, it is important for immigrants who are literate and have higher levels of education, it is absolutely crucial for illiterate adults for whom the process of acquiring a new language must be viewed as a long-term undertaking, closely related to, and dependent upon, other social integration processes.

Language learning beyond the classroom

Considerable progress is being made within the classroom by incorporating a more valid set of teaching/learning objectives and by using the target language for authentic communication. Interesting breakthroughs have also been taking place outside the language classroom. Early impetus for the development of programmes for immigrant workers in industrial settings was provided in *Industrial English* by Jupp and Hodlin's (1975). The book spelled out a rationale for on-the-job specialized language training for immigrants to Britain, and provided guidelines for the development and implementation of such programmes. The preface to *ESL in the Workplace*, a recent publication by the Center for Applied Linguistics (1982) provides interesting evidence of the recognition now accorded to the interaction between the immigrant and his environment in the language-learning process: "This guide looks at the nature of the partnership between the instructor of English for Special Purposes, private industry and the working refugees with a limited knowledge of English." Perhaps the most interesting document pertaining to English in the workplace which I have seen is a study conducted by Virginia Sauvé on behalf of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (1982). The study looks at six workplace projects in Alberta and Ontario from the standpoint of the industries involved, the worker-learners and instructors. From questionnaire and interview data, the author distills the characteristics of successful and less successful projects and prescribes guidelines for the setting up and carrying out of programmes. Of particular interest is the complex, multi-faceted role of the workplace programme professional who must acquire an in-depth understanding of what the industry is all about, how it functions, as well as of the interactions between various levels of management personnel, in order to establish appropriate curriculum goals and develop material. In addition, these professionals must play a vital role, not only in teaching the worker-learners, but also in educating

management or supervisory personnel to understand what lies at the root of communication difficulties and how their own beliefs and practices can serve as catalysts for, or obstacles to, cross-cultural communication and language learning.

Encouraging trends

A glance at the direction in which programmes for immigrants are evolving is enlightening, for it reveals a gradual departure from uniform, institutionalized solutions to language training toward a broader, more societally or vocationally based framework, one which may involve a wide range of native speakers — be they fellow workers, managers, social workers or simply neighbours — in the socialization process which underlies language learning and the development of communicative, professional and social competence. Predictably, however, these developments are not taking place uniformly across Canada. In regions beset by high levels of unemployment we simply do not find concentrations of new immigrants in industrial settings. In other areas, where administrative structures responsible for language training, vocational training and social services are under separate jurisdictions, there may be no spontaneous converging and cross-fertilization of such programmes without the intervention of some external force. In my own province, for instance, where language training for immigrants comes under the jurisdiction of the provincial government (whereas vocational programmes come under that of the federal government of Canada), there seems to have been limited progress in fusing language and vocational training for immigrants. To the best of my knowledge, there are no Quebec-based counterparts to the type of projects described by Virginia Sauvé which are taking place in other parts of the country.

An additional obstacle to the broadening of the framework for adult immigrant language training is the fact that those responsible for these services, and indeed the general public, may still be unaware, or unwilling to accept, that effective

language learning can, and often should, take place in non-academic settings. Programme administrators may be reluctant to relinquish their control over language training. Similarly, members of the general public as well as personnel in business and industry may be only too willing to leave this burden entirely upon the shoulders of the educators. Attitudes such as these are not difficult to understand. Most of us tend to equate learning with schools, classrooms and institutions and to view language as a body of knowledge — like history or geography — rather than a form of social behavior which might best be acquired through communication with a well-disposed native speaker.

It is not difficult in a multi-ethnic country such as Canada to find numerous examples of thoroughly successful second-language learners. Many of the large numbers of immigrants from central and western Europe who have come to Canada since the turn of the century appear to have learned English or French without the benefit of special programmes. Those who entered public schools, universities or occupational settings which allowed them to interact socially or professionally with native speakers by whom they were accepted acquired a new language effectively. Others, however, who remained encapsulated in ethnic communities — married women or workers in factories with high concentrations of immigrants — and had little occasion or need for contact outside their group often failed to do so. It is not clear that traditional second-language classes would have had a significant impact on this group given their degree of isolation from mainstream society. Unfortunately, in many societies prevailing social structures perpetuate cultural and linguistic isolation. It is generally believed that individuals or groups who remain isolated do so because of their inadequate language skills. In fact, it appears that the converse is more likely true: low socio-economic status and ethnicity lead to the social isolation which is at the root of the failure to acquire the societal language. If this is true, then a much

broader spectrum of society has a role to play in the language education of immigrants.

The ability of immigrant workers to contribute their knowledge and skills to Canadian society may well depend on the opportunities they are given to participate in our social and occupational mainstream. For this to come about, a much greater proportion of our efforts and resources will have to be directed toward helping the public to understand its role in shaping the social environment and, consequently, the communicative power of immigrant workers.

At the present time, the issues are clouded by the prevailing network of attitudes and assumptions. Foreigners are expected to go off and learn the language *before* they seek admission to jobs or social groups; their poor communicative skills are interpreted as a lack of cooperation or even of ability; society passes judgement on the immigrant for not learning the language, yet neither party understands the extent to which their own set of cultural norms filter and often obstruct communication. In the case of some Southeast Asian immigrants in Canada, for instance, these cultural differences are considerable and cannot simply be ignored. Nor can we afford to ignore the frustration and alienation which immigrants experience as a result of their inability to communicate effectively.

It is interesting to note that many of the issues which I have raised above are dealt with in a working paper on "The Provision of ESL Training to Adults. Six Principles Toward a National Policy." It is hoped that this will lead to settlement programmes that are more integrated and more focused than those which now prevail. But we must also bear in mind that more than any other group of language learners, these new immigrants desperately need opportunities to participate in unstressed conversations with sympathetic English and French Canadians. We all have much to gain by helping them take the difficult steps along the road to social integration and

language learning. The responsibility cannot, and should not, be placed on the shoulders of language teachers alone.

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distance education — formal study outside the traditional classroom setting — is the fastest growing form of post-secondary education available to adults. With the aid of printed and audio materials, a student can acquire a new subject, new language, at his or her own time and pace.

Distance education and language learning

JOHN S. DANIEL



A graduate of the Universities of Oxford and Paris, John S. Daniel played a major role in the development of university distance education in Canada. He is currently Vice-Rector of Concordia University and President of the International Council for Distance Education. This summer Mr. Daniel will be appointed President of Laurentian University.

In China five million people recently followed a radio-based English course. In Britain a million viewers tuned into the TV broadcasts of the multi-media course, *Russian — Language and People*. In North America over twenty languages are studied through university correspondence courses. Languages are among the most popular subjects for formal study outside the classroom.

Forms of instruction where teacher and learner are separated have a variety of names in different parts of the world. North Americans talk of home-study or independent study, Australians of external studies, Europeans of correspondence courses, open universities, *à distance* and *Fernunterricht*. The internationally recognized term *distance education* embraces these forms of learning that have four features in common:

1. Unlike classroom study, the teacher and learner are separated from one another;

2. Unlike purely private study, an educational organization is involved;

3. Various communication media, especially print, unite teacher and learner and carry the educational content;

4. There may be two-way communication between learner and tutor and possibly occasional meetings.

Early developments

St. Paul's epistles to the early Christians may be cited as an early example of teaching with these features but the real growth of distance learning began with the establishment of postal systems in the nineteenth century. Isaac Pitman offered a correspondence course in shorthand soon after the penny post was introduced in Britain and English was taught by mail in Sweden even earlier. In North America correspondence education began in Pennsylvania in the late 1800s with a newspaper course in mining safety that was the grandfather of the International Correspondence Schools, one of today's largest distance-education enterprises.

Since the mid-nineteenth century many new means of communication have been developed. The telephone, radio and television are an integral part of modern life. Audio technology has taken an important step forward with the individual walker cassette players worn by an increasing number of people. Microcomputers and video units are already available in many homes. These developments have expanded and enriched correspondence teaching and made possible today's multi-media distance education systems.

The creation and immediate success of the British Open University in 1970 was an important milestone. Born of the desire to use the mass media to expand access to higher education, this institution uses a combination of correspondence texts, network TV and radio, home experiment kits, telephone tutorials and local study centres to offer degree programmes in a range of disciplines to part-time students. It is now by far Britain's largest university and has already awarded over 60,000 Bachelors degrees. This example has encouraged other countries to launch similar projects. Spain's Universidad nacional de educación a distancia, for example, celebrated its tenth anniversary in the fall of 1983, and the Central China Television

University, created only in 1977 must, with its 500,000 students, rate as the world's largest university of any kind.

Distance education is rapidly growing

In Canada the trend started by the Open University has influenced a significant growth in distance education at the post-secondary level. In the last decade the Télé-université of the university of Quebec, Alberta's Athabasca University and, in British Columbia, both the Open Learning Institute and the Knowledge Network of the West have been established to expand the opportunities already available for home-study at the secondary, technical and vocational levels.

At a conservative estimate some 10 million people around the world are engaged in formal study at a distance.

In a phase of rapid growth it is especially difficult to estimate numbers. However, at a conservative estimate some 10 million people around the world are engaged in formal study at a distance. This does not include, of course, the millions more who are engaged in purely private study or make use of educational broadcasts on TV and radio.

From the learner's perspective the primary advantage of distance education is flexibility. It allows people to study at their own pace and frees them from the constraint of travelling to classes in particular places at fixed times. On the other hand, to organize a schedule of study for oneself requires good motivation and skill in time management. Distance education is not an easy way to study. For those who successfully adapt to its requirements, however, learning at a distance often becomes a lifelong hobby.

From the perspective of governments and policy-makers the advantages of

distance education are that large numbers of students can be reached inexpensively, including people in rural areas or those with variable schedules, and that projects can be started and phased out much more easily than schemes involving classroom teaching.

For all the old wisecracks about avoiding the professional services of surgeons or airline pilots trained by correspondence there are, in fact, few curricula in which distance education cannot play some part. Obviously, special arrangements have to be made for practical work. A surprising amount can be achieved by home experimental kits, especially in topical areas like electronics and computing. Even if special group sessions have to be held in institutional laboratories to give practical experience, distance-teaching techniques can still carry the theoretical part of the course.

Language learning

Learning new languages at home has always been popular. Almost everyone has had the experience of buying a self-instructional book (*Teach Yourself Japanese*, *Spanish in 90 Days*) in order to be better prepared for a visit to a foreign land. Many go a step further and enrol in a formal course of instruction. Distance-education courses are especially popular since it is easier to start them at a time of the student's choosing (instead of waiting for the next offering of a classroom course), and to study at the desired pace. The businessman wanting to acquire the rudiments of German in a month and the musician preparing for a vacation in Vienna on a more relaxed schedule can both use the same course.

In response to the inherent popularity of language courses both commercial institutes and public agencies have invested heavily in the development of distance-education materials for this purpose, often pioneering new uses of technology on the way. The Linguaphone Institute, recognizing the crucial role of listening and speaking in language learning, made long-playing records central to its courses. The British

Broadcasting Corporation has, for many years, made imaginative use of television and radio in its many language courses. No doubt the dramatic spread of walker stereo-cassette players will soon lead to a new generation of language courses using audio-cassettes.

Two-way communication — an essential ingredient

The definition of distance education includes two-way communication with the learner. In language courses this usually means feedback on assignments and conversational practice. An important element of flexibility in distance education is that the institution providing local support and two-way communication for the student need not be the same as the institution developing the course materials. Such a division of labour makes good sense. Designing and producing written and audio-visual materials for language instruction requires special expertise and a substantial investment. There is an international market for quality instructional packages. However, those expert in developing such packages may not claim special competence in providing local support to students, even within their own national jurisdictions.

To organize a schedule of study for oneself requires good motivation and skill in time management. For those who successfully adapt, learning at a distance becomes a lifelong hobby.

On the other hand, there are many educational institutions that would like to offer second-language instruction at a distance (or to enrich classroom instruction) but lack the expertise to design quality materials. Using instructional packages from elsewhere is an obvious solution and such materials were adopted by

Athabasca University made what has been called "a shot in the dark" and based its French programme on a sequence of multi-media interest courses produced by the BBC.

Canada's open universities. Indeed, Athabasca University and the Télé-université both went overseas for second-language courses. Combining the experience of the two institutions illustrates some interesting issues in language learning at a distance.

Télé-université programme

Abec's Télé-université obtained correspondence language courses (4 English, 4 Spanish) from the BBC and offered them without any local student support (other Télé-université courses are supported in a variety of ways: local workshops, study cells, teleconferences and telephone tutoring). Although these second-language courses attracted significant enrolments, drop-out rates tended to be higher than in other courses. A quite different approach was used in the Télé-université's advanced French course, *Français pour tous, français pour tout* which was aimed at Francophones wishing to improve the quality of their written and oral expression. This course was supported by the Télé-université as an extremely rich package, including games, audio-cassettes and quality printed materials, and supported by an extensive local network of study cells with local publicity. Many students were recruited through their employers who often provided tuition assistance.

Athabasca University programme

Athabasca University made what has been called "a shot in the dark" and decided to

base its French programme on a sequence of multi-media general interest courses produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Athabasca modified the courses to ensure their acceptance for transfer at other Canadian universities and provided extensive support through bi-weekly seminars or telephone tutorials. The result became one of Athabasca's success stories. Enrolments are high and completion rates are well above the University's average. Many of the students are located in cities where an extensive choice of classroom courses in French is available, which suggests that the convenience of distance education is an important factor in selecting a course. Indeed the seminars, while considered useful by those students who participated, are poorly attended and regarded by many as an unanticipated inconvenience. Beginning students are rather inhibited about trying to converse in French over the telephone but students in advanced courses find telephone tutorials less threatening.

Coping with conversation is, of course, the most difficult task for a language course. Some students pursued a policy of self-help using people and resources not printed as part of the course.

The TV programmes associated with these French courses can be viewed on the educational cable channel in each region of Alberta and the radio programmes are broadcast by the CBC French-language network stations across the province. No attempt was made to study the 'drop-in' audience of people who viewed or listened to these programmes but did not formally register for the course. A serious

attempt was made, however, to link up with other groups interested in promoting the study of French. Cooperation with the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta and with Canadian Parents for French was especially fruitful.

Student enrolment and reactions

Surveys of the students in these Athabasca French courses were revealing. Fifty per cent had enrolled for personal reasons (rather than for career advancement or improved educational qualifications) and 70 per cent had enrolled specifically to learn French (i.e. were not registered in a degree programme at the University). More than 70 per cent of the students were female, a significantly higher proportion than Athabasca's university-wide average of 62 per cent. The success rate of older students (over 65) was 85 per cent which is remarkable in view of the difficulties of language learning at this mature age.

Student reaction to the non-interactive components of the course varied considerably with the audio-cassettes being rather more popular than the TV and radio programmes. This parallels experience at other institutions, notably the U.K. Open University, where audio-cassettes have proven a major success story. Students like the possibility of repetition and the degree of personal control which cassettes give, while course designers find cassettes more flexible than radio programmes since they can be integrated with other activities.

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Although the University encouraged students to pick a "study buddy" among other local students in the course as a telephone partner none of the students surveyed had taken this step.

Since learning styles differ from one student to another, one of the advantages of a multi-media course is that it is likely to enable a greater number of students to develop learning strategies that are personally congenial.

Teleconferencing offers peer support

One development which holds promise for improving the support to language students is teleconferencing. After a slow start in the 1970s educational teleconferencing is now becoming more and more common, thanks in part to improved equipment (especially the "meet-me" teleconference bridge which allows students to dial in to the conference instead of waiting to be called by the telephone operator). Teleconferencing offers the student the comfort of peer support and costs the institution much less than providing individual telephone tutorials.

Since learning styles differ from one student to another, one of the advantages of a multi-media course is that it is likely to enable a greater number of students to develop learning strategies that are personally congenial. Distance education institutions should not be upset if a particular component of the course is not universally popular. If some students find that component helpful it is probably a useful part of the package.

However, too complex a package can be positively alienating. The BBC has

found that the following checklist of questions provide useful guidance for course designers:

- Is it consciously designed to diminish anxiety?
- Is there as little reliance as possible on short term memory?
- Is learning based on activity by the learner?
- Can the learner control the pace of work?
- Is the learner likely to achieve success at every stage?
- Can the learner check that learning is correct?
- Is the material interesting, stimulating and relevant?
- Does it take into account the adult learner's existing experience?
- Are opportunities for constant practice built in?
- Can learners participate in learning with others?

Of particular importance is the need to build students' confidence, especially when the method is new to them — as it often is in modern distance-education courses. Plenty of guidance is needed to show students how the package works and how to plan their study.

The BBC's design principles were further refined for a recent multi-media course, *Russian — Language and People*, that was broadcast in prime time on the TV network. With a huge audience of limited linguistic sophistication, grammatical terminology had to be avoided. Because of the nature of the Russian alphabet

Of particular importance is the need to build students' confidence, especially when the method is new to them — as in distance-education courses.

the usual hierarchy of skills was reversed, with reading comprehension coming first. Television can show words in their natural setting and it was ideally suited to showing how Russians talk, look, dress, behave and live their everyday lives. A central feature of the series was use of film interviews with ordinary Russians in a variety of situations.

Well aware that broadcasters cannot operate in a vacuum the BBC took pains to encourage support activities for students up and down the country. The audience, at over one million, was a record for a BBC language course, and the course book had to be reprinted within a month. Despite a high drop-out rate (with reasons for drop-out overwhelming personal rather than course-based) many students acquired a useful competence in Russian.

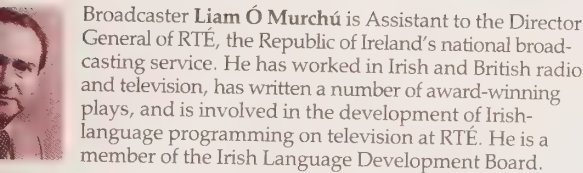
Lessons for Canada

Canada is a country with two official languages and an economy based on international trade. In terms of the obvious need to make opportunities for language learning widely available the use of distance education in Canada for this purpose has been rather timid. The current expansion in the number of cable TV channels entering Canadian homes is a chance to improve the situation. It is likely that hundreds of institutions and volunteer groups across the country would be ready to provide local student support if a range of first-class multi-media courses in English and French were always available on cable TV. The existence of such a channel would motivate many Canadians to set themselves a long-term goal of acquiring proficiency in another language. Some would learn quickly, many more would drop out and drop in again several times over a period of years, but the overall result would be a steady increase in the ability of Canadians to use a second language and understand their neighbours.

the odd salutation in Irish at the beginning or end of television programme enough to stimulate awareness and interest in the restoration of the Island's native language? Do television programmes in Irish motivate people to learn, or relearn their ancestral language?

Television — tool of the trade

LIAM Ó MURCHÚ



Broadcaster **Liam Ó Murchú** is Assistant to the Director General of RTÉ, the Republic of Ireland's national broadcasting service. He has worked in Irish and British radio and television, has written a number of award-winning plays, and is involved in the development of Irish-language programming on television at RTÉ. He is a member of the Irish Language Development Board.

The Republic of Ireland celebrated the 21st Birthday of its television service in 1983. Since its inauguration, it has had a controversial role in the national policy of language restoration. During that time, it has been directly involved in, though not finally responsible for, the formation of policy with regard to programmes in and about the Irish language. Hence, the present may be an appropriate time to take a backward glance at what has been achieved. The subject, as is the case with lesser spoken languages in areas of monolingual dominance everywhere, is one that arouses much interest.

Irish experience

I came to work in RTÉ (Radio Telefís Éireann) in April 1983, some 15 months after the station broadcast its first programmes in Irish. My brief was to advise on ways and means of introducing the Irish language into broadcasting in general, but into television programmes in particular, and in a way that would be attractive to the broad spectrum of the national English-speaking audience. Even at that time it was clear that it would be a formidable task. Its dimensions have become familiar but the task is still the same. Television, like language itself, is a cumbersome instrument and difficult to change.

The centuries of conquest by our neighbour island left the Irish language — sometimes referred to as 'Gaelic' — in a state of near extinction by the time national

self-determination arrived in 1922. Subsequent policies of restoration, engendered in the first flush of national euphoria, ensured a place for the old language in the schools and for appointments in the public service. But as the years went by, it became steadily clear that these measures were not sufficient to create any real hope for reasonably competent secondary bilingualism amongst the great mass of the English-speaking population. And even clearer that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to reverse the trend of language erosion in the few remaining pockets where the native Irish language is spoken. These pockets are located mainly along the western seaboard, and have dwindled rapidly throughout the decades of freedom, for the most part because of the endemic emigration and the encroachment of the English-speaking areas without.

Hence, while modest progress was made in the schools, this had no perceptible effect on the general pattern of language outside the schools. Over time, lacking a real place in the day-to-day life of the general community, its position in the educational curriculum became a matter of debate, resentment, and not infrequent rejection.

It was in this atmosphere of public apathy that the new television service set about finding a place for the language in its programming. It did, however, have a number of factors in its favour. The first of these was the widespread and unquestionable public goodwill and inherited affection for the language itself — as opposed to some restoration methods — points which have remained constant in the compass of the language restoration effort ever since. This was repeatedly institutionalized both in statute and exhortation by the main political powers down through the years. Another favourable factor was the highly respected, if minority, role the language had played in the radio service since its inception some forty years before.

This was fine as long as it was confined to the selective, and on the whole, discriminating radio audience. But with the arrival of television things changed. Now, for the first time, the language was exposed to the harsh and critical demands of the great mass audience, for over half of whom a choice of alternative wholly English-speaking services would rapidly become available on a spill-over basis from across the Irish sea. The fiscal structure of broadcasting was such that it had to be in a position to compete. The mass appeal programme met the twin demands of audience satisfaction and commercial advertising needs. As with television services everywhere, popularity became a major criterion and in terms of the spoken and understood language, inexorably this meant programmes in the English tongue.

But the fact that the costs — in practice about half the total — were to come from a licence fee paid by set-holders, did enable the legislature to credibly impose an obligation with regard to the native language and culture — an obligation, let it be said, which was supported by the great majority of the people and all political parties. However, this provision, enjoining upon the governing authority the duty of 'bearing in mind the national aim of language restoration', was expressed in such vague and unspecific terms as to give rise to difficulties from the very start.

What did 'bearing in mind' mean? Would it mean as little as the odd salutation in Irish at the beginning or end of a programme — which was what some would want? Did it have any real force when it came to the issue of educating the public about the importance of the language in inculcating a sense of national awareness? Or did it contain the obligation, for once something that would be welcomed by the general public, to teach the language, or put out refresher courses for those who had learned a certain amount of Irish at school but had lost touch with it as time went by?

All of these were the kind of questions with which I was

confronted when I took up office as editor of Irish-language programmes in April 1964. To say that the task before me was formidable, if not utterly daunting, is a statement of simple fact. However, it is also true that there was, and continues to be, widespread public support for genuine and imaginative endeavour to advance and develop the language; and nowhere is this more evident than in television. The public actually lets you know, unsolicited, what it thinks. Of course, a great deal more could have been done; and this without damage to organizational solvency or the prudent provision with regard to finance which broadcasting organizations in all

parts of the world must practise in these times if, in the predatory scene that surrounds them, their future is to be secure.

But this is speculation and I am here to report the facts. With the background sketched in, they can now be stated fairly briefly. My thinking with regard to programme matter fell into four main categories. I recount them here because they may form a useful framework for others working in the linguistic and communications field with language situations roughly comparable to our own in Ireland:

- programmes in Irish for those with full fluency, either as native speakers or as competent secondary biling-

IRELAND

Areas where Irish is the spoken language



lingual programmes — i.e. both Irish and English spoken within the same programme — for those whose comprehension of Irish is not total but who would nonetheless welcome its regular use so as to create familiarity and thus gradually build up confidence; programmes of language teaching or refresher courses; and enrichment programmes aimed at educating the public as to the advantage of relearning the language as a cultural and intellectual force in their own lives.

Successful beginnings

This approach has been consistently endorsed by all governing authorities. It has also found approval with the political powers of all persuasions. But, as anyone with the creative corpuscles in his system will tell you, setting broadcasting policy down in orderly fashion like that does not produce the imaginative spark which makes good programmes. In this respect, I am happy to report that at least some of the time I had expert help. My first venture into television language teaching was guided by a Franciscan priest who was also a linguist and whose work, I am told, is not wholly unknown in Canada. It was Fr. Colman Ó hUallachain, now deceased. Peter Montagnon, who worked with the BBC and subsequently involved with Britain's Open University, also helped by encouraging me along to look at his own recent production of the Italian film *Parliamo italiano*. Fr. Colman's astuteness of my then impregnable ignorance ensured that the eventual resulting scripts would at least pass muster with the most demanding scholars. He had, however, the good sense not to be so zealous in the pursuit of the linguistic disciplines as to hamper our style when it came to this equally difficult discipline of bringing them to television.

My series, entitled *Leabhar Gaeilge* (Speak Irish to Us), continued over a period of four years and gained consistent audience acceptance. As it was going on, further research in the linguistic field resulted in a subsequent more

scientifically devised series *Buntús Cainte* (the beginnings of speech) which started at a lower level of language competence and progressed to quite reasonable fluency. Both these series won television awards. It was not an unpropitious start.

Public interest creates new questions

I was, however, keen to press the matter further. Public interest having been whetted by these successful ventures, I was repeatedly asked a number of fundamental questions. Why should people engage in all this language effort at all? Why should the whole schoolgoing population, and for that matter the whole post-school population as well, have to be involved in an exercise which had no demonstrable material advantage? Since English was now an accepted vernacular amongst the whole people, what was the point of this Irish revival?

These were difficult questions but which television assuredly could play a major role in answering. In fulfilling that role, I put together a number of programme schemes — eventually entitled *Watch Your Language* and *Voices from a Hidden People*. For the first of these, *Watch Your Language*, I invited scholars from different disciplines and countries to contribute scripts on the relevance of language in the making of national personality. We had the late Professor Jac L. Williams of the University of Aberystwyth in Wales talk about that country's unique bilingual scene and its parallels with our own. Professor Rabin and Professor Mordechai Kamrat explained the background to the sensational development of Hebrew; and a Hebrew scholar, Professor Meir Gertner of the Department of Talmudic Studies in the University of London, came to Ireland to say what the Irish language restoration effort might learn from Israel.

Successful series pave the way for new programming

A most moving programme and one which evoked a great deal of public empathy was one in which the

dereliction of the Irish language in the wake of the Great Famine of the 1840s was described in graphic detail. This was a period of linguistic near-genocide during which whole countryside fled from Ireland overnight and young children were savagely punished both at home and in the schools for speaking the native tongue. Such was the degree of identification of the native language with the prevalent hunger, deprivation, emigration and death. This series was an example of how vital a force television can be in the formation of public consciousness. I believe it had a small but significant effect upon governmental plans for language restoration from then on.

The second such series *Voices from a Hidden People* took eight Irish writers in different periods of time and showed how they 'held the mirror up to nature' for the then contemporary Irish scene. Again, the relevance of the language to the Irish mind was emphasized, thus building up an awareness of the central role of language, and smoothing the path for advances in other areas of television programming: regular programmes of current affairs, natural history, drama and entertainment in Irish were steadily introduced into the television schedule and in most cases achieved a reasonable measure of audience response. Such programmes are now part of the annual television scene.

The latent goodwill for the neglected language which is a widespread national fact can be developed into a real demand for programmes in the language field, provided that the matter is tackled with delicacy and flair. Once developed, teaching programmes are indeed useful; but I would warn against the oversanguine reliance upon television as a teacher to supplant the classroom or home-student scene. However, once a measure of motivational and language-refresher work has been done, and television is excellent for this, then it can then be put to the broadcasters themselves to devise means to further stimulate interest and active endeavour.

Speculating about life on other planets and communicating with extraterrestrials has haunted wise men and fools alike throughout the ages. Today, to anyone interested, the subject offers a rich and subtle feast of intellectual speculation about what to say to them and how to get it across.

E.T. come home: communicating with the extraterrestrial

JOHN S. DAVIDSON



John S. Davidson was Director of Information at the federal Department of Communications, Canada, for eight years before forming a public relations firm which goes by the name of First Wave Communications. He has not, to our knowledge, established contact with anything "Out There" . . . at least not as this issue goes to press.

Despite the faintly crackpot aura which surrounds the whole subject, the possibility of communicating with extraterrestrial intelligence is attracting serious interest, not only from astronomers, but from biologists, linguistic scholars, psychologists, philosophers, historians, theologians and all of us who wonder.

For the linguistic scholar, or anyone interested in language and communications, the subject offers a rich and subtle feast of intellectual speculation; a banquet table where astrophysicists rub shoulders with semanticists, physiologists mingle with communications theorists, and radio propagation experts find themselves side by side with poets and philosophers.

We tend to think of attempts to communicate with extraterrestrial intelligence as a new phenomenon, spawned by the realization that our radio waves, and even our spacecraft, can travel millions, nay billions of miles into the void. But the idea of making contact with whatever may be "Out There" has taunted both wise men and fools throughout the ages. In the ancient Vedda culture of Sri Lanka, the local philosophy made room for the concept of many habitable worlds. We even migrate to them, according to their legends, but only after death; they were seen as a kind of stepping stone to Nirvana. Anaxagoras, the 5th century B.C. Ionian philosopher, believed that the moon was inhabited. And the Epicurian, Metrodorus, wrote that "to consider the Earth as the only

populated world in infinite space is as absurd as to assert that in an entire field sown with millet, only one grain will grow."

Four or five hundred years ago, speculating about life on other worlds was a sure fire way to put an end to one's own — life, that is. The Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno emptied his quill by writing the words: "Innumerable suns exist, innumerable earths revolve about these suns. Living beings inhabit these worlds," and was hideously burned at the stake for his pains. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, passions had cooled and the hypothesis that we are not alone had gained almost universal acceptance by scientists and intellectuals.

Earthly attempts to communicate

Meanwhile, a few intrepid souls, noted more for their enthusiasm than their practicality, were dreaming up ways to make actual contact. The Bohemian astronomer Joseph Littrow reportedly suggested that huge ditches be dug in the Sahara, to form various letters or geometric figures, 20 miles long. These would be filled with water and covered with burning kerosene for several hours a night, in order to signal our presence to whomever (whatever?) might be watching. A rough calculation shows that more than a million tons of kerosene would be required for the folly. Karl Friedrich Gauss, a mathematician, suggested cutting a triangle 10 miles to the side out the Siberian forest, and planting the centre with wheat fields. Presumably, an observer would be drawn short to wonder about the highly geometric form and investigate

Those who think about communications with extraterrestrials — and there are many — face two basic questions: What do we say? How do we get it across? In this sense, it is no different than any communications problem, and many of the standard axioms of communications theory apply. The intellectual exercise itself of

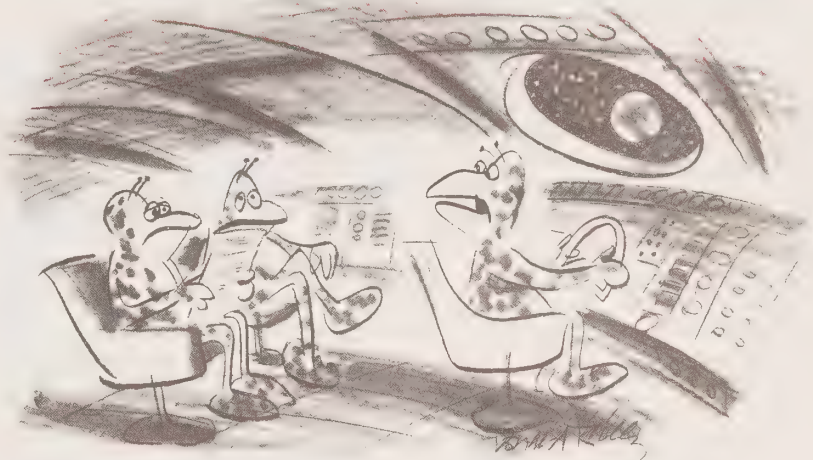
to get our message across is a fascinating area, and it is perhaps ironic that an army of linguistic scholars, semanticists, psychologists, anthropologists and historians have now begun to train their intellects on the stars which were once the exclusive domain of astronomers and poets alone.

Even the difficulties of communicating with our neighbour down the street who happens to speak a different language, consider the obstacles when the person — or thing we are trying to reach may not only be green, but shares none of our cultural or environmental paradigms whatsoever, lives billions of miles away, and may be using some or all of the senses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch which human beings take for granted.

Conditions for effective communication

The fundamentals of communication theory show that, in order for communication to take place, a number of conditions must be satisfied: there must be a commonly held view or idea about the subject being communicated; a sender; a code, or language which is mutually understood; a communications medium; and a receiver.

The purpose of our exercise here, is to make the assumption that all the conditions of extraterrestrial communications exist, except for a mutually understood language. Now in itself may be a hard set of assumptions to swallow. The difficulties alone are such that it would take a generation or two on the way to an intergalactic time scale to send a radio message to even our nearest potential neighbours, and have any hope of getting an answer. The mind boggles at that answer might be. "Dear Sir. In reply to the message of great, great, great, great grand-r...". Add to that the fact that, if there are civilizations technologically advanced enough to receive and send radio signals, they would have to be tuned in to the right frequency at the right time, and able to discern an intelligible signal



"No, not Carl Sagan. Too hokey. Let's grab somebody less obvious."

from the incredible amounts of background radio noise generated by the universe, and, moreover, (perhaps the wildest assumption of all) they would have to be interested in establishing contact with us. The list of requirements to be met is as long as your arm. But in our scenario, they have all been, except for the problem of language.

We know we can reach potential civilizations through radio, assuming they are technologically evolved enough to receive electromagnetic signals. But how do we speak to them, or they to us? If we agree with the linguistic proposition that language is a code, a way of translating commonly understood reality into a series of thought patterns that can then be interpreted and manipulated by the intellectual process, then the business of communication is fundamentally one of translating commonly held reality into a code, transmitting it and then having it decoded and interpreted at the receiving end. The trick here though, is that both sender and receiver must have a concept of that reality, or the constructs to create such a concept.

Suppose we take, as an example, an initial communication between an English- and French-speaking person, Bill and Jacques, neither of whom speaks a word of the other's

language. They are in a field. Jacques points to a tree and says "un arbre". It is relatively easy for Bill to link the tree (reality) with the sound "un arbre", and associate it with his own linguistic concept, "tree". But in attempting to communicate with civilizations on other planets, we may not assume any common ground of reality since the environment "they" live in, the reality they know may be entirely different. In a fundamental sense, there are no trees. So that even if we recognize that words are being sent, the meaning of them may remain forever incomprehensible, like the after dinner speeches of some politicians.

Communication barriers

Perhaps an inkling of the difficulties here can be brought to light with the example of the attempts at interspecies communication here at home. The American physiologist John C. Lilly has argued that dolphins and other cetacea have surprisingly high levels of intelligence. Yet a concerted effort, computer assisted at that, has failed to break the code that would enable effective communication. Perhaps, some argue, the problem resides in the fact that the contextual paradigms — the environment and the basic interpretations of reality — are so different among us that communication may not be possible unless we can transcend these

mutual limitations to understanding. At the first international conference on Communications with Extraterrestrial Intelligence (CETI), held in 1971 in Soviet Armenia, one delegate pointed out that, because all of us are subject to the fundamental laws of nature and physics, perhaps the common language, the starting point, would be science and mathematics. As one wag put it, "It may be easier to communicate with a Jovian scientist than with an American teenager."

The universal language of music

It is natural that astronomers would favour a language they are familiar with. And it does make rational sense to conclude that any civilization technically advanced enough to capture and transmit radio signals would understand the basic laws of science, as we understand them. Not everyone agrees, however. Lewis Thomas, who can best be described as a philosopher-biologist, says that perhaps the safest thing to do at the outset is to send music. "I would vote for Bach, all of Bach, streamed out into space over and over again. We would be bragging, of course, but it is surely excusable to put the best possible face on at the beginning of such an acquaintance. We can tell the harder truths later."

The understanding of any symbolic system (i.e. language) requires that the symbols be repeated in situations we know but in different practical contexts; that is the only clue to decoding their message. The deciphering of ancient hieroglyphs confronts this problem, as does a three-year old hearing a brand-new word from Uncle Henry. Anyone who has ever tried learning a second language knows that it is only through immersion — through the constant repetition of words, phrases and syntax in many different contexts, the sweat of the brow, that success eventually comes.

With CETI, no matter what "language" is sent, even if it is music, or paintings, we have to take as given that there is no *a priori* information about the coding system on the part of the receiver. We can only count

on our correspondent being clever enough to understand what we are saying. Philip Morrison of the Department of Physics, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has suggested that a three-level message may be the most appropriate. In this construct, level A would be an acquisition signal; something quickly and continuously repeated, and designed only to attract attention — a kind of interstellar "Halloo." In between, would be a level B message, an initial substantive message, and finally the ultimate message, level C, which would include the contextual detail and language lessons required to understand and interpret. If we were at the receiving end of such a message sent from another civilization, Morrison believes, its interpretation alone would be a major social task, comparable to that of a very large discipline or branch of learning. And communication, he says, could hardly be restricted to science and mathematics. As he puts it: "There are many more folk tales than there are laws of mechanics."

Lincos: a new language based on math and logic

As it turns out, someone has already invented a language specifically designed for CETI. The Dutch mathematician Hans Freudenthal recently developed a language called "Lincos," designed as an entirely logical language, free from inconsistencies such as exceptions to grammatical rules, and other irregularities found in the spoken languages of the world, and so frustrating to the terrestrial language student. While the study of human languages includes grammar, syntax and phonetics, Lincos is devised entirely in terms of semantics. Lincos cannot be spoken. It consists of a coded system of units. The individual parts of the message are clearly enumerated into paragraphs, chapters and so forth.

A transmission in Lincos begins with the most elementary concepts of mathematics and logic. This is because the language must define itself before it can become a system of communication. As outlined in *Intelligent Life in the Universe*, authored

jointly by I.S. Shlovskii of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Carl Sagan, author, broadcaster and Professor of Astronomy and Space Sciences at Cornell University, a first transmission in Lincos might consist of a series of simple radio pulses, not coded. A single pulse would be followed by two pulses, then three, not unlike Morse code. These would be arranged to constitute an initial lesson, as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} &= 1 \\ - &= 2 \\ - - - &= 3 \text{ etc.} \end{aligned}$$

From this, the receiving civilization would learn the symbols for equality and the ordinal numbers in Lincos. Gradually, more complicated areas of mathematics could be covered. According to Freudenthal, Lincos could also transmit more complex ideas which characterize human nature, such as, for example, quick wit, cowardice, anger or altruism, by transmitting short theatrical performances with imaginary characters, thus attempting to provide that all-important "context" so necessary for the language, the signals, to be interpreted.

Could such a system be decoded? "We believe", write Sagan and Shlovskii, "that if an extraplanetary

HERMAN



"Er ... stay cool, baby ... and, er ... what's happening?"

lization were able to build the apparatus to receive such signals, it could certainly be able to decode a message based on so simple a language system. We wish to emphasize," they state, "that a linguistic system based on these fundamentals could be far easier to decipher than any of the written languages of ancient civilizations which have been deciphered by archaeologists."

Greetings," from Voyager spacecraft

Aboard each of the two Voyager spacecraft, launched by the United States on August 20 and September 5, 1977, and now past turn on their way to Uranus and beyond, is included a gold-plated phonograph record, which can provide both sound and pictures, and equipment to play it. It was designed for no other purpose than to contain a message from Earth to possible extraterrestrial civilizations. The message aboard the Voyager spacecraft includes spoken and written greetings; 116 photographs and drawings; sounds, both natural and man-made; and a representative sample of the world's music. In all the information, however, there was not a reference to war, or even an allusion to man's more violent characteristics. So in the end, we tell it the way we like to think it is, than it might be. Or perhaps the organizers were merely being prudent. After all, we can't read science fiction.

Sample of the messages on the Pioneer and Voyager

On the credit of NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), the Voyager spoken greetings are not only in English, but also in 55 of the world's languages, representing 87.13 per cent of the world's population, but each is so short that they would be almost impossible to decipher, even if accepted. It appears that the decision to include a couple of words worth of 55 languages was based more on representational diversity than clarity. Basically, the organizers of the communication project, which include Sagan, selected up the 55 people, herded them into a recording studio and told

them to say anything they liked, but to keep it short. Some of the messages are bland ("We wish all of you well," in Ila, a language spoken in Zambia), some funny and familiar, like a postcard ("Friends of space, how are you all? Have you eaten yet? Come visit us if you have time," in Amoy, a language of Eastern China) and some stirring ("Greetings to all peoples of the universe. God give you peace always," in the Uganda language of Southern Uganda).

The choice of music was equally cosmopolitan with Bach's Brandenburg concerto No. 2 in F Major leading the 27 selections, which also included Javanese gamelan music, Peruvian panpipes and drums, a Navaho Indian night chant, Chuck Berry's "Johnny B. Goode," a pygmy girl's initiation song from Zaire and a Bulgarian "Shepherdess" song.

Engraved on the aluminum cover of the record, the album jacket, if you like, are pictorial instructions on how to play it. This gets us back to the subject of deciphering, for most of us would be hard-pressed to make heads or tails out of the instructions. Presumably, the recipients would be more intelligent than I, but then I have trouble assembling a Japanese bicycle.

An earlier message, inscribed on a plaque affixed to the Pioneer 10 and 11 spacecraft, seems even more complex to decipher but contains an enormous amount of information.

Designed by Carl Sagan, his wife Linda and Frank Drake, Director of the U.S. National Astronomy and Ionosphere Center, it also elicited a number of complaints, ranging from editorials in the British Press demanding that any future enterprise of this nature be engineered by a large ecumenical group of scientists and lay people, instead of three humans, to all those letters to the editor lambasting NASA for sending smut into space.

The nearest stars which might support intelligent life are about 11 light-years distant. Pioneer and

Voyager, travelling at 25,000 miles per hour, will take more than a quarter of a million years to reach them. It seems as desperate a way to communicate as sending a message in a bottle from a desert island. A radio signal travelling at the speed of light would, on the other hand, take barely a quarter of a century to make the round trip. Small wonder, then, that most researchers place their faith in radio as a more probable means of establishing two-way, albeit sluggish communications.

In 1960, Project Ozma, an attempt to examine radio signals from Tau Ceti, a star in the constellation of Cetus (the whale), through an 85-foot radio-telescope in West Virginia, turned up nothing but abject silence. The project was terminated a year later. In 1974, the 1,000-foot Arecibo radio telescope in Puerto Rico was upgraded and fitted with a reflector and a new transmitter with a power of about half a million watts. It directed a message toward the great globular cluster of stars, known as Messier 13, in the constellation Hercules. Drake describes the transmission: "As the audience looked at the huge transmitting structure shimmering in the tropical sun, many sensed that there was something very special about the eerie whine, the sound of a message being transmitted to the stars for the first time." It will take 25,000 years to reach its destination. The "language" in this case was nothing more than a series of 0's and 1's — binary digits — the official language of computers. But like any code, it becomes meaningful when successfully interpreted.

The Arecibo attempt to talk to our galactic neighbours provoked a protest from none other than Sir Martin Ryle, a Nobel Laureate and Astronomer Royal of England. "For all we know," he wrote, "it may be very hazardous to reveal our existence and location to the galaxy. Any creatures out there may be malevolent or hungry, and once they knew of us, they may come to attack or eat us." He strongly recommended that no messages of this sort be sent again and asked the International

Astronomical Union to condemn such attempts in future.

It is doubtful that these admonitions will significantly deter efforts to establish communication. For it seems to be a basic function of life itself to reach out and make contact with other organisms, by whatever means; to grow toward the openness of unity rather than accept the strictures of isolation. And this applies whether the task is the promotion of bilingualism in a country such as Canada, or our planet's inexorable desire to reach out from

the confines of its isolation in the middle of a nondescript galaxy.

And intentionally or not, the Earth is transmitting a cornucopia of communications every day in hundreds of languages by virtue of the thousands of radio and TV stations which radiate their power not only into our living rooms but also into space. Perhaps, a few hundred thousand light years away, something, somewhere will eventually tune in to the televised debates of the House of Commons and conclude that, no, there is no intelligent life on this planet.

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Letters to the Editor

The 20th anniversary of the B and B Commission

As we know from coverage of the event by the print and broadcast media, members of the B and B Commission celebrated their twentieth anniversary by attending a colloquium on communications organized last fall in Quebec City by the Conseil de la vie française en Amérique. This meeting was attended by 200 Francophones from across North America.

Language and Society recently published an article on the Commission (No. 11, Autumn 1983). I noted with some surprise that the author, who asked permission to attend the colloquium, did not see fit to mention the exceptional session attended by the Commission in Quebec City on October 1, 1983. I should like to thank the Commission members for their presence and for a lively presentation of their views and experiences, thus showing for all to see why the Commission was so important to the future of our country. The Conseil de la vie française en Amérique has carefully preserved for posterity the recordings made at the session.

Jacques Lalonde
Chairman,
Communication Colloquium
Conseil de la vie française
en Amérique

Charles Strong replies

To set the record straight, may I thank Mr. Lalonde for giving me the opportunity to attend the Quebec City meeting. An acknowledgement to that effect in a pre-publication draft of my article fell victim to the editing process. By attending the meeting, I was able to confirm the accuracy of the notes I had taken during lengthy personal interviews with the Commissioners.

An error slipped by

[...] In referring to my criticism of the Official Languages Act, Mr. Strong made a bad mistake mentioning Section 28 instead of Section 38 of this Act in both the English and French versions of his article "Two decades later, nine commissioners review key language issues in Canada," in *Language and Society*, No. 11, Autumn 1983. The matter needs correction.

Jaroslav Rudnycky
President
Ukrainian Language Association

Editor's Note: Yes, Mr. Strong no doubt meant Section 38 which deals with the rights and privileges respecting languages that are not official languages. We apologize for allowing this imprecision to elude the editorial committee and are pleased to reprint the sentence from page 7, with correction.

[...] He regrets that Section 38 of the Official Languages Act and Sections 26 and 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms are no more than "anti-linguicidal" clauses — supportive of cultural expression, but stopping well short of providing dynamic, official status for languages other than French and English.

Cette expérience donna lieu à des protestations émanant de nul autre que Sir Martin Ryle, lauréat d'un prix Nobel et membre de la Société royale d'astronomie du Royaume-Uni. « Pour autant que nous le sachions », écrit-il, « il peut être très dangereux de révéler notre existence et nos coordonnées aux habitants de la galaxie. Ces créatures peuvent être malveillantes ou affamées; une fois au courant de notre existence, elles pourraient fort bien venir nous attaquer, voire nous dévorer. » Il a fortement recommandé qu'aucun autre message de la sorte soit envoyé, et a demandé à l'Union astronomique internationale de condamner pareilles initiatives.

Il est peu probable que ces remontrances nuisent véritablement aux efforts pour établir le contact avec nos voisins galactiques. Il semble que le besoin d'échanger soit inhérent à la

Lettres à la rédaction

Le 20^e anniversaire de la Commission B.B.
Comme on le sait par la presse écrite et électronique qui a souligné l'évènement, les membres de la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton ont célébré leurs retrouvailles, 20 ans après la création de la célèbre Commission, dans le cadre du colloque sur les communications que le Conseil de la vie française en Amérique organisait l'automne dernier à Québec et qui réunissait 200 Francophones issus de tous les points de vie français en Amérique du nord.

Langue et société vient de consacrer un article sur la célèbre Commission (N^o 11, Automne 1983). Il est assez surprenant de constater que l'auteur de l'article qui avait pourtant sollicité la permission de se joindre aux participants du colloque, n'ait même pas cru bon de mentionner l'exceptionnelle session que la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton tenait à Québec le 1^{er} octobre dernier. Dans ces circonstances, vous me permettrez de livrer aux participants du colloque, avec la vigueur qu'on leur connaît, des

vie, peu importe les moyens adoptés, comme celui de tendre vers l'infinité de l'unité plutôt que d'accepter l'isolement. Le principe s'applique, qu'il s'agisse de promouvoir le bilinguisme dans un pays comme le Canada ou de sortir des confins d'une planète suspendue au milieu d'une quelconque galaxie.

Que nous le voulions ou non, nous transmettons quotidiennement une pléthore de messages dans des centaines de langues au moyen de milliers de postes radio et télé qui rayonnent non seulement dans nos salons, mais dans tout l'univers. Il se pourrait bien que dans quelques milliers d'années-lumière un être se branche sur les débats télévisés de la Chambre des communes et conclue, décidément, il n'y a pas de vie intelligente sur la planète Terre !

(Adapté de l'anglais.)

La réponse de Charles Strong
Pour rétablir les faits, puis-je remercier M. Lalonde pour m'avoir donné l'occasion de participer à la session qui s'est tenue à Québec. Une mention à cet effet dans l'ébauche de mon article soumis pour publication n'a pas passée l'étape de la révision. Du fait même que j'ai participé à la session, j'étais à même de confirmer la justesse des notes prises lors de mes longs entretiens avec les Commissaires.

Président du colloque Jacques Lalonde
sur les communications
Conseil de la vie française
en Amérique

Une erreur s'est glissée
[...] Se référant à ma critique de la Loi sur les langues officielles, Charles Strong a commis une grave erreur en faisant

LECTURES CHOISIES
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Thomas, Lewis, *Lives of a Cell*, New York, The V. Press, 1974.

Note de la rédaction : Véritablement, Charles Strong désirait mentionner l'article 38 sur droits et privilèges afférents aux autres langues que les langues officielles. Nous nous excusons de cette imprécision qui a échappé au comité de rédaction et sommes heureux de reproduire ci-dessous la phrase de la page 7 avec la correction.

« [...] Il regrette que l'article 38 de la Loi sur les langues officielles et les articles 22 et 27 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, ne soient que des dispositions anti-linguicides » — appuyant l'expression culturelle, mais n'allant pas jusqu'à garantir un statut officiel aux langues autres que le français et l'anglais. »

toute initiative du genre soit confiée à un important groupe oecuménique composé de scientifiques et de profanes, et non à trois humains, et les nombreuses lettres à l'éditeur tangent vertement la NASA pour avoir « sali l'espace ».

Les étoiles les plus rapprochées susceptibles d'abriter des créatures intelligentes sont situées à quelque 11 années-lumière de la Terre. Pioneer et Voyager, qui se déplacent à 40 000 kilomètres à l'heure, mettront plus de 25 000 ans à les atteindre. Cela n'est pas sans rappeler le naufrage qui jette une bouteille à la mer dans l'espoir d'être sauvé. Par contre, un signal radioélectrique se déplaçant à la vitesse de la lumière ne mettrait que 25 ans pour un aller et retour. Il ne faut donc pas se demander pourquoi la majorité des chercheurs misent sur la radio comme moyen le plus réaliste d'établir des communications bidirectionnelles, aussi lentes soient-elles.

En 1960, le projet Ozma, qui était une tentative pour examiner les signaux radioélectriques en provenance de Tau Ceti, étoile de la constellation de Cetus (la baleine), à l'aide d'un radiotélescope de 25,5 mètres installé en Virginie occidentale, n'a eu pour résultat qu'un silence creux. Le projet a pris fin l'année suivante. En 1971, on améliorait le radiotélescope de 300 mètres d'Arecibo (Porto Rico) et le dotait d'un réflecteur et d'un nouvel émetteur d'une capacité d'un demi million de watts. Il envoyait un message en direction de l'amas globulaire d'étoiles, communément appelé Messier 13, dans la constellation d'Hercule. Drake décrit la transmission comme suit : « Les spectateurs regardaient l'immense émetteur qui miroitait sous le soleil tropical, nombreux étaient ceux qui sentaient que ce gémissement sinistre avait quelque chose de particulier : c'était le son du premier message transmis aux étoiles. » Il lui faudra 25 000 ans pour atteindre sa destination. Le « langage » employé dans ce cas n'était qu'une série de 0 et de 1, le code binaire des ordinateurs. Mais comme tout autre code, il ne devient significatif que lorsqu'il est bien interprété.

aperçu de 55 langues semble tenir plus au souci de la représentativité qu'à celui de la clarté. En gros, les responsables, dont Sagan, ont rassemblés 55 personnes et les ont conduites dans un studio d'enregistrement. Le contenu du message était laissé à la discrétion de chacun. Une seule condition : il fallait être bref.

Certains messages sont « gentils » (« Bonne chance à tous », en illa, langue parlée en Zambie), d'autres droles et chaleureux, comme une carte postale (« Amis de l'espace, comment vous portez-vous ? Avez-vous mangé ? Venez nous voir si vous en avez le temps », en amoy, dialecte parlé dans la Chine orientale) et quelques-uns émuovants (Salut à tous les peuples de l'univers, puisse Dieu vous apporter la paix éternelle », en langue ougandaise parlée dans le sud de l'Ouganda).

Le choix de la musique était non moins cosmopolite. Le disque comporte 27 pièces, dont le concerto brandebourgeois n° 2 en fa majeur de J.-S. Bach, un air javanais, des flûtes et tambours péruviens, une mélodie nocturne des Navahos, le succès de Chuck Berry, « Johnny B. Goode », un chant accompagnant l'initiation d'une jeune Pygmée du Zaïre et une complainte d'une bergère bulgare. Sur le couvercle aluminium du disque, la pochette si vous le préférez, sont gravées les instructions pour le faire tourner. Voilà qui nous ramène au décryptage. La majorité d'entre nous aurions un mal fou à déchiffrer les instructions. Vraisemblablement, les extraterrestres à qui est destiné le disque sont plus fûtes que moi, qui ai du mal à assembler une bicyclette japonaise.

Le message inscrit sur une plaque fixée sur les engins Pioneer 10 et 11 semble encore plus difficile à déchiffrer, mais comprend une quantité impressionnante de données. Conçu par Carl Sagan, son épouse Linda et Frank Drake, directeur de l'Institut d'astronomie et de l'ionosphère de Cornell, le message a provoqué de vives réactions. Mentionnons, entre autres, les éditoriaux dans la presse britannique exigeant qu'à l'avenir

trisme, en transmettant des images sur des personnages imaginés, offrant ainsi un contexte interprétatif.

tel système peut-il être décodé ? notre avis », écrivent Sagan et

l'aplanétaire était en mesure de décodage de ces signaux, elle n'aurait même aucun mal à décodé un message s'appuyant sur un système d'écriture aussi simple. Nous tenons à signaler qu'un système reposant sur des principes de base serait beaucoup plus facile à décrypter que bon nombre de langues écrites des civilisations anciennes que les archéologues ont réussi à décodé.

« salutations » des humains Voyager

ord des deux engins Voyager, les par les Américains les 20 août septembre 1977, — qui après l'expédition de Saturne voguent vers nous et au-delà, — se trouve une plaque d'or pouvant produire à la fois sons et images ainsi que le matériel pour le faire tourner. Il a été conçu dans le seul but de transmettre un message à d'éventuelles civilisations extraterrestres. Il comprend des salutations orales et écrites, 116 photographies et dessins, des sons humains et humains, et un échantillon d'une musique des quatre coins du monde. Toutefois, on n'y trouve une allusion à la guerre ni même d'autres formes de violence dont même le secret. Bref, nous sommes la réalité. Mais peut-être les organisateurs se sont-ils montés des dents... ceux qui sans doute ont des ouvrages de science-fiction ?

Ample de messages transmis

SA (Administration nationale de l'aéronautique et de l'espace) que les salutations sont transmises non seulement en anglais, en 55 langues parlées à travers le monde, représentant 87,13 pour cent de la population du globe. Malheureusement, ces messages sont si nombreux, même interceptés, qu'il est presque impossible de les

x que les échanges avec les
 légion — se heurtent à deux
 tions fondamentales : Que
 ons-nous leur dire ? Comment
 ons-nous le leur dire ? Dans cette
 pective, il s'agit simplement d'un
 plème de communication auquel
 pliquent nombre des axiomes de
 fort intellectuel nécessaire à la
 mission du message est en soi
 un tout petit peu ironique qu'une
 de linguistes, sémanticiens,
 ologues, anthropologues et
 iens exercent maintenant leur
 lligence sur les étoiles qui, jadis,
 ent la chasse gardée des
 onomes et des poètes.

naissant les problèmes que
 ent la communication avec un
 in de langue étrangère, il est
 e d'imaginer les obstacles à
 onter lorsque la « création » en
 tion peut être non seulement
 e, mais ne partager aucun de nos
 digmes culturels ou environne-
 eux, habiter à des milliards de
 mètres de nous, et être privée
 ou de tous nos sens — vue,
 goût, odorat et toucher.

Principes de la communication

principes qui sous-tendent la
 de la communication mon-
 que, pour qu'il y ait échange,
 aines conditions doivent être
 plies : une notion ou un sujet
 un aux intéressés, un expé-
 ur, un code ou langage commun;
 support, un destinataire.

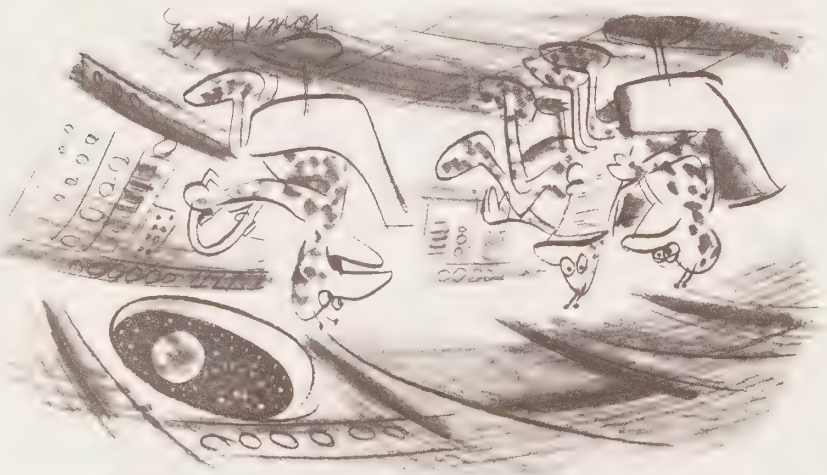
les besoins de la cause — et
 gré le caractère invraisemblable
 e telle hypothèse — supposons
 es ces conditions réunies à
 eption d'un langage commun.
 istances sont telles qu'il faudrait
 u deux générations pour qu'un
 sage radio rejoignent mêmes nos
 uns éventuels les plus rapprochés
 à supposer qu'ils y répondent,
 que diable répondraient-ils
 , sinon . . . » « Ami(e) expéditeur
 (éditrice), pour faire suite au
 sage de votre arrière, arrière,
 re, arrière-grand-père . . . » Vient
 iver le fait que même s'il existe
 ivilisations suffisamment

avancées pour capter et transmettre
 des signaux radioélectriques, « elles »
 devraient être réglées sur la bonne
 fréquence au bon moment, être en
 mesure de discerner un signal
 intelligent qui risque fort d'être
 couvert par le bruit de fond galacti-
 que et, d'abord et avant tout, être
 intéressées à communiquer avec les
 terriens. La liste des exigences à
 satisfaire n'en finit plus, mais, dans
 notre scénario, elles le sont toutes
 hormis un langage commun.

Nous savons que nous pouvons
 rejoindre les éventuelles civilisations
 stellaires par le biais de la radio, en
 supposant que leurs techniques leur
 permettent de capter des signaux
 électromagnétiques. Mais comment
 établir le dialogue ? Si nous acceptons
 la thèse selon laquelle la langue est
 un code, une façon de traduire une
 réalité commune en une série de
 représentations susceptibles d'être
 traitées par le processus intellectuel,
 alors la communication consiste
 essentiellement à codifier cette réalité
 et à la transmettre de manière à ce
 qu'elle soit décodée et interprétée par
 le destinataire. Mais voilà le hic,
 l'expéditeur et le destinataire doivent
 partager une même vision de cette
 réalité ou avoir des bases leur
 permettant de la créer.

Prenons l'exemple suivant. Bill et
 Jacques se promènent dans un

« Pas Carl Sagan, voyons ! Chacun saura que c'est nous qui l'avons kidnappé . . . »



Caricature de Donald Reilly, publiée dans le New Yorker © 1980

champ, l'un est unilingue anglo-
 phone, l'autre unilingue franco-
 phone. Bill monte un arbre du doigt
 et dit « a tree ». Il est relativement
 facile pour Jacques de faire le lien
 entre l'arbre (la réalité) et le phonème
 « tree » et de l'associer à son propre
 concept linguistique « arbre ». Mais
 en tentant de communiquer avec des
 civilisations extraterrestres, aucune
 réalité ne peut être tenue pour
 acquise puisque leur environnement
 diffère du nôtre. Disons, par exem-
 ple, qu'il n'y a pas d'arbres. Con-
 séquemment, même si des mots sont
 envoyés, il se pourrait fort bien que
 leur signification demeure à jamais
 une énigme, ce qui n'est pas sans
 rappeler certains discours politiques.

Obstacles à la communication

Nos tentatives pour établir la
 communication entre espèces nous
 donnent un aperçu des difficultés
 auxquelles nous nous butons. Le
 physiologiste américain John C. Lilly
 affirme que les dauphins, de même
 que d'autres cétacés, ont un niveau
 d'intelligence étonnamment élevé.
 Pourtant l'effort concerté, assisté
 par ordinateur non moins, pour
 déchiffrer le code qui permettrait une
 communication efficace a échoué.
 D'aucuns affirment que le problème
 tient peut-être à la diversité de
 nos paradigmes contextuels —
 l'environnement et les interprétations
 fondamentales de la réalité — qui

Ceux que les échanges avec les extraterrestres intéressent — et ils sont légion — se heurtent à deux questions fondamentales : Que devons-nous leur dire ? Comment devons-nous leur dire ? Certains croient avoir trouvé la solution.

Appel interstellaire : la communication avec les extraterrestres

JOHN S. DAVIDSON

Après avoir occupé pendant huit ans le poste de directeur de l'Information au ministère fédéral des Communications, John S. Davidson a créé une société de relations publiques, dont la raison sociale est First Wave Communications. Au moment de mettre sous presse, il n'était pas encore, du moins à notre connaissance, entré en rapport avec des extraterrestres.



algère l'aspect extravagant de la question, la possibilité de communiquer avec des intelligences extraterrestres suscite l'intérêt non seulement des astronomes, mais des biologistes, linguistes, psychologues, historiens, théologiens et de tous ceux et celles qui savent encore s'émerveiller.

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Pour quiconque s'intéresse aux langues et à la communication, le sujet est une source de spéculation intarissable. On peut même imaginer sans peine une table ronde autour de laquelle des astrophysiciens échange- raient avec des sémanticiens, des physiologistes se mêleraient aux théoriciens de la communication et des experts en propagation des ondes hertziennes côtoieraient poètes et philosophes.

Nous sommes portés à croire que les tentatives pour communiquer avec des habitants d'autres planètes appartiennent à notre époque et coïncident avec la découverte que les ondes hertziennes, et même nos engins spatiaux, pouvaient parcourir des millions, voire des milliards, de kilomètres dans le vide. De temps immémorial, sages et fous ont été habilités par la pensée d'établir le contact avec « l'inconnu ». La philosophie des Veddas, peuple ancien de Sri Lanka, admettait par exemple le principe de la multiplicité des univers habitables, même si, d'après leurs légendes, ils ne nous étaient accessibles qu'après la mort, en tant qu'étape sur la

Au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle, s'interroger sur la vie extraterrestre c'était mettre sa propre existence en péril. Le philosophe italien Giordano Bruno scella son destin en écrivant : « Il existe d'innombrables soleils autour desquels gravitent d'innombrables terres. Des êtres vivants habitent ces univers ». Réflexion qui lui valut d'être brûlé vif. À la fin du XVII^e siècle, cependant, les passions s'étant refroidies, l'hypothèse selon laquelle nous n'étions pas seuls êtres vivants était généralement admise par les scientifiques et les intellectuels.

Mille et une façons d'établir le contact

Dans l'intervalle, quelques intrépides, reconnus d'ailleurs pour leur enthousiasme que pour leur sens pratique, imaginaient mille et une façons d'établir le contact.

L'astronome autrichien Joseph Von Littrow, d'origine bohémienne, avait proposé de creuser dans les sables du Sahara des canaux de quelque 32 kilomètres de long, qui formeraient des lettres ou des figures géométriques. Il s'agissait de les remplir d'eau et de les arroser de suffisamment de kérosène pour obtenir une combustion de plusieurs heures par nuit, signalant ainsi notre présence à un « éventuel observateur ». Un calcul rapide établit à plus d'un million de tonnes le combustible nécessaire à cette folle entreprise. Carl Friedrich Gauss, mathématicien, avait proposé de tailler dans la taïga sibérienne un triangle équilatéral, aux côtés de 16 kilomètres, et d'y semer du blé. L'observateur, que la forme purement géométrique ne manquera pas de séduire, serait vraisemblablement tenté d'examiner la chose de plus près.

où des régions rurales entières se vidèrent de leurs populations en l'espace d'une nuit, où l'on châtiait avec cruauté les enfants qui parlaient irlandais à la maison ou à l'école. C'est qu'on assimilait la langue du pays à la faim, aux privations, à l'exode et à la mort. La série a montré à quel point la télévision peut sensibiliser le public. Et elle aurait exercé une certaine influence sur les projets de l'Etat touchant la restauration linguistique à poursuivre.

La seconde série, *Voices from a Hidden People*, qui reposait sur huit écrivains irlandais appartenant à des époques différentes, a montré comment ces auteurs avaient reflété les situations successives du peuple. Là encore la correspondance entre langue et mentalité a été mise en relief, ce qui a sensibilisé peu à peu tous les intéressés au rôle essentiel de l'idiotisme national et suscitè des percées dans d'autres secteurs de la programmation. Ainsi l'irlandais s'est frayé un chemin dans les émissions d'actualités, celles sur la nature, les dramatiques et les divertissements de toutes sortes. Dans la plupart des cas, ces émissions ont obtenu un accueil plutôt satisfaisant. Aujourd'hui, elles sont bien implantées.

Les bonnes dispositions latentes à l'égard d'une langue délaissée, qui sont très répandues, peuvent manifestement être encouragées et se traduire par une demande effective d'émissions langagières, à condition qu'on y mette du tact et de la perspicacité. Bien conçues, ces émissions se révèlent fort utiles. Toutefois, une mise en garde me semble indiquée : on ne doit pas prêter à la télévision un rôle d'enseignement qui supplanterait l'école et l'étude personnelle.

D'autre part, une fois parvenus à un certain point dans les tâches de mobilisation et de recyclage — ce en quoi la télévision excelle — nous pouvons demander aux télédiffuseurs eux-mêmes d'élaborer des moyens pour stimuler davantage l'intérêt et susciter des initiatives.

(Adapté de l'anglais.)

départ un plus bas niveau de compétence langagière et aboutissait à un degré raisonnable d'aisance dans l'expression. Les deux séries ont été primées à la télévision. Ce n'était pas si mal pour un début !

L'intérêt public : nouvelles interrogations

Je tenais toutefois à faire davantage. L'intérêt public ayant été avivé par ces deux réussites, on me posait sans cesse la question de fond : pourquoi, comme toute, est-ce qu'on ferait tant d'efforts ? Pourquoi est-ce que toute la jeunesse étudiante et, réflexion faite, tous ceux qui ont dépassé cette étape devraient-ils se livrer à un exercice dont l'utilité concrète n'est pas établie ? L'anglais étant accepté comme langue quotidienne par tout le monde, pourquoi ferait-on revivre l'irlandais ?

C'était là une question difficile, mais la télévision pouvait contribuer à la réponse, sans aucun doute. A cette fin, j'ai élaboré divers projets d'émissions auxquelles on donnerait plus tard les titres *Watch your Language* et *Voices from a Hidden People*. Pour les premières, j'ai fait appel à des savants de différentes disciplines et de différents pays pour des textes sur les rapports entre la langue et la personnalité nationale. Le regrette j'ac L. Williams, professeur à l'Université d'Aberystwyth, au pays de Galles, a exposé la condition bilingue de ce pays comparativement à la nôtre; les professeurs Rabin et Mordechai Kamrat ont fait l'historique du développement extraordinaire de l'hébreu; et un grand érudit hébreu, le professeur Meir Gertner de la section des études talmudiques à l'Université de Londres, est venu nous dire ce que les Irlandais pouvaient apprendre d'Israël pour la restauration de leur langue.

Des émissions réussies préparèrent le chemin

Il y a eu une émission extrêmement étonnante, à laquelle le public a été particulièrement sensible; elle portait sur la triste condition faite à la langue irlandaise après la grande famine de 1846-1848, avec illustrations à l'appui. Cette époque avait connu une situation de quasi-génocide linguistique,

qui accueillent bien l'emploi de cette langue, l'objectif étant de les habituer à la langue et de les aider à acquérir la confiance nécessaire; ces émissions d'enseignement de la langue ou des cours de recyclage;

des émissions de valorisation de la langue visant à souligner l'intérêt du réapprentissage de la langue comme source de culture et de développement intellectuel.

Points encourageants

Je m'approche à invariablement été ée, depuis, par les autorités administratives. Elle l'a été également les responsables politiques des diverses tendances. Mais, comme le ont tous les créateurs, il ne suffit de mettre ainsi en noir sur blanc la politique de la télédiffusion pour produire de bonnes émissions. A cet égard, je me félicite de pouvoir écrire l'été, une partie du temps tout loins. Mes premiers pas dans l'enseignement d'une langue par télévision ont été guidés par un mcscain, qui était linguiste et nt le travail, me dit-on, n'est pas connu au Canada. C'était le père man O hUallachain, disparu nus. (Peter Montagnon, qui était s à la BBC, et qui s'occuperait tard de l'université ouverte de la nde-Bretagne [Great Britain Open University], m'a très utilement fourni occasion d'observer de près sa plante production de la série *Par- no italiano*.) Grâce au traitement de ce que m'a fait subir le Père man, linguiste, mon ignorance et quelques peu résorbée et les narios ont fini par se révéler eptables auprès des érudits les s exigeants. Il a eu la sagesse, tefois, de ne pas mettre trop de neur du côté des disciplines lin- stiques, ce qui aurait eu pour effet contraindre notre style télévisuel.

série *Leahar Gaeilge Linn* (Parlez-

Irlandais), diffusée pendant ans, a été bien accueillie du out à la fin. Entre temps, une herche plus poussée en linguisti- e a eu pour résultat une série d'acception plus scientifique s'intitule *Buntús Cainní* (Les origines de la oie); elle avait pour point de

première fois la langue se heurtait aux exigences impitoyables d'une clientèle populaire, dont la moitié aurait bientôt accès en outre aux émissions uniquement en langue anglaise venant d'au-delà de la mer d'Irlande. La structure financière de la télédiffusion exigeait la compétitivité. Les émissions populaires remplissaient une double fonction : elles contentaient le public et répondaient aux besoins de la publicité. Comme pour les services de télévision de partout ailleurs, la faveur populaire devenait un critère de première importance; pour ce qui est de la langue parlée et comprise, cela jouait inexorablement en faveur des émissions en anglais.

La moitié des dépenses environ devait être couverte par les redevances exigées pour la possession d'un téléviseur, ce qui a permis à l'assemblée nationale de faire accepter une règle touchant la langue et la culture du pays. La plus grande partie de la population et tous les partis politiques l'ont appuyée. Toutefois, la disposition qui faisait obligation au gouvernement d'avoir présent à l'esprit l'objectif national de la restauration de la langue » était exprimée en des termes si vagues et généraux qu'il en est résulté tout de suite des difficultés.

Que voulait dire « présent à l'esprit » ? Une simple salutation en irlandais au début ou à la fin d'une émission ? Certains n'en demandaient pas davantage. La règle avait-elle une force exécutoire en ce rôle de la langue dans le développement du sens national ? Est-ce qu'elle comportait l'obligation, qui eût été bien accueillie du grand public, d'enseigner la langue ou de créer des cours pour ceux qui avaient déjà appris un peu d'irlandais à l'école mais s'en étaient éloignés avec le temps ?

Toutes ces questions m'ont assailli dès mon entrée en fonction comme réalisateur des émissions en irlandais, en avril 1964. La tâche qui m'attendait était affolante, pour ne pas dire désespérante. D'autre part, je puis souligner qu'il y avait et qu'il existe

IRLANDE

Régions où l'irlandais est la langue parlée.



encore un grand appui du public dans tout effort authentique et créateur pour la diffusion et le progrès de la langue. Cette attitude était particulièrement manifeste vis-à-vis de la télévision. Les gens vous faisaient part de leur opinion, sans y être sollicités. Evidemment, il aurait été possible d'aller bien plus loin, sans porter atteinte à la solvabilité de l'entreprise ni aux règles du financement que nous devions observer comme toutes les autres organisations homologues soucieuses d'assurer leur avenir dans un milieu terriblement exigeant.

Mais tout cela est spéculation et c'est aux faits que j'entends m'attacher. De

toute manière, sur la toile de fond précédente, il sera plus facile de les énoncer brièvement. Ma pensée le contenu des émissions ressortit à quatre rubriques. Je les détaille ici à ceux qui travaillent dans le domaine de la langue et de la communication linguistiques offrant des similitudes avec celle de l'Irlande :

- des émissions en irlandais pour ceux qui le parlent couramment comme locuteur d'origine ou comme des bilingues compétents
- des émissions bilingues, où l'on parle irlandais et anglais, pour ceux dont la compréhension d'irlandais n'est pas complète

C'est la conversation qui pose les plus grandes difficultés dans un cours de langues. Certains étudiants emploient des moyens autonomes, mettant à profit des gens ainsi que des textes étrangers au cours. L'Université encourage le recours à un compagnon d'étude parmi les camarades pour la conversation téléphonique; toutefois le sondage n'a révélé aucun exemple de cette pratique.

La téléconférence :

un appui sans pareil

La téléconférence s'est révélée prometteuse comme amélioration de l'encadrement des étudiants. Malgré un départ lent dans les années 70, elle se répand sans cesse davantage aujourd'hui, grâce à un équipement perfectionné, dont un dispositif qui permet à l'étudiant d'établir lui-même la communication avec le groupe en composant tel numéro.

**L'Université Athabasca
s'en est d'abord remise
au hasard en fondant son
programme de français
sur une série de cours
multimédias d'intérêt
général produite par
la BBC.**

La téléconférence apporte à chacun l'appui des camarades et coûte beaucoup moins à l'établissement que l'assistance téléphonique individuelle. Comme les manières d'étudier diffèrent d'un étudiant à l'autre, il est avantageux que chacun puisse, grâce au cours multimédias, mettre au point une façon de procéder qui lui convienne particulièrement. Il ne faut pas que les établissements d'enseignement à distance s'inquiètent si un des éléments du cours n'a pas la faveur générale. Si certains le trouvent utile, c'est qu'il a sans doute sa place dans l'ensemble.

**Il est important de créer
la confiance chez les
étudiants, notamment
si la méthode est
nouvelle pour eux,
comme dans le cas du
télé-enseignement.**

Toutefois, trop de complexité peut devenir rebutante. La BBC estime que les points ci-dessous peuvent servir de guide dans l'élaboration d'un cours :

- le cours doit être soigneusement conçu
- de façon à réduire l'anxiété;
- il doit faire appel le moins possible à la mémoire immédiate;
- l'étude doit s'appuyer sur l'activité de l'étudiant;
- l'étudiant doit pouvoir déterminer son rythme du travail;
- l'étudiant doit avoir de bonnes chances de réussir chaque étape;
- l'étudiant doit pouvoir vérifier s'il apprend correctement;
- le matériel doit être intéressant, stimulant et adapté;
- il doit tenir compte de l'expérience acquise par l'étudiant adulte;
- le cours doit se prêter à des exercices constants;
- l'étudiant doit avoir l'occasion de participer au travail des camarades.

Il est important de créer la confiance chez les étudiants, notamment si la méthode est nouvelle pour eux, comme il arrive souvent dans le cas du télé-enseignement. Il faut les guider généreusement à l'étape de l'initiation à la démarche du cours et de la planification du travail.

Les principes directeurs de la BBC ont été encore précisés pour le cours *Russian — Language and People*, qui a bénéficié des meilleures heures d'écoute à la télévision. Comme on s'adressait à un vaste public populaire, on a évité l'emploi de la

Volant éviter le travail en tour d'Ivoire, la BBC a favorisé avec dynamisme les activités de soutien chez les étudiants d'un bout à l'autre du pays. La clientèle touchée, dépassant le million, établissait un record pour un cours de langue de la Société et il a fallu faire une réimpression du cours dans le mois. Malgré un taux d'abandon élevé, tenait essentiellement à des raisons personnelles plutôt qu'à des réactions au cours, un grand nombre de gens ont acquis une connaissance utile c

terminologie grammaticale. Et vu la nature de l'alphabet russe, l'ordre d'acquisition des compétences a été inversé en faveur de la compréhension écrite. La télévision se prête à l'enseignement des mots dans un cadre naturel; ainsi, elle a permis de montrer les Russes dans la vie quotidienne (conversation, regar costumes et comportement généralement compris des films d'exportation avec des Russes du peuple d

Le Canada a deux langues officielles: une économie fondée sur les échanges internationaux. Relativement à la nécessité manifeste de larges possibilités d'apprentissage des langues, le recours au télé-enseignement à cette fin a été plutôt timide au Canada. La multiplication des canaux de télédistribution offre l'occasion d'améliorer la situation. Il est probable que des centaines d'établissements et de groupes bénévoles fourniraient volontiers un appui local aux étudiants, si un éventail d'excellents cours multimedias d'anglais et de français était accessible par le câble. Cette possibilité pousserait un grand nombre de Canadiens à se fixer comme objectif long terme la maîtrise d'une autre langue. Certains apprendraient vite neraient en cours de route pour revenir à diverses reprises au cours des années. De toute façon, il en résulterait dans l'ensemble un progrès constant de l'aptitude à employer la langue seconde et à nous comprendre les uns les autres.

Leçons à tirer pour le Canada

(Adapté de l'anglais.)

Inscriptions et réactions des étudiants

Les sondages auprès des personnes qui s'étaient inscrites aux cours de français de l'Université Athabasca ont été révélateurs. La moitié avaient des motifs personnels, c'est-à-dire liés à la carrière ou aux qualifications pédagogiques; 70 pour cent voulaient tout simplement apprendre le français, mais ne s'étaient pas inscrits à un cours universitaire sanctionné par un diplôme. Plus de 70 pour cent des inscrits étaient du sexe féminin, proportion sensiblement plus élevée que la moyenne générale de l'Université, qui était de 62 pour cent. Le taux de réussite chez les personnes de plus de 65 ans était remarquable (85 pour cent), car l'on sait combien il est difficile d'apprendre une langue à un âge avancé.

Les réactions aux éléments du cours ne comportant pas d'échanges étaient très variables, les audiocassettes jouissant d'une plus grande faveur que les émissions de radio et de télévision. Il en était ainsi dans d'autres établissements, en particulier à l'université ouverte de la

C'est la conversation qui pose les plus grandes difficultés dans un cours de langues. Certains étudiants emploient des moyens autonomes, mettant à profit des gens ainsi que des textes étrangers au cours.

d'étudiants et faisaient figure, auprès de bon nombre, de désagréments inhabituels quand il s'agit de converser en français au téléphone; les étudiants avancés se montrent plus confiants.

Les émissions de télévision qui se rattachent à ces cours de français peuvent être captées au canal éducatif télédiffusé dans toutes les régions de l'Alberta; à la radio, elles



sont diffusées par les stations de Radio-Canada dans toute la province. Il ne s'est pas fait d'étude sur la clientèle d'occasion, c'est-à-dire sur les auditeurs et les téléspectateurs qui suivaient les émissions sans s'être inscrits aux cours. On s'est efforcé toutefois d'établir une liaison avec d'autres groupes désireux de promouvoir l'étude du français. La collaboration a été particulièrement fructueuse avec l'Association canadienne française de l'Alberta et avec les *Canadian Parents for French*.

Télé-université ... l'est-ce ?

Télé-université du Québec s'est occupée en France huit cours de langues par correspondance (d'anglais et 4 d'espagnol) et les a traités sans encadrement spécial, contrairement à ses autres cours qui comportent ateliers locaux, cellules d'étude, téléconférences et assistance téléphonique. Les inscriptions ont été nombreuses, mais les taux d'abandon ont été plus élevés pour ces cours que pour les autres. On a procédé tout d'abord à des Francophones «ut», destinée à des Francophones d'étude et a fait l'objet d'une publicité importante. Beaucoup d'étudiants ont recrutés par l'intermédiaire des entreprises, et bon nombre de celles-ci accordent une contribution.

Programme de l'Université Athabasca

Sur ses cours de langues, l'Université Athabasca s'en est débordée au hasard, ainsi que le fait le doyen Dominique Abrioux, fondant son programme de français sur une série de cours multiples d'intérêt général produite par BBC. Elle a ensuite modifié ces cours de façon à les rendre mieux adaptables à d'autres universités canadiennes, comme encadrement, elle offrait deux séances de travail par semaine, ou l'assistance téléphonique. Les résultats obtenus comptaient les grandes réussites de l'université. Les inscriptions sont nombreuses et les taux d'achèvement au-dessus de la moyenne de l'établissement. Nombre d'étudiants habitent dans des villes offrant un bon éventail de cours de français en classe; il semblerait que la commodité de l'enseignement à distance intervient pour beaucoup dans le choix en sa faveur. Les séances de travail, consistant comme utiles par ceux qui y étaient part, attirèrent peu

nationale d'éducation à distance, créée en 1973, dans la Chine centrale, l'université télévisuelle, qui a été créée en 1977, et qui est probablement la plus importante du monde avec ses 500 000 étudiants.

L'enseignement à distance progresse rapidement

Au Canada, son influence a été très marquée dans le cas de l'enseignement supérieur à distance. Ces dix dernières années, on a fondé nombre d'établissements avant pour mission d'élargir les possibilités de l'étude chez soi au niveau postsecondaire et dans les domaines technique et professionnel : la Télé-université au Québec, l'Université Athabasca en Alberta, l'Open Learning Institute et le Knowledge Network of the West en Colombie-Britannique.

Sous toutes réserves, une dizaine de millions de personnes, dans le monde entier, suivent un enseignement scolaire à distance.

En période de croissance rapide, les estimations chiffrées sont particulièrement difficiles. Aussi évaluerons-nous sous toutes réserves à une dizaine de millions, pour le monde entier, le nombre des personnes qui suivent un enseignement scolaire à distance. Ce chiffre ne comprend pas, bien entendu, les millions d'autres qui font des études personnelles ou s'intéressent aux émissions éducatives de la télévision ou de la radio. Le principal avantage de l'enseignement à distance pour l'étudiant est sa souplesse. Il permet à chacun d'étudier à son propre rythme et le libère de l'obligation de se rendre en classe à tel endroit et à tel moment. D'autre part, pour se fixer un programme d'étude, il faut être animé d'une volonté ferme et savoir organiser son emploi du temps. L'enseignement à distance n'est pas une voie de facilité. Mais

pour ceux qui s'y adaptent, il peut être la source d'un passe-temps pour le reste de la vie.

Dans la perspective de l'État et des responsables de la politique éducative, l'enseignement à distance est avantageux en ce qu'il peut être dispensé à peu de frais à un grand nombre de personnes, dont celles qui habitent une région rurale ou sont soumises à un horaire variable; de plus, les programmes peuvent être lancés et retirés progressivement avec plus de facilité que les cours en classe.

Quelles que soient les plaisanteries sur les chirurgiens ou les pilotes formés par correspondance, il y a peu de matières où l'enseignement à distance ne puisse être utile. Bien sûr, il exige des dispositions particulières pour les exercices pratiques. Le matériel fourni aux étudiants en permet un nombre étonnant, en particulier dans des disciplines telles que l'électronique ou l'informatique. Certes, il faut des séances de travail en groupe dans un laboratoire pour permettre aux étudiants d'acquiescer de l'expérience pratique, mais l'enseignement à distance peut suffire pour la partie théorique.

L'étude des langues

L'étude des langues chez soi jouit toujours d'une grande vogue. Qui n'a fait un jour ou l'autre l'acquisition d'un ouvrage autodidactique comme *L'Allemand sans peine* ou *L'espagnol en 90 jours* pour se préparer à un voyage ? Bon nombre s'inscrivent même à un cours. La popularité des cours à distance tient largement au fait qu'on peut les commencer au moment de son choix et les suivre au rythme voulu. L'homme d'affaires qui doit s'initier en toute hâte aux rudiments de la langue allemande et le musicien qui se prépare tranquillement à un séjour à Vienne peuvent tous deux s'inscrire au même cours.

Sensibles à la demande de cours de langues, des instituts commerciaux et des organismes publics ont beaucoup investi dans l'élaboration de nouveaux programmes de la technologie.

Communication dans les deux sens : élément essentiel

L'Institut linguaphone, persan l'expression orale dans l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère, a des cours fondés sur l'emploi de disques microsillons. La *British Broadcasting Corporation* a fait, pendant des années, un usage intensif de la télévision et de la radio pour nombreux cours de langues. L'extraordinaire des magnétophone portatifs suscitera sans doute une nouvelle génération de cours de langues sur audiocassettes.

Communication dans les deux sens : élément essentiel

D'autre part, beaucoup d'établissements éducatifs dispenseraient volontiers des cours de langues à distance, ou encore des cours d'appoint en classe, mais n'ont pas la préparation voulue pour offrir du matériel de qualité. L'emploi de cours et de matériel conçus spécialement pour l'enseignement à distance est évidemment une solution; c'est celle qu'ont choisie des universités ouvertes du Canada.

Ainsi, l'Université Athabasca et la université se sont procuré en Europe leurs cours de langues. Une comparaison de ce qui s'est produit dans les deux cas permet de dégager certains points sur l'enseignement à distance.

Enseignement à distance L'apprentissage des langues

John S. DANIEL

recours au télé-enseignement en ce qui touche l'apprentissage
s langues a été plutôt timide au Canada. Pourtant, les exemples
manquent pas qui témoignent des possibilités de cette approche.

John S. Daniel est diplômé des universités d'Oxford et de Paris. Il a joué un rôle important dans l'instauration de l'enseignement universitaire à distance au Canada. Il est actuellement vice-recteur à l'Université Concordia de Montréal et président du Conseil international de l'enseignement à distance. Cet été M. Daniel sera nommé président de l'Université Laurentienne.

n Chine cinq millions de personnes ont suivi récemment un cours d'anglais par la radio. En Grande-Bretagne, le cours multimédias *Russian — Language and People* a touché un million de téléspectateurs. En Amérique du Nord, plus de vingt langues font l'objet de cours universitaires par correspondance. Les langues sont les plus en demande de l'enseignement scolaire. Les murs.

ers termes ont cours dans le monde pour désigner les de formation où enseignants et enseignés ne sont réunis. Les Nord-Américains disent « étude chez soi » étude indépendante », les Australiens, « études rnes », les Européens, « cours par correspondance », universités ouvertes », « télé-enseignement » et trunternicht ». Le terme international *enseignement à distance* embrasse toutes ces formes, qui ont quatre points communs : cours ne comporte pas la présence de l'enseignant et es enseignés dans une classe;

cours relève d'un établissement éducatif; divers moyens de communication, dont l'imprimé, missent enseignant et enseigné et véhiculent le contenu de l'enseignement; peut y avoir des échanges entre enseignants et enseignants, voire des entretiens.

Les premières étapes
Les épîtres de saint Paul aux premiers chrétiens présentaient ces caractères. Toutefois, le véritable essor de l'enseignement à distance a débuté avec la création des services postaux modernes au XIX^e siècle. Isaac Pitman langa un cours de sténographie par correspondance peu de temps après la création de la poste à un penny en Grande-Bretagne. Plus anciennement encore, l'anglais s'était enseigné ainsi en Suède. En Amérique du Nord, débutait vers la fin des années 1800 en Pennsylvanie un cours par l'entremise d'un journal, avec pour objet la sécurité dans les mines. Il aurait été l'ancêtre des *International Correspondence Schools*, l'une des plus grandes entreprises actuelles de l'enseignement à distance.

Depuis le milieu du siècle dernier, les communications ne cessent de progresser. Le téléphone, la radio et la télévision ont pris place dans notre vie quotidienne. Les techniques audiotraphiques ont marqué un progrès important avec la création du magnétophone portatif à cassette. Bon nombre de foyers ont déjà un micro-ordinateur et un appareil vidéo. Ces innovations ont favorisé la diffusion et l'enrichissement des cours par correspondance et permis l'enseignement à distance par plusieurs médias.
La création et le succès immédiat de l'université ouverte de la Grande-Bretagne en 1970 ont fait date. Née du désir de mettre à profit les médias pour élargir l'accès à l'enseignement supérieur, elle met en oeuvre toute une panoplie de moyens : manuels de cours par correspondance, réseau radio et télé, matériels didactiques de l'étudiant, assistance téléphonique et centres d'étude locaux. Elle offre des cours universitaires à des étudiants à temps partiel. De loin la plus grande université de Grande-Bretagne, elle a décerné à ce jour plus de 60 000 baccalauréats. Cet exemple a inspiré des initiatives semblables à l'étranger : en Espagne, l'Université

langue. De même, il est fort possible que le grand public et les cadres du milieu des affaires et de l'industrie préfèrent tout simplement se débarrasser de cette responsabilité et la confier aux enseignants. Nous estimons pour la plupart que l'apprentissage doit se faire dans une école, dans une classe, dans un établissement d'enseignement et que la langue n'est qu'une autre con-naissance — comme l'histoire ou la géographie — alors qu'elle est aussi un outil de caractère social dont on n'acquiert vraiment la maîtrise qu'en communiquant avec des locuteurs d'origine bien disposés.

différente et de se situer au bas de l'échelle socio-économique entraîne l'isolement, premier obstacle à l'acquisition du langage social. Cela signifie qu'un nombre nettement accru de personnes doivent aider les immigrants. Leur aptitude à enrichir la société canadienne de leurs connaissances et de leurs compétences pourrait fort bien dépendre des possibilités qui leur sont offertes de participer à la vie de la collectivité et au monde du travail. Pour parvenir à ce résultat, il faudra d'abord faire comprendre au public son rôle dans la formation du milieu social et donc des capacités de communication des travailleurs immigrants.

À l'heure actuelle, nous nous butons à certaines croyances et attitudes bien ancrées. L'on s'imaginerait par exemple que les étrangers doivent apprendre la langue avant de se trouver du travail ou de s'intégrer à leur nouveau milieu; on voit dans leur incapacité à communiquer un refus de collaborer ou un signe d'immaturité. La société reproche à l'immigrant de ne pas apprendre sa langue, pourtant ni l'un ni l'autre ne semble comprendre le jeu des normes culturelles qui souvent entravent la communication. Dans le cas de certains immigrants de l'Asie du Sud-Est, par exemple, les différences culturelles sont énormes et on ne peut tout simplement pas en faire abstraction. Nous ne pouvons non plus minimiser l'importance du sentiment de frustration et d'aliénation que ressentent les immigrants à cause de leur inaptitude à communiquer efficacement.

Il est intéressant de noter que les auteurs d'un document de travail « The Provision of ESL Training to Adults, Six Principles Toward a National Policy » abordent beaucoup des points que je viens de soulever. Espérons que cela favorisera la création de programmes mieux intégrés et mieux orientés que ceux qui ont cours. Mais nous devons aussi nous rappeler que plus que n'importe quel autre groupe d'apprenants, les immigrants doivent avoir l'occasion de converser de façon décontractée avec des Canadiens français et anglais bien disposés à leur égard.

Malheureusement, dans beaucoup de sociétés, les structures sociales perpétuent l'isolement culturel et linguistique. L'on s'imagine généralement que c'est le manque de compétences linguistiques ou certaines personnes ou certains groupes à demeurer à l'écart. Mais il semble que ce soit plutôt l'inverse : le fait d'appartenir à une ethnité

Nous avons tous beaucoup à gagner en les aidant à cheminer le long de la route accidentée qui mène à l'intégration sociale et à l'apprentissage de la langue. Gardons-nous d'en faire l'entière responsabilité aux enseignants.

(Adapté de l'anglais.)

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leur montrer comment leurs idées et leur comportement peuvent faciliter la communication inter-culturelle et l'apprentissage de la langue ou, au contraire, y nuire.

Nouvelles tendances encourageantes

Il est très intéressant de voir dans quelle voie s'orientent les programmes destinés aux immigrants : on semble s'écarter de plus en plus des formules uniformes et rigides et tendre vers un cadre plus vaste, fondé davantage sur les nécessités sociales ou professionnelles et faisant appel à divers locuteurs d'origine — collègues de travail, gestionnaires, travailleurs sociaux ou simples voisins. Bref, on situe davantage l'apprentissage de la langue et l'acquisition de compétences professionnelles, sociales et de communication dans le processus de socialisation. Bien sûr, cette tendance ne se manifeste pas au même degré partout au Canada. Les régions qui connaissent un taux élevé de chômage n'accueillent tout simplement pas dans leurs industries beaucoup de travailleurs immigrants. Dans d'autres, où l'enseignement de la langue, la formation professionnelle et les services sociaux ne relèvent pas tous de la même autorité, on ne peut dire qu'il se fait spontanément, c'est-à-dire sans qu'une force externe, un convergence et un enrichissement réciproque de ces programmes. Dans ma province par exemple, où la formation linguistique des immigrants relève du gouvernement provincial (alors que les programmes de formation professionnelle sont de compétence fédérale), on ne semble guère avoir réussi à fusionner les deux types de formation. Que je sache, il n'y a pas au Québec de pendants aux projets qu'a décrits Virginia Sauvé.

Un autre facteur négatif tient au fait que les responsables de ces services et même le grand public refusent consciemment ou inconsciemment d'accepter que l'apprentissage de la langue peut et doit souvent se faire en dehors du cadre scolaire. Il arrive aussi que les directeurs de programmes hésitent à abandonner leur mainmise sur l'enseignement de la

intéressantes ont aussi été accomplies en dehors de ce contexte. Par leur ouvrage intitulé *Industrial English* (1975), les chercheurs Jupp et Hodlin ont suscité la mise sur pied de programmes destinés aux travailleurs immigrants en milieu industriel. Ils y exposaient les raisons qui devaient inciter les administrateurs à assurer une formation linguistique en cours d'emploi aux travailleurs immigrants en Grande-Bretagne et y énonçaient les principes directeurs devant servir à la mise en oeuvre de ces initiatives. La préface d'une publication récente du Center for Applied Linguistics (1982), *ESL in the Workplace*, fait état de l'importance croissante attachée à l'interdépendance immigrant-milieu en matière d'apprentissage de la langue. « Le document examine la nature du lien qui existe entre le professeur d'anglais à application spéciale (English for Special Purposes), l'entreprise privée et les travailleurs réfugiés qui possèdent une connaissance restreinte de la langue. » Le document le plus intéressant que j'aie consulté au sujet de l'anglais dans le milieu de travail est une étude effectuée par Mme Virginia Sauvé pour le compte de la Commission de l'emploi et de l'immigration du Canada (1982). L'auteur y examine six réalisations en milieu de travail, en Alberta et en Ontario, du point de vue des industries participantes, des travailleurs-apprenants et des enseignants. D'après des réponses à des questionnaires et entrevues, elle décrit par le détail ce qui fait qu'un programme est ou n'est pas fructueux et propose des lignes directrices pour la mise en oeuvre des programmes. Il vaut la peine de lire son exposé sur le rôle complexe et varié des responsables de ces programmes, qui doivent connaître à fond la nature et les rouages de l'entreprise ainsi que les relations qui existent entre les divers niveaux de gestion afin de pouvoir établir des objectifs et choisir le matériel didactique approprié. Ces spécialistes exercent une fonction essentielle. Non seulement enseignent-ils aux travailleurs, mais ils doivent aussi éduquer le personnel d'encadrement, c'est-à-dire leur faire voir les causes des problèmes de communication et

derniers de discuter de leurs tendances et de régler leurs différences linguistiques ou d'adaptation. Cette approche se justifiait de besoin des immigrants de communiquer réellement et dans la situation détenue avec des auteurs d'origine, afin de pouvoir s'interpréter de la langue; fait que certains enseignants soient mal à l'aise dans une classe; raison peut-être primordiale, importante, pour presque tous les enseignants adultes, de se trouver un emploi.

acteurs nous ont porté à croire était utile d'explorer la méthode d'enseignement. Malheureusement, il a fallu mettre fin au programme, mis sur pied grâce à quelques bénévoles, quelques unes à peine après son lancement; il a donc été impossible d'évaluer l'efficacité.

os jours, on reconnaît naturellement la nécessité d'inclure les immigrants des compétences de langue. On commence à établir des directrices pour les programmes visant cet objectif. En type, il est maintenant reconnu que les immigrants une langue sans tenir compte de leurs us sociaux et professionnels, s'assurer de leur participation aux programmes d'enseignement de langue, il faut que ces derniers t'axes sur leurs soucis professionnels et sociaux. Si cette situation s'impose pour les immigrants, elle est passablement scolaire, elle n'est plus importante dans le cas d'adultes illettrés, pour lesquels le processus d'acquisition d'une langue n'est pas considéré comme une prise à long terme, essentielle aux mécanismes d'intégration sociale.

Le rôle de la salle de classe

Les progrès ont été réalisés dans l'adoption d'objectifs d'enseignement/apprentissage plus nombreux et l'utilisation de la langue comme véritable moyen de communication. Mais des percées

propose pas de détailler notre recherche (le lecteur que le sujet intéresse peut consulter le rapport intégral de 1981), mais certaines conclusions nous aideront à comprendre les problèmes d'apprentissage propres aux immigrants et à élaborer des programmes mieux adaptés à leurs besoins.

Notre étude, approfondie, portait sur les différences individuelles liées aux difficultés d'apprentissage. Nous

avons constaté que les participants ayant une scolarité peu poussée, les alphabètes, ceux qui étaient presque illettrés, de même que ceux qui étaient très anxieux avaient moins de chance de réussir que les autres. Les apprenants moins doués étaient en majorité issus de milieu rural et donc peu habitués à la vie urbaine, ceux qui avaient du mal à acquiescer le français avaient très peu de contact avec les locuteurs d'origine. Isolés et sans travail, ils n'avaient presque jamais l'occasion d'échanger avec des francophones. Il semble que les

cours était leur principal contact avec la langue. De même, les participants moins instruits comptaient exclusive-ment sur les cours, alors que ceux ayant un niveau de scolarité plus élevé avaient accès aux livres et journaux francophones. Paradoxalement, la plupart des cours de langue seconde constituaient pour ce genre d'étudiants un milieu fort peu propice à l'apprentissage de la langue. Les méthodes qui insistent sur l'enseignement de la langue comme telle et ont recours à des contrôles ou des exercices grammaticaux ne semblent pas mettre en branle les

processus mentaux requis pour l'acquisition d'une autre langue. Il est obligé d'imiter un modèle parfait ou de répondre aux questions par des structures de phrases déterminées. Dans bien des cas, les participants n'ont pas la possibilité de perfectionner leur compréhension auditive, l'aculté qui leur permettrait de saisir ce qui se dit, de se familiariser avec les intonations, les accentuations et les tournures de phrases qui insistent un sens au code linguistique. La principale lacune de beaucoup de cours de langue en est peut-être l'aspect théorique qui ne

tiennent pas compte des besoins des étudiants.

L'impact de normes culturelles différentes

Pour certains immigrants, l'apprentissage théorique se bute aussi à des obstacles culturels de taille. Alors qu'en Occident, on encourage fréquemment la concurrence entre étudiants, dans

d'autres cultures elle cède le pas à la collaboration et au partage. Il peut aussi être culturellement inacceptable pour certains de manifester devant le professeur et leurs confrères et consocuteurs leur savoir ou leur ignorance. Quant à ceux qui sont peu ou pas scolarisés, ils ont peut-être davantage l'habitude d'acquiescer des compétences et des connaissances importantes dans des contextes qui favorisent — contrairement à la classe — la participation active et l'observation tacite du comportement d'autrui. Enfin, certains d'entre eux, isolés de leur milieu culturel, sont fermement convaincus que le savoir ne peut venir que des livres et du maître, tandis que d'autres sont tout aussi persuadés qu'ils ne retireront rien de six heures passées derrière un bureau. Nous commençons à peine à saisir les répercussions de ces normes et attitudes culturelles sur l'aptitude de l'immigrant à tirer parti des programmes de formation linguistique. Il est toutefois réconfortant de découvrir, par le biais de discussions avec des collègues d'autres régions du Canada, des États-Unis, d'Europe et d'Australie, que le phénomène n'est pas propre au Québec.

Des solutions de rechange

Nos recherches au Québec nous ont amené à proposer deux méthodes expérimentales. L'une et l'autre supposent le remplacement de l'enseignement explicite de la langue par la création de situations permettant à l'immigrant d'acquiescer, dans la langue cible, l'information, les connaissances ou les compétences requises pour assurer son bien-être socioéconomique immédiat. Cette réorientation s'est inspirée de certains principes d'acquisition de la langue seconde selon lesquels l'adulte, à condition d'être motivé et

d'être placé dans des circonstances favorables, peut apprendre une langue sans qu'elle lui soit formellement enseignée. Elle vise aussi à répondre au besoin de l'immigrant de compétences fondamentales pour lui permettant de survivre et de se débrouiller, afin de s'intégrer à son milieu d'accueil et de se trouver un emploi. Dans un programme expérimental, les participants apprennent d'autres à se servir du réseau de transport en commun, à encaisser chaque, à inscrire leurs enfants à l'école. L'acquisition de ces compétences servait non seulement à leur apprendre d'éléments de vocabulaire et de structures linguistiques, mais leur communiquait des moyens de survie indispensables, ce qui, pour eux, constituait un objectif d'apprentissage valable.

Comme les centres d'apprentissage de la langue sont investis d'un mandat, nous avons été étonnés d'apprendre qu'il n'existait aucun programme du genre. Nous étions donc très curieux de savoir pourquoi les objectifs socio-culturels étaient laissés pour compte. Les réponses à nos questions ont été très instructives. On semblait tenir pour acquies que la maîtrise de la langue doit précéder l'acquisition de toute autre connaissance; or comme peu de participants réussissent à maîtriser la langue en 30 semaines, on veut nécessairement perfectionner l'élément linguistique avant de se donner d'autres objectifs. Notre deuxième solution expérimentale, conçue en fonction des participants réfractaires au cas scolaire, s'inspire de ce que nous avons appelé la technique de l'«aller protégé». Les étudiants sont temporairement placés dans des milieux de travail francophones leur permettant d'entretenir des relations détendues avec des locuteurs d'origine accueillants et de se tremper dans le monde du travail québécois. Les participants bénéficiaient d'un aide financière pour une période correspondante à la durée des cours pleins temps. Il était aussi prévu de tenir des réunions hebdomadaires entre les enseignants et deux ou plusieurs apprenants, pour per-

est inefficace d'enseigner une langue seconde aux migrants sans tenir compte de leurs besoins sociaux professionnels. Cette orientation est encore plus importante dans le cas des adultes illettrés.

La langue : un obstacle majeur pour le travailleur immigré

SON D'ANGLEJAN

Après avoir obtenu son doctorat en psychologie expérimentale de l'Université McGill, en 1975, Alison d'Anglejan s'est jointe à la faculté de l'éducation de l'Université de Montréal. Auteur et co-auteur de plusieurs articles, ses cours et ses travaux de recherche portent principalement sur les aspects cognitifs et sociaux de l'acquisition des langues première et seconde.

l'immigration a joué un rôle de premier plan dans le développement économique et social du Canada. Beaucoup d'étrangers ont décidé de venir s'installer au pays pour des raisons personnelles, pour rendre leur famille ou trouver un meilleur emploi. Dans ces cas, ce sont des difficultés économiques, des obstacles politiques ou des fleaux qui sont à l'origine de migrations massives. Certains immigrants sont entrés au Canada en vertu de programmes spéciaux pour réfugiés. Il est de consulter n'importe quel manuel d'histoire pour constater que l'immigration est loin d'être un phénomène récent, au contraire elle se produit par vagues, provoquée par des événements politiques et économiques. Tout porte à croire que cette tendance se poursuivra.

l'occupation première de l'immigrant est de se verser du travail. C'est ce qu'a constaté Mastai (1979) lors d'une enquête effectuée à Vancouver. Elle signale en outre que les possibilités d'emploi de l'immigrant sont fortement liées à sa connaissance de l'anglais. Il n'est pas étonnant que le gouvernement fédéral ait tenu des sommes appréciables à l'enseignement des langues officielles aux immigrants de date récente. Effectif, au chapitre des programmes de formation pour les immigrants, le Canada se classe au plus généreux. Au Québec, par exemple, le ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration contribue aux crédits fédéraux et administratifs d'enseignement de la langue communément



appelés COFI (Centre d'orientation et de formation des immigrants). Les immigrants reçoivent une petite allocation qui leur permet d'assister aux cours, six heures par jour pendant 30 semaines. On espère que, au terme de ce stage, ils maîtriseront suffisamment le français pour entrer sur le marché du travail.

Le ministère offre aussi gratuitement une série de programmes du soir, ou à temps partiel, qui sont destinés à ceux qui ont trouvé de l'emploi, mais qui souhaitent perfectionner leurs aptitudes langagières. Il existe dans d'autres provinces des programmes similaires d'enseignement de l'anglais, fréquemment offerts dans des collèges communautaires ou dans le cadre de programmes d'éducation permanente des conseils scolaires. Au fil des années, les enseignants et administrateurs participant à ces programmes se sont rendus compte du fait que les apprenants ne bénéficiaient pas tous également de l'enseignement de type scolaire. Efficaces pour un groupe, certaines méthodes ne le sont pas nécessairement pour un autre. L'arrivée récente en Amérique du Nord, et dans bien d'autres régions du globe de forts contingents de réfugiés de l'Asie du Sud-Est a sensibilisé les enseignants à ce problème. Les programmes traditionnels ne sont peut-être pas propices à l'apprentissage de la langue, pourtant essentiel à beaucoup de ces Néo-Canadiens.

Les obstacles

Pour ma part, je m'intéresse depuis longtemps aux écarts que rencontrent des immigrants adultes qui tentent d'apprendre une langue étrangère. En 1976, le ministère de l'Immigration du Québec (l'actuel ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration) m'a invitée à étudier pourquoi certains immigrants, après avoir reçu 900 heures de cours de langue dans un COFI, étaient toujours incapables de communiquer en français. Je ne me

Cadre géographique de l'étude

Population de langue maternelle française, 1971 et 1981.

	1971	1981
CORNWALL	18 165	15 730
HAWKESBURY	8 295	8 355
NORTH BAY	8 535	65 235
OTTAWA	65 235	56 550
PEMBROKE	1 680	1 130
TORONTO	15 755	10 040
WELLAND	7 590	6 945
WINDSOR	14 305	10 535

Source : Statistique Canada, Recensements de 1971 et 1981.



La pédagogie du français inspire la sociolinguistique, qui est à la base des nouveaux programmes-cadre conçus pour les élèves francophones du Québec, pour être adoptés avec profit par les éducateurs francophones. Un objectif de cette pédagogie est d'amener les élèves à maîtriser le « français correct de comparaison des caractères de variété de français avec ceux du français canadien familial, et de comprendre les situations sociales stylistiques auxquelles convient un des registres. Cet objectif se pose qu'on reconnaisse la notion de « système » et la fonction import que remplit le français canadien familial.

La nouvelle pédagogie ne tendra donc pas à éliminer cette variété de français, mais s'en servira comme point de départ vers la maîtrise du français canadien correct. Ajouté que le français canadien familial pourra être considéré comme un point d'arrivée dans un milieu francophone minoritaire, c'est que les élèves, ne parlant guère ou peu le français en dehors de l'école, possèdent mal cette variété du français

pas ainsi en situation de minorité. Comme une langue sert d'abord à la communication, il importe tout particulièrement que l'école s'attache à cette fonction. Nous signalerons le danger d'une attitude normative jouant contre les particularismes du français familial propre au Canada, sachant qu'ils ont cours chez les élèves qui persistent à s'exprimer en français à la maison.

Pour nous, le franco-ontarien familial est un système linguistique authentique, tout différent soit-il du français canadien correct.

Cazabon et Frenette ont également noté que l'enseignement du français accordait peu de place à la communication et qu'il était axé sur un apprentissage plus ou moins mécanique et hors contexte des ressources propres à la langue correcte. Il importe de souligner les faiblesses et les inconvénients de cette méthode.

Si dans une communauté francophone majoritaire l'acquisition du français comme langue de communication est assurée hors de l'école dans une large mesure, il n'en est

Outre qu'elle assure une partie importante de la communication, cette variété de français familial est un élément de l'identité culturelle de la communauté franco-ontarienne. Considérer les particularismes de cette langue comme des fautes pourrait bien accentuer la tendance au rejet du français qu'on observe à divers degrés chez les jeunes Franco-Ontariens appartenant à une communauté minoritaire. Il y aurait lieu, à notre avis, d'adopter une attitude plus tolérante.

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échappent en grande partie. On observe le contraire, il va de soi, dans le cas de l'usage prédominant.

Les remèdes

Les solutions, à notre avis, seraient d'ordre sociopolitique et pédagogique-que principalement.

Dans les milieux à prédominance anglophone, l'abandon du français chez les Franco-Ontariens tient en partie au peu de prestige qu'ils prêtent à cette langue, à sa faible valeur pour l'avancement socio-économique. En conséquence, toute mesure propre à relever le français dans l'esprit des gens se repercuterait sur la résistance à l'assimilation et sur les attitudes des élèves à l'égard de la langue maternelle. Les mesures à envisager ont déjà fait l'objet d'études par la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec. Nous leur avons consacré nous-même une publication, en collaboration avec Canale et Bélanger (6).

Pour ce qui est des solutions pédagogiques, nous mentionnerons d'abord celles mises en oeuvre actuellement par certains conseils scolaires ontariens. Les éducateurs ont recours à deux remèdes.

Le premier consiste en des classes d'accueil. Les élèves souffrant de graves lacunes en français y bénéficient, au début des études, d'un enseignement particulièrement adapté à leurs besoins et dispensé d'une façon intensive si le maître est aide d'un moniteur. Le deuxième remède est constitué de cours spéciaux, dits de « récupération linguistique ».

Dans les deux cas, l'objectif est le même : amener les élèves à un niveau de connaissance du français suffisant pour ne pas compromettre ou gêner les progrès des autres élèves dans cette langue et dans les diverses matières (7).

On peut aussi chercher des solutions du côté de la didactique du français. Selon une enquête menée par Cazabon et Frenette (8) dans un milieu franco-ontarien minoritaire, l'enseignement du français y serait

l'attitude chez les jeunes Franco-Ontariens à apprendre et à maîtriser le français.

Autres constatations

Nos recherches ont dégagé en outre un phénomène auquel nous n'avons pas pensé : le rapport entre la fréquence de l'emploi du français à la maison et l'aisance dans le registre familial. En conversation quoti-dienne, les faibles usagers du français à la maison n'employaient pas les formes typiques du français canadien populaire, ou très peu, par contre, les usagers habituels s'adaptaient naturellement à ces formes. C'est que la pratique de la langue maternelle parmi les siens est essentielle à l'acquisition des divers registres du langage courant. On conçoit alors que les faibles usagers du français pré-sentent de graves lacunes à cet égard. Pour ce qui est du facteur démogra-phi que relativement à cette aptitude, les résultats de notre recherche tendent à confirmer ceux que nous avons exposés plus haut.

Bref, le français passe en quelque sorte au rang de langue seconde chez les jeunes Franco-Ontariens qui ne le parlent guère à la maison, sa struc-ture et ses registres familiaux leur

approché du seuil qu'à la fin du l'anglais prédomine selon le critère, ils ne maîtrisent le nom réfléchi qu'à la fin du condaire, à Cornwall, et à toutes s utiles à North Bay, à Pembroke, terminent leurs études sans ssséder parfaitement cet usage.

résultats sont liés à la fréquence emploi du français hors de la ville dans les quatre villes rete-es. Justement, nous avons sou-né dans notre étude de 1982 le-uble effet de la nette prédominance métroque des Francophones à wkesbury : la très forte majorité élèves qui s'expriment toujours le plus souvent en français à la-ison font de même à l'extérieur. ns les trois autres villes, cette-éité au français régressait rallelement à la diminution-portionnelle de l'élément fran-ophone, selon la courbe ci-après : rnwall, North Bay et Pembroke. onstate le même phénomène à niveau inférieur chez les élèves parlent rarement le français dans rs familles.

ces faits illustrent les incidences situations démographiques sur

TABLEAU 2
Initiative du pronom réfléchi chez
jeunes Franco-Ontariens de quatre villes variables
la proportion de l'élément francophone

	Hawkesbury	Cornwall	North Bay	Pembroke
Francophones	(85%)	(38%)	(17%)	(10%)
Prévalence de l'emploi du français au foyer	Toujours ou le plus souvent	Toujours ou le plus souvent	Toujours ou le plus souvent	Toujours ou le plus souvent
Classes	2e	2e	2e	2e
	77	57	24	25
	96%	90%	78%	64%
	35%	37	45	27
	40	29	23	44
	96%	99%	96%	86%
	117	51	36	30
	100%	97%	95%	74%
	82	62	77	45
	100%	100%	100%	89%
	348	370	313	267
TOTAL	99%	92%	80%	64%

L'emploi du français entre les enfants dans les familles franco-ontariennes

TABL. I

Proportion de l'élément francophone	Cours									
	Elémentaire	Secondaire	Elémentaire	Secondaire	Elémentaire	Secondaire	Elémentaire	Secondaire	Elémentaire	Secondaire
Toronto	38 %	20,6 %	17,3 %	17,1 %	10,2 %	7 %	1,9			
Cornwall	48,2	31,1	34,1	34,2	26,3	16,7	31,0	29,8	25,3	
Toujours ou de l'anglais le plus souvent en français	157	143	67	170	86	169	35	20	12	28
Aussi souvent en français	23,3	21,3	21,7	24,2	22,6	21,4	19,6	18,4	12,5	12,3
qu'en anglais	76	66	28	132	57	42	55	14	9	11
Toujours ou le plus souvent en français	28,1	32,6	26,4	44,7	43,3	44,4	67,9	65,3	70,8	56,2
le plus souvent en anglais	93	101	34	244	109	144	87	191	42	51
en anglais	326	310	129	546	252	431	196	281	76	72
TOTAL										

premiers parlaient toujours ou le plus souvent en français entre eux, contre 56 pour cent dans le cas des parents. Ces chiffres sont peu encourageants, car ils s'appliquent aux élèves qui reçoivent l'enseignement en français, et non à l'ensemble des jeunes Franco-Ontariens, comme dans l'étude de Charles Castonguay.

La loi du nombre

Il est ressorti en outre de nos propres enquêtes que la conservation ou la perte du français chez les élèves instruits dans cette langue sont étroitement liées à l'importance démographique de leur communauté, ainsi que le montrent les données statistiques du tableau 1.

On y constate que l'emploi du français entre frères et soeurs varie en fréquence selon la ville. D'une manière générale, moins l'élément francophone est important, moins l'élève est cette fréquence.

Nous avons constaté le même phénomène en nous fondant sur d'autres points d'observation : la langue employée par les parents avec les enfants, par les enfants avec leurs parents, avec leurs amis, etc. L'enseignement dispensé en français n'a manifestement pas enrayer

l'assimilation chez les jeunes Franco-Ontariens, et son influence est fonction du facteur démographique.

La maîtrise du français

Nous avons vu que l'enseignement en français ne remédait pas au problème de l'alinéation linguistique. D'autre part, l'enquête menée avec des collaborateurs (4) et d'autres études par l'équipe que nous formons ont établi que la fréquence de l'emploi du français à la maison dans la communauté franco-ontarienne minoritaire se répartissait nettement sur l'aptitude à apprendre cette langue et à la maîtriser, chez les élèves recevant l'enseignement en français. Voici un exemple bien concret à l'appui de ce propos. Si les élèves se perfectionnent dans l'emploi des pronoms réfléchis (il se lève) au cours de ces études, ceux qui s'expriment toujours ou le plus souvent en français dans leurs familles maîtriseront bien cette ressource syntaxique dès la cinquième. Par contre, dans la situation inverse, les élèves n'y seront pas encore parvenus à la fin du secondaire.

Parmi les autres difficultés qui persistent, nous noterons la marque du genre (école français), le choix de la préposition (aller à son amie),

L'influence du milieu social

L'emploi du français en dehors de la famille entre aussi en ligne de compte. Le tableau 2 nous éclaircit ce point. Il renferme des données d'emplois des pronoms réfléchis chez les élèves des écoles élémentaires secondaires francophones de quelques villes où l'élément de langue française varie en importance. Il s'agit de Hawkesbury, Cornwall, North Bay et Pembroke. L'échantillon de Hawkesbury ne compte pas d'élèves exprimant surtout en anglais à la maison, ce qui tient à la nette prédominance francophone dans cette ville.

D'après le tableau 2, si on situe le seuil de la maîtrise à 90 pour cent d'emplois corrects, selon le critère proposé par Brown (5), les élèves de Cornwall et de North Bay qui s'expriment toujours ou le plus souvent en français à la maison parviennent à la même aptitude en cinquième. À Pembroke, on

enseignement dispensé en français n'a pas entravé l'assimilation chez les jeunes Franco-Ontariens. Le phénomène, constate l'auteur, est fonction du facteur démographique.

Le maintien du français et les jeunes Franco-Ontariens

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n 1968, le parlement ontarien autorisait l'emploi du français comme langue d'enseignement dans les écoles publiques, rendant ainsi possible les études en français jusqu'à la fin du secondaire. Cette situation suscite l'espoir que soit ralenti, sinon entravé le recul du français en Ontario. Or, le recensement de 1981 révèle que l'anglicisation progresse toujours.

ressort en effet de l'analyse des données qu'on y trouve la langue maternelle et sur les langues parlées dans les provinces à majorité anglophone. Des 475 605 personnes vivant le français pour langue maternelle en Ontario, la proportion de celles qui parlent surtout l'anglais à la maison est passée de 27 pour cent en 1971 à 34 pour cent en 1981.

très tard à établir si l'enseignement en français a ralenti l'anglicisation de l'abandon. Actuellement ce calcul est impossible, car le recensement ne tient compte de la langue parlée au foyer que depuis 1971. Pour les éléments de comparaison nécessaires, il faudra attendre beaucoup s'inquiéteront de ce que le nouveau régime linguistique n'ait pas entravé le recul du français. Pourtant les écoles créées en vertu de la législation nouvelle ont connu un essor remarquable vers les années 1970-1975 (1). autre part, l'enseignement n'est pas le seul facteur

dont on doit tenir compte si on veut entraver la transculturation, en particulier chez les jeunes. Interviennent également les situations socio-économiques et démographiques. Dans les pages qui suivent, nous verrons certains résultats d'enquêtes sur le comportement langagier des élèves. Il s'agira plus précisément de l'emploi du français et de la compétence en cette langue.

L'emploi du français chez les jeunes Franco-Ontariens

Analysant les données du recensement de 1971, Charles Castonguay (2) constatait en 1976 une forte montée de l'anglicisation dans ce groupe. Lui-même et Marion (3) avaient par ailleurs noté deux ans plus tôt que les Franco-Ontariens n'étaient guère touchés par l'assimilation dans les localités où ils étaient majoritaires. Par contre, la où leurs effectifs étaient inférieurs à 50 pour cent, les taux d'anglicisation étaient très élevés dans certains cas. Aussi ces auteurs doutaient-ils que le français pût se maintenir dans des situations de rapport démographique défavorable.

Vers la fin de 1979, nous avons mené des enquêtes sociolinguistiques auprès des élèves d'écoles francophones de sept villes à élément français minoritaire, soit Cornwall, Ottawa, Pembroke, North Bay, Toronto, Welland et Windsor. Elles ont confirmé et précisé l'étude de Charles Castonguay, et permis de mesurer le rapport entre la fréquence de l'usage du français dans les familles et l'aptitude à apprendre et à maîtriser cette langue chez les élèves.

D'une génération à l'autre

Au sein de ces sept communautés franco-ontariennes, le français est moins employé dans les conversations entre les enfants qu'entre les parents. Ainsi, 32 pour cent des

Cour de comté de Saint-Boniface. Le jugement historique rendu par le juge Armand Dureault mit alors en branle un processus judiciaire qui devait se terminer à la Cour suprême du Canada. En voici un extrait :

Avant de conclure, j'aimerais faire une dernière remarque : il faudrait chercher longtemps et partout avant de trouver un acte de loi rédigé de façon aussi fallacieuse que l'article 2 de la loi sur la langue officielle du Manitoba dans le dessein manifeste de prévenir toute contestation de compétence.

Pour les raisons précitées, je déclare qu'il est au-delà de l'autorité de la législature du Manitoba d'abroger l'article 23 de l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870, et que les dispositions de *The Official Language Act* du Manitoba, notamment les paragraphes (1) et (2) de l'article 1, sont inconstitutionnelles*.

Inquiet des répercussions politiques possibles, le gouvernement de la province a préféré ne pas interférer « immédiatement » appel. Forest a pu se faire entendre par la Cour du banc de la reine qui a déclaré la législation de 1890 « inopérante dans la mesure où elle abroge le droit d'employer le français devant les tribunaux manitobains* ». Le procureur général du Manitoba s'est donc vu contraint d'en appeler à la Cour suprême du Canada. Ce tribunal de dernière instance a rendu jugement le 13 décembre 1979. Les sept magistrats ont conclu à l'unanimité que l'abrogation, en 1890, des droits liés à l'usage du français était inconstitutionnelle et rejeté l'appel du gouvernement manitobain. L'usage du français et de l'anglais avait été consacré par l'Acte du Manitoba, et l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, 1871, avait fait plus que le valider en imposant des contraintes sévères sur le pouvoir d'amendement du parlement canadien et de la législature manitobaine.

En 1983, le rétablissement des droits des Franco-Manitobains est redevenu un dossier politique controversé, l'administration compétente tentant d'assortir une affirmation du bilan-

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* Notre traduction
Adapté de l'anglais

guisme officiel à une gamme négobien que restreints, en français. Sur le front juridique, la question de la validité des lois adoptées en anglais depuis 1890 n'a pas encore été tranchée, alors que la constitution de 1870 rendait obligatoire, et non facultatif, l'usage du français et de l'anglais dans nombre de secteurs. L'objet de cet article n'est pas d'analyser les plus récents événements et les mérites respectifs des divers points de vue, mais plutôt de brosser un tableau de la genèse du bilinguisme au Manitoba et des controverses, constitutionnelles et autres, qui ont marqué l'histoire de la province.

Le statut du français a provoqué des débats dans deux secteurs : celui de la législation et de la justice et celui de l'enseignement public. À l'origine, c'est le dossier de l'enseignement en

français, souvent confondu avec l'attention. D'ailleurs, ces constitutions du statut du français et l'enseignement, la justice et l'usage des services publics qui ont été en évidence. Quel que soit l'argument historique invoqué en faveur la pleine reconnaissance de l'égalité des deux langues, on ne peut faire abstraction des réalités démographiques qui nécessitent la prise en compte d'aspects pratiques aus bilinguisme. Au Manitoba les Francophones sont une minorité, langue officielle parmi d'autres, l'avenir de leur communauté dépendre dans une certaine mesure du soutien et de l'intérêt de Manitobains bilingues qui ne so

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Nous nous pencherons sur les suivants :

- (3) Sous réserve des autres dispositions de la présente, la langue française, l'une des deux langues mentionnées dans l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, 1867, peut être utilisée dans les écoles publiques comme langue d'enseignement.
- (4) Un conseil de district, de région ou de division peut demander au ministre d'approuver l'utilisation, sous réserve des autres dispositions de la présente, de la langue française dans l'enseignement des sciences sociales et autres matières semblables, comme peut le prescrire le ministre par voie réglementaire, dans une école de district, de région ou de division. . . *

La législation ne limitait pas l'usage du français comme langue d'enseignement aux communautés franco-

manitobaines, mais elle dotait le ministre de l'Éducation de vastes pouvoirs lui permettant d'exercer un contrôle sur l'usage de cette langue et sur les programmes, et de définir les compétences des enseignants. La législation, en renvoyant à la disposition bilingue de l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, 1867, évitait de mentionner la disposition bilingue de l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870, article 23, consacrée par l'A.A.N.B., 1871, qui, entre autres, avait conféré à l'Acte du Manitoba un statut impérial.

Cependant, on ne tarda pas à soulever la question des dispositions bilingues de l'Acte du Manitoba et de la compétence de la législature provinciale à déclarer unilatéralement l'anglais comme langue officielle de la législation et de la justice. En 1976, un résident de Winnipeg, Georges Forest, contesta la validité d'une convention pour stationnement irrégulier rédigée en anglais seulement. Il a demandé au procureur-général Howard Pawley de porter la question de la constitutionnalité de *The Official Language Act*, 1890, devant les tribunaux. Le gouvernement d'Edward Schreyer s'y refusa. Condamné en Cour du magistrat, M. Forest interjeta appel auprès de la

amendements à la loi sur les écoles publiques, un nouvel article fut adopté sans discussion. Cette disposition des Statuts révisés du Manitoba de 1954 prévoyait :

240. (1) Conformément au paragraphe (2), l'anglais sera la langue d'enseignement dans toutes les écoles publiques.

(2) Lorsqu'autorisé par le Conseil d'administration d'un district, une langue autre que l'anglais peut être utilisée dans une école dudit district.

a) au cours d'une période autorisée définie dans la présente loi pour l'enseignement religieux;

b) au cours d'une période autorisée dans le cadre des études pour l'enseignement d'une langue autre que l'anglais; et

c) avant et après les heures prescrites par le règlement et applicables à l'école*.

En 1963-1964, le premier ministre Duff Roblin nommait un Conseil consultatif sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme dont la présidence fut confiée au professeur W.L. Morton.

Aussi étrange que cela puisse paraître, la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme n'avait pas recommandé que la province du Manitoba devienne bilingue. Les autorités provinciales constituaient une mosaïque ethnique, la communauté franco-manitobaine y occupait un rang historiquement distinct tout comme les fondateurs anglo-celtiques.

Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, un autre amendement clé était apporté en 1967 à la loi sur les écoles publiques, mieux connue sous le nom de « Loi 59 », faisant du français une langue d'enseignement officielle. La législation de 1967 répétait pour l'essentiel l'article 240 de la loi de 1952, y ajoutant neuf paragraphes.

Enseignement en français, tenta empêcher des inspecteurs trop d'effacer toute trace d'une langue autre que l'anglais. Les fonctionnaires, presque tous d'origine anglo-celtique, s'entendaient pour que les Francophones étaient des canadiens de longue date et non des immigrants. L'enseignement en français se poursuivait, quelquefois indestinément, dans les paroisses rurales et à Saint-Boniface, durant l'entre-deux-guerres. Le Collège de Saint-Boniface continua d'offrir un certain enseignement postsecondaire en français, et les étudiants ne lui en étaient jamais défaits. Le démantèlement du système scolaire bilingue en 196 n'eut pas les mêmes effets sur les Franco-Manitobains que sur les communautés ethniques qui avaient ainsi les possibilités que leur offrait la législation de 1897. Il semble que les Franco-Manitobains jouissaient alors une certaine sympathie, qu'on leur reconnaissait un statut particulier et qu'on hésitait à les considérer comme un simple groupe ethnique parmi les autres.

Depuis les années 1960, dans le contexte des discussions nationales sur la nature de la Confédération, le bilinguisme, le multiculturalisme, les droits de la personne et la constitution, la question des droits des Francophones au Manitoba a refait surface à la faveur, notamment, de l'intérêt qu'elle soulevait dans la province même.

Les premières modifications ont touché le secteur des écoles publiques, siège de la controverse depuis 1960. La marge de manœuvre administrative qui existait dans la province depuis 1916 a reçu une sécrétion législative en 1947 et a été approuvée l'enseignement français une heure par jour. Puis, en 1952, le vide juridique en matière de langues d'enseignement dans les écoles publiques était porté à l'attention du gouvernement manitobain. Un cours d'une session qui s'est prolongée jusqu'aux petites heures, avant la prorogation, et une fois mis en vigueur les nombreux

présente loi, cesseront d'exister, et l'actif comme le passif de ces écoles reviendront au district scolaire public... *

Aucune allusion à l'abolition des districts scolaires protestants n'était faite, car il était supposé qu'ils formaient désormais le système public. La législation ne traitait pas de la question linguistique. Le français pouvait donc, d'un point de vue juridique, être une langue d'enseignement et un champ d'études et les manuels scolaires rédigés en cette langue pouvaient encore servir, à moins d'avis contraire. Il semblerait que le gouvernement tentait non pas de proscrire l'usage du français dans l'enseignement, mais plutôt de rallier les écoles francophones au système public.

En 1892, le gouvernement manitobain demandait à l'inspecteur A.L. Young de visiter toutes les écoles catholiques — ou écoles nationales comme certains les qualifiaient — qui étaient restées à l'écart du système public. Son rapport sur l'enseignement de la langue vaut d'être souligné :

L'anglais est enseigné dans toutes les écoles. Les parents et les tuteurs reconnaissent l'opportunité de cet enseignement pour leurs enfants; les professeurs qui ont une connaissance suffisante de l'anglais pour l'enseigner efficacement sont donc beaucoup plus en demande que les enseignants unilingues francophones*.

Ces établissements conservaient le caractère bilingue des anciennes écoles publiques catholiques. En 1894, la promulgation d'une nouvelle loi sur les écoles publiques venait resserrer davantage la vis. En vertu de cette loi, les écoles qui ne se conformaient pas à la législation provinciale et aux règlements ministériels se verraient refuser tout subside, et les conseils municipaux n'étaient pas habilités à accorder une aide financière, lever un impôt ou prélever des taxes pour l'entretien de ces établissements.

Cette loi, contrairement à celle sur la

langue officielle, provoqua une levée de boucliers et une interminable série de manoeuvres politiques. Parmi les recours envisagés, mentionnons les requêtes visant à faire désavouer la loi, les appels, un décret du conseil, la médiation politique et un projet de loi réparatrice. Il est intéressant de noter que les deux affaires qui ont été portées devant les plus hautes instances, *Barrett c. Ville de Winnipeg* (1892) et *Brophy c. Procureur-général du Manitoba* (1895), l'ont été par des Anglophones catholiques et non par des Franco-Manitobains comme une atteinte grave à leur système d'enseignement traditionnel et une violation des garanties constitutionnelles prévues à l'article 22 de l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870.

Système d'éducation bilingue

En novembre 1896, le gouvernement fédéral et celui du Manitoba aboutissent à une « solution » — que les autorités catholiques ont qualifié de « mauvaise, incomplète et insatisfaisante* » — qui fut incorporée à la nouvelle loi sur les écoles de 1897. Le « compromis Laurier-Greenway » mettait l'accent sur la langue et l'ethnie, plutôt que sur la confessionnalité. L'article 10 de la loi amendée se lisait comme suit :

Lorsque la langue maternelle de dix élèves d'une école donnée est le français, ou une langue autre que l'anglais, il leur sera donné un enseignement en français, ou dans une autre langue, et en anglais en vertu du système bilingue*.

Les Francophones pouvaient donc se constituer un réseau d'écoles au sein du système public. Peu après, le réseau français était doté de manuels, d'examens centralisés, d'inspecteurs de commissaires et d'associations d'enseignants de même que d'une École normale à Saint-Boniface pour assurer la formation des professeurs locaux. Le *Manitoba Free Press* expliqua plus tard pourquoi nombre de Manitobains avaient jugé opportun d'introduire le multilinguisme en 1897 :

Afin de ne pas alimenter les sentiments anti-francophones d'Ontario et ailleurs, la concession d'enseignement bilingue n'a pas été limitée au français, s'étendue à tous les résidents anglophones de la province de Manitoba en espérant que seuls les Francophones en jouiraient, et qu'un nombre restreint, de manière qu'un nombre décroissant de communautés mennonites*.

En fait, les écoles et les programmes bilingues allemands, ruthènes et polonais se multiplièrent au point de soulever des appréhensions quant à l'avenir des écoles anglaises. Outrée de la balkanisation, les sémissions anti-allemand, anti-pacifistes anti-étrangers que la guerre avait fait naître poussèrent à réclamer l'abolition de la disposition bilingue, qui était devenue l'article 258 du *Public Schools Act* tel que révisé en 1913. *Act to Further Amend the Public Schools Act*, promulgué le 10 mars 1916, déclarait :

1. L'article 258 de la loi sur les écoles publiques, qui constitue le chapitre 165 des Statuts révisés du Manitoba, est abrogé*.

La législation ne prévoyant plus aucune langue d'enseignement, c'est-à-dire au vide juridique En d'autres termes, il n'était pas contraire à la loi d'enseigner en français.

Dans l'esprit de la majorité cependant, la loi faisait de l'anglais l'unique langue d'enseignement des écoles publiques de la province. On créa alors l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français (aujourd'hui la Société franco-manitobaine) pour assurer l'enseignement en français dans les régions francophones, qui organisaient des manifestations et recueillait des fonds au Québec pour subventionner les écoles privées et confessionnelles. En outre, certains inspecteurs d'écoles et le sous-ministre de l'Éducation engagèrent une longue bataille de plume. Parmi les hauts-fonctionnaires ministériels, Robert Fletcher, qui était très favorable à



Colonisation du Manitoba au cours du
 siècle a été le fait de plusieurs groupes
 indiens. Cette carte indique l'emplacement
 nombreux villages et villes officiellement
 reconnus alors comme étant canadiens-français
 francophones.

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province à laquelle elle commençait d'ailleurs à ressembler démographiquement. Un décret du conseil, promulgué en septembre 1889, faisait de la *Gazette du Manitoba* une publication unilingue anglaise. Au début de l'année suivante, un statut abolissait les fêtes religieuses comme jours fériés. Le droit d'un accusé francophone à un jury dont au moins la moitié des membres devaient être de langue française a lui aussi été supprimé. Ces changements ne pouvaient signifier qu'une chose : la modification prochaine de la constitution provinciale.

Changements constitutionnels

En 1890, des amendements apportés à deux éléments de la constitution battaient en brèche les droits et privilèges de la minorité francophone. L'un emportait le désaveu unilatéral du bilinguisme officiel prévu à l'article 23 de l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870. Plutôt que de chercher à faire amender cette loi, la province préféra promulguer sa propre législation en matière de la langue officielle, *An Act to provide that the English Language shall be the Official Language of the Province of Manitoba*. De toute évidence, l'on n'était pas très certain que la législation avait compétence pour abroger une disposition constitutionnelle fondamentale d'une loi fédérale, qui résultait elle-même d'une union négociée et avait été validée par une loi impériale. Aussi, *The Official Language Act* de 1890 comportait-il les dispositions suivantes :

1. (1) Nonobstant toute loi ou disposition contraire, seule la langue anglaise sera utilisée dans les archives, procès-verbaux et journaux de l'Assemblée législative du Manitoba ainsi que dans toute plaidoirie ou pièce de procédure devant les tribunaux de la province du Manitoba, ou émanant de ces tribunaux.

(2) Dans l'impression et la publication des lois de la législature du Manitoba, l'usage de la langue anglaise suffira.

2. La présente Loi ne s'appliquera que dans la mesure où elle relève

de la compétence législative de la législature, et elle entrera en vigueur le jour de son adoption. Bien que l'anglais devait être la langue de la législature et des tribunaux, la loi, curieusement, ne visait pas les statuts.

Pour contrer cette atteinte de *The Official Language Act*, il restait à la minorité francophone d'attaquer sur les fronts politique et judiciaire. Ce qu'elle a fait, mais sans grande conviction. Six membres francophones de la législature ont fait parvenir au lieutenant-gouverneur une pétition lui demandant de ne pas agréer la Loi de concert avec une « conférence » de dirigeants de la collectivité, une requête fut présentée au gouverneur-général demandant la révocation de la Loi. Ces gestes n'ont toutefois pas fait l'objet d'un suivi énergique, sans doute parce que la province avait concurrentement décidé de mettre en pièces un autre pan capital de l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870 : l'éducation. Cette question dominait à ce point les débats d'alors que même la motion sur la langue des documents de la Chambre des communes et du Sénat n'a pas débouché sur l'examen de la législation linguistique.

Quant à la voie judiciaire, elle n'a tout simplement pas été empruntée. C'est sans doute parce que les Francophones, majoritaires au moment de l'entrée de la province dans la Confédération, ne formaient plus en 1890 que 7 pour cent de la population. La validité de *The Official Language Act* a été mise en doute en 1892, mais c'était dans le cadre d'une contestation devant une cour de Dix-sept ans plus tard, en 1909, le juge L.A. Prud'homme devait la déclarer inconstitutionnelle à l'occasion de l'affaire *Bertrand c. Dussault*, mais cette décision n'eut aucune suite. D'une part, le gouvernement fit la sourde oreille et, d'autre part, personne dans la collectivité francophone n'a saisi l'occasion pour exiger le rétablissement des droits des Francophones. C'est sans doute que la situation des Francophones en matière d'enseignement — secteur

qui intéressait particulièrement les dirigeants cléricaux — s'améliorait alors sensiblement. En 1916, dans l'affaire *Dumas c. Baribault*, il y eut une requête pour obliger un tribunal à accepter un plaidoyer rédigé en français. Le dossier a été transmis à la Cour d'appel et relégué aux oubliettes. La seule autre forme de résistance fut les interventions en français à la législature de députés de la minorité.

En mars 1890, deux importants changements étaient apportés au système scolaire provincial. *An Act respecting the Department of Education* abolissait le Conseil scolaire et les postes de surintendants de l'instruction publique, les remplaçant par un ministère de l'Éducation constitué initialement des membres du Conseil exécutif ou d'un comité nommé par le cabinet. *An Act respecting Public Schools* visait tous les districts scolaires protestants et catholiques et établissait le système d'écoles publiques :

5. Les écoles publiques seront gratuites, et toutes les personnes âgées de 5 à 16 ans, et dans les villes et villages entre 6 et 16 ans auront le droit de fréquenter ces écoles*.

Le gouvernement n'imposait pas la fréquentation obligatoire de ces établissements, croyant probablement qu'il violerait les droits confessionnels obligatoires les pratiques religieuses dans les écoles publiques était sauvegardée d'un article qui sauvegardait la liberté de conscience et permettait aux parents et tuteurs de demander une exemption pour leurs enfants.

Pour les Franco-Manitobains, la disposition clé était celle qui abolissait les districts scolaires catholiques sur lesquels ils avaient jusqu'alors exercé le contrôle. La loi stipulait :

179. Dans les cas où, avant que n'entre en vigueur cette loi, des districts scolaires catholiques auraient été établis... ces districts, à la promulgation de la

Cette même année, on tenta d'abolir la publication en français de certains documents officiels — ordres du jour, journaux des débats, rapports, etc. Cette mesure, connue sous le nom de « projet de loi 25 » ou *Act respecting Public Printing*, a été différée par le lieutenant-gouverneur Joseph Cauchon qui craignait qu'elle ne soit éventuellement déclarée *ultra vires*. Il informa le gouverneur-général d'alors, le Marquis de Lorne, des circonstances :

Par mégarde, le projet de loi a été adopté par l'assemblée avant que j'en prenne connaissance, ce qui aurait probablement évité les problèmes. En regard aux circonstances, je me trouvais devant l'alternative suivante : y opposer mon veto au risque d'entraîner des conséquences plus graves encore, ou en référer à votre Excellence. J'ai estimé plus judicieux de le soumettre à l'appréciation et aux vastes connaissances du gouvernement de son Excellence afin que soit créé un précédent et arrêté une décision susceptibles de guider de façon permanente l'action des législateurs du Dominion où pareille question serait soulevée*.

Ce renvoi n'a apparemment pas eu de suite, et la mesure fut abandonnée à ce moment-là. Selon plusieurs observateurs, la province du Manitoba pratiquement en faillite avait introduit le projet de loi 25 comme mesure économique; par conséquent la subvention augmentée du gouvernement fédéral aurait miné l'importance de cette mesure. Mais la grande question du bilinguisme officiel et de sa signification à toutes fins utiles été escamotée, et rien n'est venu d'Ottawa pour guider « de façon permanente l'action des législateurs du Dominion » en cette matière. L'élargissement des limites de la province vers le nord et vers l'ouest en 1881, augmentait la population d'environ 16 000 d'un seul coup. Les demandes de changements se firent plus pressantes, au cours de la décennie de 1880, réclamant que le Manitoba devienne officiellement unilingue et que ses institutions s'inspirent de celles de l'Ontario,

vérité que la tentative de Royal pour renverser le gouvernement Norquay qui succédait à celui de Davis, se nourrissait surtout des mécontentes croissantes entre les Métis francophones et les Canadiens-Français au sujet des nominations à la fonction publique, des mesures intéressant la propriété des terres et de la représentation politique. Non seulement Norquay est-il demeuré au pouvoir, mais deux ministres francophones — Royal et Delorme — se virent contraints de démissionner. Manitoba, Norquay n'avait pas l'intention d'effacer toute trace de la langue, de la culture ou de la représentation françaises au Manitoba. La preuve en est que le remaniement ministériel réserva six ou sept sièges aux régions à prédominance francophone, et qu'un Francophone a été nommé au cabinet. La crise de 1879 a sans contredit entraîné une détérioration irrémédiable de l'unité interne de la communauté franco-manitobaine. Norquay, cependant, n'y était pour rien.

Les mesures n'ont pas été sans provoquer de vives controverses. La campagne de Joseph Royal en 1879 « pour le pouvoir français » avait largement pour cause l'érosion manifeste du rôle des Francophones sur la scène provinciale, et pour objet de convaincre les Franco-Manitobains de leur droit historique à la représentation proportionnelle à l'assemblée législative et à des postes ministériels. Agissait-il de défendre le principe de « double majorité » ou d'affirmer la volonté des peuples fondateurs d'avoir voix au chapitre en matière de législation ? Ou encore était-ce une tentative visant à introduire le système du parti national dans la politique provinciale ? Il semble en

Hollandais	Polonais	Scandinave	Ukrainien	Islandais
Nbre	Nbre	Nbre	Nbre	Nbre
%	%	%	%	%
499	*	539	0,9	*
0,8	*		*	*
699	1 455	7 428	3 893	*
0,3	0,6	2,9	1,5	*
2 124	6 939	10 779	25 740	*
0,5	1,5	2,3	5,6	
7 473	9 559	17 712	35 587	7 001
2,9	1,6	2,9	5,8	1,1
1 047	22 621	18 792	50 658	7 712
3,0	3,2	2,9	7,2	1,1
204	36 550	*	89 762	13 954
5,4	5,0		12,3	1,9
12 341	37 933	32 921	98 753	13 649
5,5	4,9	4,2	12,7	1,8
17 780	44 371	37 746	105 372	14 547
5,2	4,8	4,0	11,4	1,6
55 300	42 700	35 110	114 415	*
3,6	4,3	3,6	11,6	
3 875	28 445	25 175	99 795	10 170
3,3	2,8	2,5	9,8	1,0

personnes d'origine française et celles sur le français langue maternelle en dit long sur le taux d'anglicisation.

Changements d'attitudes

Les changements dans la composition de la population se sont rapidement traduits par des demandes en vue d'abolir l'usage du français dans l'enseignement et la fonction publique, d'établir la répartition des sièges à l'assemblée législative en fonction de la population plutôt que des collectivités ou des paroisses, et, enfin, de séculariser le système scolaire. L'idée que l'entrée de la province dans la Confédération reposait sur un pacte entre les deux peuples fondateurs était remise en question. Même le vocabulaire avait évolué comme aux Canadas unis des années 1840. Le père Lewis Drummond, d'origine franco-irlandaise, disait à la *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba* en 1886 : Il y a trente ans, nous Franco-

phones étions appelés tout simplement « Canadiens », les autres étant des Anglais, des Écossais ou des Irlandais. Depuis quelque temps, il est de bon ton d'appeler les autres « Canadiens » et de nous identifier en tant que « Français »*.

Un pamphlet réclamant l'exclusion de la langue française « dans nos lois, nos tribunaux, nos ordonnances et nos écoles publiques* », largement diffusée, a soulevé beaucoup de passion.

Rassurés par le soi-disant engagement du premier ministre et des membres importants de l'administration libérale provinciale de conserver au français son statut officiel et de maintenir le double régime d'écoles confessionnelles, les Franco-Manitobains reprirent quelque peu confiance en 1888. Pourtant, les requêtes pour l'abolition du principe de dualité et d'égalités — qui régissait depuis toujours les rapports entre Francophones et Anglophones

Les origines de la population du Manitoba, de 1881 à 1981

Population totale	Français Nbre %	Anglais Nbre %	Indien et Eskimo Nbre %	Métis Nbre %	Allemand Nbre
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1881	62 260	9 688 15,6	37 155 59,7	4 590 7,0	*	8 427
1891	152 506	*	*	*	*	*
1901	255 211	16 021 6,3	164 239 64,4	15 419 6,0	*	23 047
1911	461 394	31 293 6,8	276 259 59,9	12 603 2,7	*	22 602
1921	610 118	40 908 6,7	350 992 57,2	13 605 2,2	*	13 001
1931	700 139	47 039 6,7	368 010 52,6	15 231 2,9	*	21 698
1941	729 744	52 996 7,3	360 560 49,4	15 474 2,1	8 692 1,2	41 479
1951	776 541	66 020 8,5	362 550 46,7	21 050 2,7	*	54 251
1961	921 686	83 936 9,1	396 445 43,0	48 074 5,2	*	91 846
1971	988 247	86 515 8,8	414 125 41,9	43 035 4,4	17 025 1,7	123 070
1981	1 013 705	74 045 7,3	373 995 36,9	59 920 5,9	*	108 140

* Les chiffres ne sont pas disponibles. Source : Statistique Canada

1926. Au moins onze autres journaux français ont paru au Manitoba dans les décennies qui suivirent. Le mieux connu est *La Liberté*, fondé en 1913, qui fusionna en 1941 avec *Le Patriote de l'Ouest*, édité à Prince-Albert depuis 1910, pour former *La Liberté et le Patriote*.

Phénomènes démographiques
Une vague de nouveaux colons déferla sur le Manitoba peu après son entrée dans la Confédération. Cet afflux changea le caractère démographique de la petite province et rompit l'équilibre des deux groupes fondateurs, les Franco-catholiques et les Anglo-protestants. Alors qu'ils étaient à peu près à égalité en 1870, le recensement provincial de 1885-1886 fixait à 73 000 environ le chiffre de la population d'origine britannique et à 11 000 celui des Francophones et des Métis.

Le recensement de 1871 établissait la population à 25 228; dix ans plus tard elle avait presque triplé, atteignant 62 260. Cette tendance devait se poursuivre, si bien qu'en 1891 la province comptait 152 506 habitants. Les Métis, qui tentaient de rallier des Québécois et de rapatrier des Franco-Américains, essayèrent échec sur échec. Ce taux de croissance phénoménal était attribuable à l'arrivée des mennonites — quelque 7 000 en cinq ans à partir de 1875 — et des Islandais, de même qu'à un nombre accru d'immigrants de l'Ontario, de la Nouvelle-Ecosse et des îles britanniques. Cette révolution démographique n'a pas manqué d'entraîner des adaptations institutionnelles et, éventuellement, l'adoption de mesures législatives qui équivalaient à une révision de la constitution du Manitoba.

Les tableaux de cet article illustrent l'ampleur du phénomène. Notons qu'après une alarmante chute de la population francophone à un cinquième de son pourcentage initial, on assiste à une stabilisation, voire une légère augmentation, à la suite de la Seconde guerre mondiale. Considérablement plus importante encore : le déclin des locuteurs francophones. L'écart croissant entre les données sur les

débuts. Un journal de langue anglaise, le *Nor'Wester*, a commencé à paraître en 1859, mais il n'a pu obtenir l'autorisation de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson de publier les débats du Conseil de l'Assiniboia malgré des requêtes répétées. Il fut supprimé par le gouvernement provisoire de Riel, mais son fondateur acquit le *New Nation*, qui l'avait remplacé, et l'édition sous le nom de *Manitoban*. Ce fut là le premier *imprimeur de la Reine* dans la province et son nom figura sur les premiers numéros de la *Gazette du Manitoba*, dans le premier volume des *Statuts du Manitoba* (1871) et dans les premières éditions du *Journal de l'Assemblée législative*. En 1871 était fondé le *Manitoba Liberal*, frayant la voie au *Manitoba Free Press*, qui serait créé l'année suivante.

Le premier journal francophone de l'Ouest fut *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie* (1856-1858), édité à Victoria. En 1871, à Saint-Boniface, commença à paraître *Le Métis*, qui s'était fixé pour objectif :

Nous voulons travailler au rétablissement de l'ordre et de l'autorité dans cette jeune et vigoureuse province de Manitoba, parce que nous avons la conviction que c'est le seul moyen de tirer parti des excellents principes déposés dans la constitution qui nous régit.

Il fit la promesse de renseigner la collectivité francophone, notamment le secteur du commerce et des professions, sur les affaires publiques :

Le Métis, étant le seul journal français de cette partie de l'Amérique, se trouve nécessairement à pénétrer presque exclusivement dans la population française qui, comme chacun le sait, constitue une portion notable des habitants de cette vaste contrée. Nous publierons les annonces des Cours de justice, celles des gouvernements de Manitoba et d'Ottawa, et en général toutes les annonces, émanant de l'autorité, qui sont d'un intérêt universel.

Après dix ans de parution, il eut pour successeur, en 1881, *Le Manitoba*, qui

classes d'un enseignement approprié dans les langues et littératures françaises ou françaises*.

secteur catholique comprenait des évangélistes et des élèves anglo-phones, aussi certains cours s'y tenaient-ils en anglais. Il devait leurs évoluer progressivement le bilinguisme à mesure que la diffusion démographique s'est intensifiée en faveur de l'élément francophone. On a même commencé à indiquer dès 1877 que le caractère culturel de l'Ouest soit compris. L'abbé Lacombe déplorait qu'il fut difficile de recruter des enseignants francophones répondant aux besoins des écoles catholiques du Manitoba. Or, sous ce rapport, on se tourna vers l'Europe. Ainsi, en 1883, une communauté bretonne de religieuses s'installa à Brandon, cinq à Prince-Albert et quatre à la colonie de Saint-Laurent.

différentes raisons, le secteur francophone faisait de plus en plus de système public non confessionnel. Il accueillait diverses communautés et perdait sa prédominance francocanadienne. L'arrivée de nouveaux immigrants de l'Ontario et de l'Islande donna à croire que les divers groupes ethniques disparaîtraient éventuellement des écoles dans le secteur anglo-ontarien. « Clear Grits » et méthodes ou presbytériennes pour la part, nombre des colons venus de l'Ontario étaient animés d'une profonde méfiance envers tout ce qui était français ou catholique. À tort, l'Ontario inclinait à assimiler l'école à un tronc commun public considérant les écoles catholiques comme « séparées », suivant l'usage dans leur province d'origine. De toute façon, le système protestant anglican de la conception anglicane « nationale » et évolua vers un confessionnalisme, ce qui correspondait, comme en Ontario, à une identité protestante.

ressée elle aussi traduisait le caractère bilingue du Manitoba des

Le système paroissial qui avait caractérisé la colonie serait retenu par le régime confédéral. Les paroisses avaient été les assises de l'organisa- tion sociale, religieuse, scolaire et politique. Il sembla donc naturel de se fonder sur ces arrondissements ethniques et religieux, au nombre de vingt en 1879, pour tracer les limites des vingt-quatre circonscriptions élec- torales prévues dans l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870, « en tenant compte, toutefois, des divisions locales actuelles de la population. » Le lieutenant-gouverneur Archibald avait consulté ses conseillers français et anglais avant sa proclamation du 16 décembre 1870 divisant le Manitoba en vingt-quatre circonscrip- tions électores. Elles correspon- daient aux vingt paroisses qui avaient envoyé des représentants au Conseil du gouvernement provisoire, sauf que les quatre plus grandes avaient été séparées en deux. Pour les divisions scolaires et judiciaires, et même pour les municipalités du début, on avait respecté les limites des paroisses, prises individuelle- ment ou groupées. La représentation symétrique des paroisses anglaises et françaises a servi de modèle pour l'Assemblée législative; de plus, les quatre circonscriptions fédérales ont été formées de façon à ce qu'il y en ait une de langue française, une de langue anglaise et que deux soient partagées à peu près également entre les deux communautés linguistiques.

Ce dualisme, tout comme le bilinguisme que nous allons exa- miner, a été conservé ou créé par les Manitobains; il ne tenait pas à une structure imposée par Ottawa ou par Londres.

Le bilinguisme après 1867

Le français semblait bien implanté au Manitoba dans les premières années de la Confédération, grâce à la stabilité de la société et à sa fécondité. Diverses mesures législatives fon- daient à croire que l'évolution de l'Ouest confirmerait son bilinguisme et reproduirait le dualisme de l'Est. L'Acte concernant les Municipalités, 1873, qui s'écarterait du système tradi- tionnel des paroisses, disposait que les requêtes en constitution de muni- cipalités devaient paraître dans la

Locuteurs de langues officielles au Manitoba, de 1921 à 1981.

	Français seulement	Anglais seulement	Anglais et fran
1921*	4 295	382 345	38 203
1931	9 280	600 139	43 397
1941	6 069	647 010	54 636
1951	7 869	685 914	58 441
1961	7 954	825 955	68 368
1971	5 020	881 715	80 935
1981	2 615	915 755	79 995

*Population âgée de 10 ans et plus
Source : Statistique Canada

Gazette du Manitoba, dans les deux langues officielles. Deux ans plus tard, la loi manitobaine sur les élections stipulait que la proclamation de celles-ci et l'établissement des listes des électeurs s'effectueraient dans les deux langues. De plus, la loi touchant les municipalités de comté portait que les règlements et les avis officiels devaient être publiés en français comme en anglais dans les municipalités renfermant une col- lektivité de langue française. En 1876, l'Acte concernant les Jures et le Jury prévoyait que dans le cas où un procès en français serait réclamé, suivant les termes de la constitution provinciale, le tribunal pourrait exiger que le jury soit composé de Franco- phones et d'Anglophones, en nombres égaux.

La loi de l'époque probablement la plus connue est celle de 1871 relative aux écoles publiques; c'est que sa modification, effectuée quelques décennies plus tard, devait pro- voquer une crise nationale. A l'origine, elle confirmait le régime traditionnel d'enseignement qui avait pris forme dans la région avant 1870. Cette loi répondait à la volonté de la population du Manitoba à une épo- que où l'opinion de celle-ci corres- pondait aux exigences formulées

dans la Liste des droits et incorp- Tous les protestants étaient grou- dans un système scolaire et les catholiques dans l'autre, suivant régime biconfessionnel semblable celui en vigueur au Québec. Il y un seul conseil scolaire, mais il tes ses séances dans des sections pro- testante et catholique séparées, cune ayant pleine maîtrise de ses affaires. Il revenait à ce double co- de « choisir livres, cartes et globe terrestres à utiliser dans les écoles communes, sous réserve que ces choix soient anglais pour les fran- anglaises et français pour les fran- gaises* ». » Aucun article ne définis- ces écoles anglaises ou françaises mais la réglementation de chaque secteur reflétait nettement le fait des écoles enseignaient en anglais d'autres en français. Les deux sec- teurs recevaient des subventions gouvernement, mais étaient libre tout contrôle politique immédiat, puis indépendants l'un de l'autre après 1875. Aux yeux de la popul- tion, d'une manière générale, le système catholique se confondait avec le système « français », tout l'enseignement en français releva de celui-ci. Lorsque des « départe- ments collégiaux » furent créés en 1885, l'amendement visait à « pos-

communautés, de concert avec les colons de vieille date, ont fermement appuyé les lieutenants-gouverneurs Archibald et Morris, qui semblaient bien résolus à préserver cette dualité et l'équilibre entre les deux colonies. Si le cabinet R.A. Davis a connu le succès en 1875, c'est probablement parce qu'il comprenait des représentants des deux communautés métisses.

La collaboration entre les Métis de langue française et de langue anglaise, point d'appui de ceux qui défilaient le monarque de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et soutenaient le gouvernement provisoire de Riel, s'est poursuivie également après 1870. Les deux groupes ont réuni leurs forces pour s'opposer au lotissement de leurs terres longeant la rivière, pour préserver leur méthode d'élevage et pour contre le principe de la représentation proportionnelle. Une crise politique allait détruire en 1879 cette alliance de longue date et attiser les querelles entre les Métis et les Canadiens-Français.

Population de langue maternelle anglaise et française au Manitoba, de 1931 à 1981.

Langue maternelle anglaise	Langue maternelle française
1931	42 499
1941	51 546
1951	54 199
1961	60 899
1971	60 545
1976	54 745
1981	52 560
399 009	408 544
467 892	584 526
662 720	727 240
735 920	

Source : Statistique Canada

autorisé, mais non obligatoire. De même, la disposition constitutionnelle disait que le français ou l'anglais, et non les deux « pouvaient servir », mais non « devaient servir », dans « toute plaidoirie » ou procédure devant une cour fédérale ou provinciale. Qu'il en découle une cour complètement bilingue ou la simple aptitude à faire place au français, au besoin, cela n'était pas stipulé nettement.

Des doutes se sont élevés au sujet de la constitutionnalité de l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870, c'est-à-dire d'une loi fédérale créant une province dans la Confédération et modifiant par le fait même l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, 1867, qui était impérial. Aussi un an plus tard, Westminster adopta-t-il l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, 1871. Le parlement canadien était déclaré non compétent pour modifier la constitution du Manitoba, et l'Assemblée législative de cette province était habilitée tout au plus à :

« modifier, de temps à autre, les dispositions de toute loi concernant la qualité de votants et de membres de l'Assemblée législative, et à adopter des lois relativement aux élections dans la dite province* ».

Le dualisme après 1867

Le gouvernement fédéral eut la sagesse de désigner comme premier lieutenant-gouverneur du Manitoba un Néo-Ecossais bilingue, d'un caractère conciliant, Adams G. Archibald. C'est lui qui a proclamé un nouveau gouvernement légitime à la Rivière-Rouge le 6 septembre 1870, qui a constitué son conseil onze jours plus tard et organisé en décembre des élections pour la première assemblée législative de la province. Dans tous ses actes publics, il s'est montré sensible aux manières de voir de l'Ouest ainsi qu'aux diverses particularités ethniques, linguistiques et religieuses de la population. Le caractère biculturel et bilingue de la vallée de la rivière Rouge s'est maintenu au Manitoba après 1870 du fait surtout de deux groupes : les Métis de langue anglaise et ceux de langue française. Ces deux

fédérale, le Manitoba entra dans la réfection en tant que province bilingue et bilingue, dotée de deux membres. Elle présentait en outre la particularité d'une population large-ment métisse et composée de deux types linguistiques. La loi constitutive du Manitoba a été promulguée le 15 juillet 1870. L'article chantant la question linguistique se lit ainsi :

3. L'usage de la langue française ou de la langue anglaise sera facultatif dans les débats des Chambres de la législature; mais dans la rédaction des archives, procès-verbaux et journaux respectifs de ces chambres, l'usage de ces deux langues sera obligatoire; et dans toute plaidoirie ou pièce de procédure par devant les tribunaux ou émanant des tribunaux du Canada, qui sont établis sous l'autorité de l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique, 1867, et par devant tous les tribunaux ou émanant des tribunaux de la province, il pourra également être fait usage, à faculté, de l'une ou l'autre de ces langues. Les actes de la législature seront imprimés et publiés dans ces deux langues.

version française fait foi au même que l'anglaise. Manitoba ressemblait étroitement Québec sur le plan démographique; aussi lui a-t-on donné une substitution modelée sur celle de la province. Elle renfermait, outre disposition sur le bilinguisme, des articles portant sur la création du conseil législatif (10); protégeant les droits ou privilèges dont sont titulaires, au moment de l'union, par la loi par la coutume, toute classe particulière de personnes dans la province, relativement aux écoles publiques (22); assurant le maintien du système des paroisses aux fins municipales et électorales (14).

s dispositions sur les langues étaient explicites. Mais si l'anglais et français étaient obligatoires pour les comptes rendus, les journaux et la publication des lois de l'Assemblée législative, l'exigence n'allait pas plus loin. Pour les débats, le français était

l'origine, mais elles prirent vite un statut confessionnel dont il était tenu compte dans les circonscriptions administratives et électorales. Lors- que les colons presbytériens de Kildonan obtinrent un ministre de leur confession, en remplacement du missionnaire anglican, ils pré- sentèrent au Conseil d'Assiniboia une requête de financement de leur école. En 1851, le Conseil leur accorda une modeste somme, sans lui donner un caractère de permanence, et « sous réserve, cependant, de l'éga- lité reconnue dans les présentes entre l'ensemble des protestants et les catholiques romains ». « Aussi la sub- vention aux catholiques a-t-elle été accrue au total accordé aux anglicans et aux presbytériens. L'enseignement relevait des deux collectivités religieuses respectives, mais il bénéficiait d'un financement public reposant sur la biconfessionnalité et l'égalité.

Le principe de l'égalité a fini par donner lieu à une situation où l'appui de la majorité de chacun des deux secteurs était recherché relativement aux grandes questions. Même les pétitions destinées au Conseil rela- tive ment à l'abattage des arbres, à la vente de spiritueux aux Indiens, au prélèvement d'un droit sur les spiri- tueux importés ou, encore, à la mobilisation d'une force de défense, étaient libellées en français ou en anglais selon les paroisses auxquelles elles étaient destinées.

La résistance à la Rivière-Rouge

La communauté francophone de la Rivière-Rouge, notamment les Métis, éprouvèrent bien des craintes et des doutes lorsque la région du Nord-Ouest fut rattachée au Canada sans aucune consultation des habitants de la région. La résistance de 1869-1870 se fonda sur le principe que le Canada ne possédait ni droits ni pouvoirs juridiques sur la région du fait que l'absence de consultation avait rendu l'opération illégale.

L'autorité de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson ayant pris fin et aucun gouvernement légitime n'ayant été établi, la population de la Rivière-Rouge avait, en vertu du droit international, le droit de créer un

gouvernement provisoire. La résis- tance exprimait sa volonté de négocier avec le Canada les conditions d'entrée dans la Confédération. Le dualisme de la collectivité se mani- festa de nouveau le 24 novembre 1869. Respectivement président et secrétaire du Comité national des Métis, John Bruce et Louis Riel tentèrent d'unir tous les éléments de la population pour élaborer une « Liste des droits ». En janvier 1870, était élue la Convention de délégués des paroisses anglaises et françaises pour fixer les conditions de l'union.

Le 15 mars 1870, une résolution adoptée par le Conseil du gouverne- ment provisoire, alors sous la direc- tion de Louis Riel, réitérait « la fidélité du peuple du Nord-Ouest à la Couronne d'Angleterre... », mais ajoutait une réserve lourde de signification : « pourvu que les droits, les biens, les usages et les coutumes du peuple soient respectés ». Com- ment les habitants de la Rivière-Rouge se représentaient-ils ces droits et ces coutumes ?

16. Que les langues française et anglaise soient communes dans la législature et les cours, et que tous les documents publics, ainsi que les actes de la Législature, soient publiés dans les deux langues.

17. Que vu que les populations de langues française et anglaise de l'Assiniboine sont tellement égales en nombre, si inséparables dans leurs intérêts et leurs relations commerciales, si unies par les liens du sang et par leurs relations sociales et politiques, qu'il a heureusement été trouvé impos- sible de les mettre en conflit, —

L'action fédérale

Dans une quatrième version de la Liste mise de l'avant par les négocia- teurs, étaient omis les deux para- graphes de l'article 17 expliquant la nécessité d'un lieutenant-gouverneur bilingue, mais les quelque 12 500 habitants de la région, dont 6 500 francophones, s'étaient exprimés sans équivoque sur la question linguistique.

18. Que le Juge de la Cour Suprême parle le français et l'anglais.

En matière de langue, les articles en matière de langue, les articles gences de la région. Elle renfermait, droits, où étaient énoncées les exi- troisième version de leur liste des Rouges, les délégués rédigeront une tante des paroisses de la Rivière- électorat de la Convention des représen- tés pour discuter avec le cabinet fédéral. Avec Louis Riel, président groupe linguistique, élu trois délé- nombre égal de membres de chaque La Convention, composée d'un

À Ottawa, les avocats de la Cour traduisirent la Liste des droits et le les trois délégués dans la langue juridique d'un projet de loi. Lorsq celui-ci fut déposé devant les char- bres, personne ne s'éleva, ni d'un côté ni de l'autre, contre les disposi- tions touchant l'usage du français. Adams G. Archibald, de Nouvelle-Écosse, qualifia même le projet d'« acte d'association entre Canadiens-Français et Canadiens-Anglais pour la mise en valeur du Nord-Ouest ». « Historiens et homi- mes politiques débattaient plus tard l'annonce voulant que la Confédéra- tion soit « un accord entre deux peuples fondateurs. » En vertu d'

gouvernement Lawley décide de laisser son projet de loi mourir en stérilité. Malgré l'appui ex-terné à l'autonomie par tous les partédéraux, l'opinion publique manitobaine est opposée à la substitution des droits en question. L'opposition provinciale vient que, sans être contre la substitution des services essentiels, elle s'oppose à ce que le régime tel que le conçoivent est du pays » et « le fédéral » impose » au Manitoba par voie constitutionnelle.

ÉVÈNEMENTS RÉCENTS AU MANITOBA

aux Métis de langue française. En 1820, la « Church Missionary Society », de l'Eglise anglicane, s'est établie à la Rivière-Rouge pour assurer le ministère auprès de cette population.

Quatre éléments convergents avaient donc contribué au caractère dualiste de la Rivière-Rouge : des Européens d'origine britannique ou française, ainsi que des Métis qu'on se représentait comme anglophones et protestants ou francophones et catholiques.

La collectivité se développait essentiellement autour de missions, qu'on appelait *paroisses* même si elles

étaient dépourvues d'existence juridique avant la création de la province. La première paroisse catholique de langue française a été constituée sur la rive orientale de la Rivière Rouge, face à la Fourche, et appelée Saint-Boniface en l'honneur du saint patron des éléments germaniques du régiment des « de Meurons », qui s'y étaient installés. Son école deviendrait ultérieurement le Collège de Saint-Boniface. Quatre ans plus tard, soit en 1824, les anglicans fondaient une paroisse, St. John's, sur la rive occidentale, en aval de la Fourche. Leur école, appelée *Red River Academy*, formera plus tard le *Saint John's College*. En 1848, Saint-Boniface devenait le siège

d'un évêché catholique; l'année suivante, St. John's était appelée même rôle, du côté anglican.

La seconde paroisse de langue française fut créée dans un territoire qui passerait aux Etats-Unis en 1880, aussi a-t-elle été réinstallée à la Prairie-du-Cheval-Blanc, sur l'Assiniboine. Saint-François-Xavier, le plus réputé figurait Cuthbert Grant, Gardien des Plaines les plus réputées figurait et Pierre Falcon, poète et guerrier. Au delta de la Rivière Rouge, les anglicans avaient érigé une paroisse (St. Peter's) pour la bande du fameux Peguis

JUILLET

À la suite du gain de cause de M. Georges Forest devant la Cour suprême du Canada, le gouvernement de M. Sterling Lyon fait adopter le projet de loi 2 reconnaissant le français et l'anglais comme « langues officielles » du Manitoba, et il promet de faire traduire en français toutes les lois pertinentes.

MARS

Pour protester contre la lenteur du processus de traduction, M. Roger Bilodeau demande à la Cour suprême de se prononcer sur la validité de deux lois manitobaines. Le Procureur général du Canada est par la suite autorisé à intervenir dans cette cause en faveur de M. Bilodeau.

MARS

Le gouvernement de M. Howard Pawley fait part de son intention de prendre des mesures propres à restaurer le statut du français au Manitoba et d'offrir un plus grand nombre de services en français que ne le prévoit l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870.

SEPTEMBRE

Les Franco-Manitobains organisent un vaste rassemblement à Sainte-Anne-des-Chênes, à l'appui de l'entente intervenue au sujet de leurs droits linguistiques.

OCTOBRE

Les opposants au projet de constitutionnalisation remportent la victoire lors d'un plébiscite tenu à l'occasion des élections municipales.

JANVIER

Le gouvernement Pawley prend deux mesures : le projet de loi définissant et délimitant les comtés des Franco-Manitobains, et la résolution constitutionnelle reconnaissant le français et l'anglais comme « langues officielles » dans les deux langues officielles. toutes les lois adoptées après le 31 décembre 1985.

JANVIER

L'opposition conservatrice à l'adoption du projet de loi 115 la résolution constitutionnelle doit être transmise au Parlement fédéral en vue de son adoption. L'Acte d'amendement à l'Acte du Manitoba, 1870.

Les événements qui se sont déroulés à l'occasion du récent débat
sur la langue au Manitoba poussent les Canadiens à s'interroger sur
ses causes profondes. Cet article retrace l'évolution linguistique et
culturelle de la province et montre que le dualisme et le bilinguisme
qui caractérisaient le Manitoba en 1870 étaient l'expression des
politiques locales.

Le français au Manitoba: fruit de l'histoire et d'une contrainte extérieure ?

RNEELIUS J. JAENEN

Rneelius J. Jaenen est professeur d'histoire à
l'université d'Ottawa et s'intéresse à la période du
nationalisme français, aux indigènes, aux groupes
linguistiques et aux minorités. Il a été membre du Comité
ultimatif sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme au
Manitoba et détient le titre honorifique de Docteur en
histoire de l'Université de Winnipeg.

u Manitoba, le français a connu des
grandes périodes de la région. Première
langue européenne introduite dans cette
contrée où l'algonquien dominait sur
d'autres langues amérindiennes, il y présida à
l'expansion du commerce des fourrures. Sa
part vers l'Ouest s'est effectuée à partir du lac
supérieur, où fut établie dans les années 1730 une
administration française pour la « mer de l'Ouest ». Aussi,
population francophone était-elle majoritaire à la
rivière-Rouge lorsque la région devint province de la
confédération canadienne en 1870.

La traite des fourrures devait aussi favoriser la venue
des Français, depuis les rives de la baie d'Hudson,
une autre langue européenne, l'anglais. Bien que la
part des Européens à son service parlait le gaélique
ou l'irlandais, les Français (Pierre-Esprit
Rasson et Médard Chouart des Groseilliers) sa
participation dans cette région, la Compagnie de la Baie
d'Hudson avait fait de l'anglais la langue officielle de ses
activités. Sa « charte » stipulait que la justice serait rendue
après les lois de l'Angleterre, c'est-à-dire uniquement en
français aux termes de l'Acte impérial de 1731. Un
établissement, créé en 1814 sur les bords de la rivière
Rouge sous la direction du comte de Selkirk, implanta le
français et l'anglais au confluent des rivières Rouge et
Assiniboine, dit la Fourche. Le Conseil d'Assiniboine,
premier gouvernement de la région reconnu par les

Britanniques, administrait en anglais et appliquait le droit
anglais au début. Mais peu après, il commença à employer
aussi le français et adopta des éléments du droit coutumier
de la région.

Origine de la dualité

Bref, il ne fait aucun doute que la collectivité en formation
a pris conscience de sa dualité peu de temps après l'arrivée
des Européens dans le Nord-Ouest. Cet état de choses
remontait d'ailleurs aux communautés métisses issues des
contacts occasionnels par la traite des fourrures. Depuis le
début du XVIII^e siècle, les Français avaient en effet pratiqué
le métissage et les mariages mixtes avec les autochtones
parmi lesquels ils voyageaient et séjournaient. Des le siècle
suivant, des colonies de sangs-mêlés ou métisses, comme
on dira plus tard, se sont établies sur les rives du lac
supérieur. Le commerce des fourrures et les expéditions
militaires des Français ayant gagné la Prairie au cours de la
décennie 1730-1740, des Métis se sont fixés dans les vallées
de la rivière Rouge et de l'Assiniboine. Même après le
départ des garnisons françaises en 1755, lors de la cession
du Canada à la Grande-Bretagne, le commerce des
fourrures se poursuivit. Montréal resta à la tête d'un
commerce lucratif, qui s'étendit vers le nord-ouest —
jusqu'à la région d'Athabasca. De plus en plus de Métis
s'installèrent à la Rivière-Rouge. Et, chose peu étonnante,
les missionnaires catholiques s'installèrent à leur tour
en 1818.

La Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson détenait tout le
territoire de la région depuis 1670, en vertu de sa charte
exclusive, mais sa présence ne s'est vraiment affirmée
qu'au début du XIX^e siècle avec la venue des colons de
Selkirk. Une population de sangs-mêlés s'était formée
autour de ses postes côtiers de la baie d'Hudson. Ces
« territoriaux » et les autres « half-breeds », terme origi-
naire des Carolines introduit dans l'Ouest canadien par les
gens de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, faisaient pendant

reuve d'info
mation et d'opinion, est une publication
trimestrielle du Commissaire aux langues
officielles, Max Yalden. Elle a pour objet d'a
mener la réflexion et de servir de tribune po
l'examen des grandes questions linguistiqu
qui se posent au Canada et à l'étranger.
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articles paraissant dans *Langue et société* doivent être
adressées au rédacteur en chef.

Note de la rédaction

La situation linguistique au Manitoba et
l'expansion des services en langue française ont
récemment fait couler beaucoup d'encre. Cette
situation, devenue d'importance nationale en
septembre dernier, fait actuellement l'objet de
discussions passionnées parmi les médias, les
politiciens et aussi dans le grand public.

Afin de donner une vue d'ensemble historique et
impartiale, l'historien Cornelius Jaenen, dans
l'article de tête, retrace en détail les débuts et
l'expansion du bilinguisme au Manitoba et sa
bibliographie choisie présente plusieurs auteurs
qui ont traité de ce sujet fort controversé.

Dans son article, Raymond Mougton se
concentre sur le maintien du français au sein de la
communauté franco-ontarienne. En 1968, le
gouvernement de l'Ontario autorisait l'emploi
du français comme langue d'enseignement dans
les écoles publiques, rendant ainsi possible les
études en français jusqu'à la fin du secondaire.
Malgré cela, l'auteur déplore la progression de
l'anglicisation.

Allison d'Anglejan, quant à elle, expose les
préoccupations des immigrants qui doivent
acquérir une des langues officielles et souligne
que nous avons beaucoup à gagner en les aidant
dans cette démarche difficile de l'intégration à un
nouveau milieu et de l'apprentissage d'une
langue. Selon elle, l'entière responsabilité ne
devrait être l'apanage des enseignants.

Deux autres articles traitent essentiellement de
l'utilisation de la télévision. John Daniel nous
entretient du rôle que joue la télévision dans
l'enseignement à distance et comment, grâce à
cet enseignement, la qualité et la quantité du
matériel didactique disponible dans plusieurs
langues a augmenté. Liam O'Murchu quant à lui,
nous livre son expérience de l'élaboration de
programmes de langue télévisés en Irlande.

Dans le dernier article, John Davidson se
complaint à proposer des moyens pour atteindre
les extraterrestres et communiquer avec eux.
En ma qualité de nouveau rédacteur en chef, j'ose
espérer que les lecteurs de *Langue et société*
trouveront ce numéro aussi intéressant que les
derniers.



COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES
OFFICIELLES
COMMISSIONER
OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

ANNUEE et société

13
Printemps 1984

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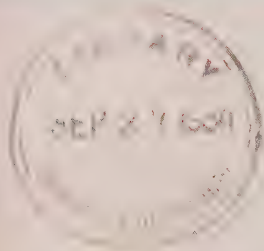
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LANGUAGE

and Society

SPECIAL ISSUE

14 Summer/Autumn 1984



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is a magazine of information and opinion published by the Commissioner of Official Languages, Max Yalden. The quarterly magazine encourages a reflective approach to language matters, both Canadian and international, while providing a forum for informed debate on the issues.

The opinions expressed by contributors are their own, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Commissioner.

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Official languages: a western perspective

Proceedings of the Colloquium sponsored
by the Office of the Commissioner of
Official Languages, University of Alberta,
Edmonton, May 11 and 12, 1984.

Guest Editor:

Charles Strong

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Commissioner's Farewell

Readers will find in this issue the proceedings of a colloquium our Office sponsored last May in Edmonton on Official Languages and the West. Four issues ago, we published the proceedings of a colloquium held at Trent University in the fall of 1982, and this report is in some sense an extension of that discussion.

The West's unique history and linguistic situation, we thought it might be useful to assemble a variety of opinion makers, mainly but not exclusively from the West, to explore the complex linguistic scene in that part of the country. The resulting mix of perspectives and the contrast in approach between East and West, and the central issue of squaring official bilingualism with multicultural and multilingual realities, added up to an invigorating two days of discussion. We hope that a distillation of those exchanges, together with shortened versions of the papers presented, will offer the reader a good overview of what the West is doing, and how it thinks about the language question.

This is the last issue of *Language and Society* to be edited during my time as Commissioner, I also want to take the opportunity to say farewell to our readers and to express the wish that you have enjoyed and will continue to enjoy, reading our review.

Language and Society was launched in the fall of 1979, in connection with the 10th Anniversary of the Official Languages Act, in the hope that it would illuminate the broad readership and in plain language some of the fascinating interplay between language and social behaviour. Our main focus of course has been the Canadian language scene and the proliferating questions about official bilingualism and language policy. We also felt it was important to look outward, bringing to our readers the perspectives of linguistic diversity abroad. We Canadians often get so caught up in our linguistic problems that we fail to realize that people live in similar situations, that we might sometimes benefit from their experience and that, all in all, we do not compare unfavourably with other countries. It may be a truism to sociolinguists that, around the world, plurilingualism is the rule rather than the exception but this fact continues to escape otherwise informed Canadians.

In the fourteen issues we have published to date, our authors have looked at close to ten bilingual or plurilingual countries and have in many cases compared their linguistic regimes and problems with ours. We have fortunately been able to commission some of these articles from specialists who are also members of minority-language communities, such as the piece on the Basques in Spain or the one on Swedish-speakers in Finland. As a result, we hope to have been able to bring our readers closer to the minority situation as it is lived elsewhere.

Our own Canadian experience has been reviewed from a variety of angles — political, legal, historical, sociological, economic, educational and linguistic — as well as from perspectives that fit no convenient peg. We decided to devote an entire issue — and a double one at that — to the French immersion phenomenon in recognition of its importance to Canadian bilingualism. To enhance the magazine's usefulness as a reference, early numbers included a chronology of language-related events in poster form, a world languages map, and the complete texts of two important Supreme Court decisions together with a commentary. Documentary pieces of historical interest will no doubt feature again in future issues.

Reactions from our readers indicate that the revue is meeting a need for non-specialized information in the field. While we may to some extent be preaching to the converted, we also hope that it has helped to lessen the confusion and rancour of our enduring language debate. Canada's immense geography and scattered population work against people getting to know each other as well as they might like to. Add to this people's sensitivities about language and the possibilities for misunderstanding are legion. It has been one of the guiding principles of my term as Commissioner to make it possible for people of various persuasions to speak to each other about the interaction of languages in Canada in as informed and dispassionate a way as one can imagine. I have no doubt that *Language and Society* has played an important role in whatever success has been achieved along those lines.

Our editorial staff has been assisted by an Advisory Council of seven members whose task is to guide publication policy and to help evaluate the end product as part of a never-ending effort to improve. The names of the present members appear opposite and I am grateful to all of them for their time, their wisdom, and their great good humour. Staff members involved in producing *Language and Society* have worked extremely hard to keep it interesting and attractive, and I greatly appreciate their efforts.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES A WESTERN PERSPECTIVE

*"Acceptance of two official languages is part of our history, our tradition, our constitution." Yes, but "let's capitalize on our cultural and linguistic pluralism." The harmonious weaving of these two strands of Canada's tapestry was a challenge willingly taken up by the 85 business people, academics, journalists, politicians, public servants and minority group representatives who met in Edmonton last May to debate western perspectives on language. The two-day meeting was chaired by Louis Desrochers, an Edmonton lawyer, and by Bruce Howe, President of B.C. Resources Investment Corporation. This special issue of **Language and Society** contains the edited proceedings of the colloquium.*

There can be little doubt that the language we hold as our own and the status accorded to that language by the society in which we live are, to most of us, of us, of immense psychological importance. It comes as no surprise, then, that emotions run high in pluralistic Western Canada when people meet to discuss the role of official and non-official languages, and the positions of government toward the promotion, preservation and protection of such languages and the cultures indissociable from them.

From our vantage point as co-chairmen of the Edmonton colloquium, we perceived the emphasis of the discussions as differing markedly from those of an earlier assembly in Peterborough, Ontario in September 1982 (*Language and Society*, Issue No. 0). The focus of the often lively exchange of views in Edmonton was the role, perceptions, politics, policies and practice of language in the West — in the public and private sectors, in education and at the grassroots community level.

Although it quickly became apparent that participants held a variety of views, we detected the gradual emergence of three major areas of consensus: a general willingness to accept the principles of official English-French bilingualism at the federal level; a recognition of the need to have educational authorities provide increased opportunities for minority- and second-language instruction at all levels; and a widespread belief that, in Western Canada in particular, the notion of English/French dualism should not pre-empt or in any sense

ede the legitimate aspirations of other cultural linguistic groups.

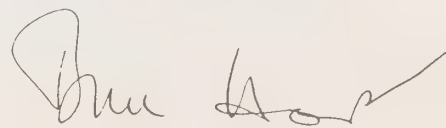
ally everyone, for example, appeared to agree official bilingualism, of one sort or another, legal and constitutional validity in the federal re. Similarly, it was generally acknowledged from a *national* perspective, and on the basis of onal demographics and pre-20th century Cana-history, Canada should be seen as a country in h English and French have equal status.

ite general agreement on these principles, ed differences of opinion were evident on ed issues. More than one speaker, for example, tioned the manner in which the federal rnment had become involved in the Manitoba age dispute, noting that in their view this essentially a provincial issue that should be ed provincially. Others viewed the notion of nglish and French as "founding peoples" and oncept of coast-to-coast official bilingualism oducts of the thinking of Central Canada, and mpletely out of tune with the demographic ies of Western Canada and its development in 0th Century.

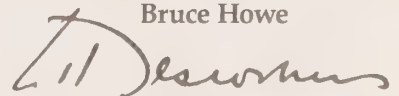
essage that came across time and time again hat the West is viscerally different from the n terms of its cultural and linguistic makeup. fferent in fact, some suggested, that notwith- ing the need for certain pan-Canadian poli- our federal state, the central government d do more to recognize the distinctive ethnic nguistic composition of Canada's western

population. Why, some asked, was multicultural-ism merely a *policy* of the federal government, and not backed by legislation? How, asked others, can we protect and give concrete support for the rights of the 185,000 Francophones in Western Canada, and how can we ensure that the spirit of the Official Languages Act is fully implemented by all federal institutions operating in the West.

The two days as we saw them were characterized by a potent mix of cogently argued positions and passionately held convictions. More important, perhaps, they were marked by a distinct lack of acrimony and by a sense that minority groups — whether Francophone, Ukrainian, Polish, German, Japanese, Chinese or any other — were allies in a common cause for self-fulfilment in a country where two official languages and a multiplicity of cultures can coexist in harmony. There is little doubt in our minds that everyone came away from this meeting with a sharpened understanding of our differences and a renewed determination to seek out equitable solutions for all.



Bruce Howe



Louis Desrochers
Co-Chairmen

1 /LANGUAGE AND THE WEST

Split images *To what extent does the national view of Canada as a multicultural country with two official languages, English and French, coincide with the regional realities of western Canadian society? In the opening session, this question and related issues were addressed by Maxwell Yalden, Commissioner of Official Languages; Patrick O'Callaghan, Publisher, Calgary Herald; and Bill Clarke, Member of Parliament for Vancouver Quadra.*

Some basic issues

MAXWELL YALDEN

Our first colloquium at Trent University in Peterborough a year and a half ago tended naturally to focus on Central Canada, particularly on the so-called bilingual belt stretching from New Brunswick through Montreal to Sault Ste Marie where some 95 per cent of our official-language minorities live. As a result, we did not perhaps do justice to the western aspects of Canada's linguistic make-up, a weakness we hope to rectify in the next two days.

Few of us had any idea a year or so ago that the West in general and Manitoba in particular would be the subject of so intense a linguistic debate. Whether that is good or bad is not an easy question to answer: no doubt we shall hear different views on that score, and on the substantive question of minority language rights in the West. Whatever else might be said, our discussions are certainly timely. Language is an emotionally charged subject; in Canada very few areas of public policy are so replete with mistaken perceptions. If we can assist in uncovering the facts behind the myths, we will have accomplished a good deal. This can only be done, I believe, by a full and frank airing of the issues. I urge you all to speak your minds and not to pull any punches. We are a pretty disparate group — geographically and professionally, philosophically and politically — and our diversity will doubtless generate much lively discussion on how we see language policy in the West unfolding.

"Official bilingualism" is the first notion that needs some clarification, if only to indicate what it does not mean. This is an important matter: in certain places these last few months, the expression has taken on the dimensions almost of a dirty word. Generally speaking, languages are identified as having

official status when they are recognized by statute or constitutional law as languages that may or must be used in dealings with the state and within state bodies. If we look at what the concept means in the Canadian context, we find it involves a minimal set of conditions which apply to the legislatures and the courts. In an expanded version, it also involves certain rights in the area of minority-language education and government services.

The limited version is set out in Section 133 of the Constitution Act of 1867 as follows:

- either English or French may be used in the Parliament of Canada, and the Legislature of Quebec;
- any pleading or process in, or issuing from, any court of Canada or Quebec may be in either language; and
- federal and Quebec statutes must be printed in both English and French.

As you know, Section 23 of the Manitoba Act contains virtually identical provisions, and New Brunswick has accepted the same obligations under the new Charter of Rights.

In the expanded version, we have, first, the question of minority-language education: the right of parents whose language is English in Quebec or French elsewhere in the country to have their children educated in the appropriate language. These provisions, set out in Section 23 of the Charter of Rights, apply to all provinces and the territories. Second, there is a requirement which at this time covers only the federal and New Brunswick governments: to provide service at head offices, as well as "where numbers warrant" and where "the nature of the office" requires it.

s, of course, is not an exhaustive definition of official bilingualism. The federal and New Brunswick Official Languages acts, for example, contain more detailed provisions concerning service to the public. The Quebec Language Charter (Bill 101), while aimed at preserving the *French* language, nevertheless contains provisions that relate to other languages, including English. And various statutes, regulations and policies in other provinces cover a wide range of language matters in such a way as to make them "official", at least for certain purposes.

Myths vs. facts

Today and tomorrow, we will no doubt come back to the question of what is official and what is not. Let me add only that I see nothing sinister in the desire to establish some basic rules of institutional conduct with respect to languages. On the contrary, the various elements I have listed seem to be relatively simple and straightforward. Yet they seem to have given birth to a number of ideas on the subject that one can only describe — diplomatically — as surprising. Among the more durable are the following:

1. Canadians must become bilingual;

2. Public servants must be able to speak both languages;

3. Most of the good jobs in a bilingual public service are reserved for Francophones, since they are more often bilingual;

4. Languages other than English and French are second class and have no legitimate place in Canadian society.

The list goes on. The recent language battles in Manitoba gave new life to some of these notions which, repeated often enough, became increasingly divorced from the conventional wisdom, the facts notwithstanding. The federal experience is instructive in this context, for it presents a rather different picture. A set of numbers where Francophones and bilingual people are concerned. Out of 10,000 federal public servants in Manitoba, for example, there are only 335 Francophones, well under their proportion of the population. There are even fewer bilingual people actually working in bilingual jobs. And this after fifteen years when it is supposed to be a thorough-going bilingual society.

National vs. regional perspective

Even if one has a reasonably clear idea of what official bilingualism is and is not, we are left with the question why anyone needs it, especially in the West. Most westerners do not see the French/English question touching them personally, an understandable reaction given the facts of Canadian geography and demography. Some westerners have probably never stepped into a Francophone or heard a live word of French spoken.

Despite these realities, it seems to me that there are certain issues in Canada that transcend provincial or regional frontiers. They involve the welfare of all Canadians and become Canadian or national imperatives; western freight rates are undoubtedly one of these pan-Canadian concerns, the Atlantic and Pacific fisheries another. And so, to my mind, is the working out of a just deal between the English- and French-speaking communities in this country.

I am aware that the so-called confederation bargain between these two groups, or founding peoples as some prefer to call them, is more meaningful to people in Central and Eastern Canada than it is in the West. I myself do not much like the "founding peoples" concept since it appears to give a special place to part of our history or to certain groups at the expense of others. The Ukrainians, Germans, Scandinavians, Asians and others who homesteaded or laboured on the prairies were also founders.

There remains, however, the overwhelming demographic fact that we are a nation which has more than a quarter of its population, some six and a quarter million, who speak French, and many of them only French. And when one considers that recognition of the French language has been more or less a continuous feature of Canadian institutional life from the beginning through to the present, I see no realistic alternative to a policy of linguistic accommodation in this country. In practical terms, this means putting in place those minimal conditions that make up the infrastructure called official bilingualism.

I think this proposition is now pretty generally accepted by those who want to see Canada continue to exist as one country. Certainly in the federal political arena, all three major political parties have supported minority language rights as a *sine qua non* of Canadian nationhood.

But what of the language situation within the western provinces themselves? The population mix in this part of the world is obviously very different from that in Central or Eastern Canada. Using the statistics from the 1981 census, we obtain a clear picture of the mother-tongue population of the four western provinces (see the table on the next page).

There are of course variations among the provinces, but the pattern is similar: English speakers account in each case for some 70 or 80 per cent; French-speakers from 1 per cent to 5 per cent; and other mother tongues from 16 per cent to just over 23 per cent.

In light of these figures, how does one make a convincing case for French-language rights? What about the speakers of other languages which in their aggregate — and sometimes singly, as in the case of German or Ukrainian — outnumber the speakers of French? Clearly, it is a matter of reconciling national

Population
of the four western provinces,
by mother tongue

Mother tongue	Number	%
English	5,566,680	79.8
French	185,865	2.7
Other	1,224,295	17.5
Total population	6,976,740	100

obligations with local or provincial demographics. Not an easy task, but surely not an impossible one.

Official languages and multiculturalism
Recognizing French-language rights in no way implies that the aspirations of other linguistic groups need be ignored. This rubbing together of official bilingualism and what is loosely called multiculturalism brings us to the heart of the western language issue.

While opinion has evolved considerably on this question over the last several years, it is still a fairly common view that having two official languages is not entirely compatible with a policy of multiculturalism. Behind this view is the belief that official languages somehow entail official cultures, which render all others unofficial or subordinate. This is quite false: there are no official cultures in this country. Each of our official languages is spoken by people of many different cultures and cultural traditions.

It is true that Canadian Francophones are mainly of French ethnic descent and can be said to be members of a more or less cohesive cultural group. But there are nonetheless many French-speakers who do not come from France or continental Europe. And even within what is loosely called French Canada, it can certainly be argued that the Acadians or the Franco-Manitobans, for example, represent distinct cultural groups.

Anglophone Canada much more obviously involves a multiplicity of cultural heritages and ethnic groupings.

And with the increasing recognition of this fact, multiculturalism as a policy has become much more widely accepted.

But multiculturalism does not resolve the problem of multilingualism. Or put another way, why do we not have more than two official languages? Because, as I see it, the figures are such that it would make no administrative sense. The 1981 census counted close to 15 million English speakers and over 6 million French.

The next largest group, Italian, was just over half a million. If the facts were different, if there were several million speakers of Italian or German or Ukrainian or Chinese, we would no doubt have to rethink our language policy. For the moment, however, at least at the federal level, a bilingual regime seems to offer the best balance between contemporary facts and historic obligations.

Common interests
So much for national bilingualism. Here in the West, as I noted earlier, the demographic facts are quite different. Even so, as far as I am aware, most of those who want to preserve their ancestral languages are not interested in making them "official" in the sense of having government forms and services made available in these languages. They are, however, often very interested in having them taught in schools and used as languages of instruction. For my part, I see no problem with this kind of approach.

Perhaps the best argument against there being an inherent conflict between bilingualism and multiculturalism, between two official languages and the promotion of other ancestral languages, is to look at recent history in Manitoba. Amidst all the hostility that many found so saddening was the remarkable extent to which the leaders of the ethnic communities were prepared to support the Francophone cause. I think as time goes on, this commonality of interest among cultural and linguistic minorities will become more evident. The main lesson is to put aside the shortsighted notion that only English should have pride of place in this country and on this continent.

As lead-off batter in our opening session, I have tried to put in perspective some of the issues that underlie the language situation in Western Canada. That situation is anything but simple. I hope we will be able to do justice to it over the next two days, and I know that our speakers and all of you as participants will shed new light and offer new perspectives on the complex linguistic tapestry that is Western Canada.

Trick O'Callaghan's remarks

In his opening remarks, Mr. Yalden made two very significant points. First, in explaining why a western perspective was given only cursory attention at a previous column on official languages, he noted the neglect may well have been because less than 5 per cent of the official-language minorities live west of the Sault. Second, noting that many westerners do not see the French-English issue as touching them personally, he agreed that most of them have probably never met a Francophone or heard a live word of French spoken.

Could we wrap both of those issues around the Manitoba language issue and have a fairer understanding of why there is so much uproar in the West: it has something to do with animosity towards French-Canadians; it has something to do with the belief of westerners that they are nothing more than a colonial appendage of Central Canada.

Prime Minister Trudeau told me, "I came to Ottawa to see Quebec; somebody else will have to worry about the West," it was more about his limited horizon in Canada than anything else. And when he recently stated that he had made sure that French was now a permanent fact on the federal scene in Canada, he added another wrinkle to the worried brow of westerners.

Politics on a racial basis and centralized the governing of Canada.

There is a tendency to interpret the Manitoba reaction as nothing more than a manifestation of red-baiting and indignation. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The reality is that Western Canada cannot escape the image of two Canadas: a Canada east of the St. Lawrence and a Canada west of it. The fear concerning itself with an official bilingualism that has not

been a factor in Western Canada in this century.

When bilingualism is cemented as federal policy, enshrined in a charter and a newly-minted constitution, Western Canada shrugs in disbelief, knowing that 19 out of 20 westerners are outside the picket fence of language that surrounds Central Canada.

And when the defenders of federal bilingualism, of whatever party, ride out on their white chargers to convert the heathen in this vast redneck wasteland beyond the Great Lakes, the gospel gets somewhat twisted in the translation.

The assumption has always been that Canada can be roughly divided into two nations, one consisting of Francophones and the other of Wasps. But that is an assumption that died on the waves of immigration that opened up the West at the turn of this century.

Manitoba's dissatisfaction

The image of Manitoba as a province of bitter Wasps and rednecks holding back the French tide is totally false and unfair. But it is an image fostered by a prime minister and a government that have made bilingualism and French power the keystone for a united Canada without understanding that there was a totally different Canada that saw that keystone as more of a boulder, blocking progress to unity.

Manitoba's resentment has little or nothing to do with the principle of bilingualism, or with a struggle for racial supremacy between Wasp and Francophone. And it has very little to do with Section 23 of the Manitoba Act, the Riel compromise, that some insist hinges on the ambivalence of whether some provincial legal functions should or should not be in both official languages.

The resentment flows more from a federalism that holds little comfort

for Western Canada. It flows from an improper assumption on the part of Manitobans that their province, because of its minor-league status within Confederation, is having the duality of language forced on it, while the two major founding provinces, Ontario and Quebec, go their merry ways, each still unilingual.

The Manitoba crisis — and that is what it is — has bilingualism only as a symptom of a much more dangerous malaise, the belief of the West that it is only a cipher in Confederation.

The Manitoba crisis is the reflection of the insecurity of the West, of its irrational fear that it is about to be swamped by French power. It is a reflection of western impotence in the face of the overwhelming demands of Central Canada for absolute dominion over the lesser provinces. It is an understanding, misplaced if you like, that Trudeau's constitution preserves the integrity of absolute rule by Central Canada where the seats of either Quebec or Ontario can offset the voting pattern of that half of the country lying beyond the Lakehead.

The Manitoba crisis implies to westerners that provincial rights can always be overridden by the intervention of a central government in Ottawa, but that when Ontario and Quebec ignore such policies as bilingualism they do so in the knowledge that no action will be taken against them. Manitoba's fear stems from the belief that the western provinces are not full partners in Confederation, that they are merely tolerated paying guests in somebody else's house, and that if they don't acknowledge the house rules they will be confined to their room or have the rent raised and their furniture seized.

It is difficult to convince Manitobans that Mr. Bilodeau's parking ticket takes precedence over

the wishes of the majority of Manitobans, just as it is difficult for those who live in the territories to understand why John Munro deems it essential to spend millions of dollars in an impoverished region of the country to provide unwanted bilingualism for the 200 or so Francophones who are scattered across an area in which the whole of the British Isles could geographically be lost over and over again.

A Manitoban might well ask: are our 30,000 Francophones of more importance to the federal scheme of things than the million or so Francophones who live in unilingual Ontario? It is the lack of proportion that irks Manitobans. I don't believe Manitobans are rednecks, any more than I would accept that the 19 out of 20 western Canadians who don't embrace with enthusiasm the principle of bilingualism could be classed as reactionary cowboys.

The Manitoba question was badly handled by the government of that province. Had it accepted and followed through on its responsibility, there would have been no national outcry, there would have been no resurgence of western bitterness in response to perceived bullying by Central Canada. There would have been no necessity for Parliament to involve itself in what is a provincial affair. There would have been no opportunity for John Turner to impale himself on his own convoluted logic of political pragmatism.

The place to settle the Manitoba question was in Manitoba. Democracy and the will of the majority must always prevail. The NDP had a majority in the Legislature. It had an obligation to test that majority by forcing a vote on its programme.

It should have ignored the petty politicking of the Tories, and their childish refusal to sit on their benches while the bells rang out. It should have brought its policy to a vote and put its political neck

on the line. But the NDP, the party of pure principle, proved in the end to be just as conscious of its standings in the polls as the other, allegedly more cynical, parties.

The whole incident was not a memorable political occasion: democracy was ill-served by an opposition that allowed hysteria to consume logic, and by a government that abandoned its right to govern.

The Francophone minority in the West

Mr. Yalden pointed out that one quarter of Canada's population speak French as their first language or the language of their birthright. But of those 6,500,000 people, only 185,000 live in this half of the country — that is 2.7 per cent of the population of the four western provinces and the territories.

One hundred and eighty-five thousand snowflakes do not constitute a Prairie winter, but many westerners see the apparent urgency of federal policies on bilingualism as a panic response to a blizzard that never took place.

Parliament brought out the snow shovels and bewildered, antagonized and offended Manitobans in the process. As a result of a storm that was tracked only on radar sensitive to Central Canada, the Francophone population of Manitoba now finds itself unjustly isolated and beleaguered.

It is not a happy situation, and certainly not one that makes westerners any more comfortable within a confederation that makes them feel like outcasts.

Like Mr. Yalden, I see no realistic alternative to a policy of linguistic accommodation in this country, on either side of the Lakehead. But putting such a policy in place requires more patience, finesse and understanding than has been demonstrated in the Manitoba situation.

Manitoba is not a province like others. It had bilingualism and rejected it, probably improperly in the constitutional sense, but at the whim of the majority of its citizens.

Minority rights need the protection of government, but forcing bilingualism through the courts when the elected legislature of a province failed to take a voting decision is not likely to eradicate the bitterness of language as a divisive issue. Manitoba's crisis is a tragedy of federalism based on betrayed principle, but it leaves a scar on the nation and on Western Canada that will not heal in our lifetime.

In light of the fact that the mother tongue of 97.3 per cent of western Canadians is not French, how does one make a convincing case for French-language rights? With difficulty, but the case must be made.

As a nation, we have accepted bilingualism federally. There are two official languages. Broad-minded provincial governments would extend that principle, but they are also aware of the horrendous costs involved in trying to provide service in the language of choice of 2.7 per cent of their population.

Perhaps it is a case of making haste slowly, of moving gradually into an era of tolerance and understanding. It took us long enough to accept that there are two founding races deserving of linguistic equality and we will not now discard that belated recognition. But we cannot go back into another century, which is what Mr. Bilodeau's parking ticket is forcing Manitoba to do.

We have to make the West understand that bilingualism is a contribution to unity and not a millstone around its neck, dragging it down to perdition.

We need less bigotry on both sides. We can do without the unthinking

inners of the shunned Prairies, without the likes of Serge and his apparent interpretation of his portfolio as nothing more than to be the minister of the fact.

ualism needs acceptance, ncially as well as federally. If toba is a setback for a ned and reasonable approach ngualism, I think the lost d can be recovered if the ads can be defused, if there itical leadership that owes ng to rhetoric or cynical vote-ing.

Clarke's remarks

ave been asked to give my ews on this topic from the erspective of a western Mem- Parliament for the riding of uver Quadra. I should add, ps, that I am a long-standing er of the parliamentary Joint ittee on Official Languages, entially non-partisan com- that calls witnesses to r the criticisms of the Com- ner of Official Languages.

, Max Yalden provided census statistics for Canada estern Canada as a whole. her illustrate the points he aking, I will give some ertaining to Vancouver ore specifically, to my

a is the declared mother of 77.5 per cent of Van- residents, compared to 1.63 t, or 20,000, who declared as their mother tongue.

gh 20,000 may sound sive, it should be noted that mes as many residents d Chinese as their mother . and that there are twice as ative German-speakers as speaking residents. Thus, ouver French ranked as a mother tongue.

iding the situation is even onounced, and is perhaps

I am not sure if we are mature enough as a nation to provide that coaxing, cajoling style of political leadership that owes more to reason than to rabble-rousing. But we must find that maturity and sympathetic understanding if we are to survive as a nation. We cannot long withstand the pressures of regionalism if we align ourselves irrevocably on either side of the chalk marks of bilingualism.

We have come too far to retreat now from the policy of federal bilingualism, so we must not let Manitoba become the manifesta-

best illustrated by the answer to another question, that regarding the official language spoken by respondents: 87 per cent answered that they spoke only English whereas 0.1 per cent spoke only French. Twenty times that number — 1,400 — speak neither English nor French. An encouraging statistic, however, is that 11 per cent of my constituents (8,660 people) said they spoke both English and French.

In light of these numbers, you can understand why French is not a big fact in my political life in Vancouver. I tend to downplay my involvement with the federal bilingualism programme and say little about the fact that I am functionally bilingual. Despite the presence of the weekly newspaper *Le Soleil* and a Caisse populaire in my riding, I still detect resentment toward the federal bilingualism programme. Some people still ask why there is French on some public buildings in Vancouver, to which I have the stock answer that Parliament has so decreed.

However, there are some signs of progress. Now for instance, we have two French immersion schools in my own riding. But there are also ongoing problems, including attacks on French-Canadian fruit pickers in the Okanagan Valley and on members of

tion of a two-edged obsession. The acceptance of two languages is now part of our history, our tradition, our constitution. The pattern is woven into the tapestry of our federalism.

But how do we get that message through to the West and how do we soothe the anguished breast of those who have written it off as some haunt of unstructured pagan cavemen? How do we learn to live with each other? I wish I knew. And I wish I was not so pessimistic in my ignorance.

the visible minorities. While these undoubtedly have an element of racism attached to them, in my view they are also the result of tough economic times. Local people fear the newcomers are taking their jobs, even if they, the residents, are reluctant to fill these often menial jobs themselves.

When people come to me with criticisms about federal language policies, I point out that it is a two-way street. If they go to Rimouski, Quebec, they can watch CBC English TV. Similarly, French-speaking Canadians who come to Vancouver ought to be able to watch CBC French TV or to communicate in French with federal government offices.

On a recent trip to Europe, I found myself in a situation where I did not speak the local language. However, I met with a good deal of understanding and tolerance and managed to communicate. Similarly, I think attitudes are softening in Western Canada, and I do my best to persuade Vancouverites to keep an open mind on these issues. When they come to visit me in Ottawa, they see French in action as an everyday working language and go home with a much better understanding of our official languages programme.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION PERIOD

In keeping with the exploratory tenor of this opening session, intervenors in the first discussion period used the opportunity to react to the statements of the three speakers and to define their own position on the issues.

The first speaker began by citing the results of a cross-country survey on language conducted by Southam Press in 1977. The survey showed that westerners were at that time very interested in developing their own and their children's mastery of French. Given the somewhat different attitude of many westerners today, the speaker wondered if the media had not played a significant role in shifting public opinion in the West away from bilingualism.

Increasing demand for French immersion

A similar point was taken up by a subsequent speaker, but from a different perspective. Challenging Patrick O'Callaghan's apparent belief that westerners consider bilingualism irrelevant to their situation, he noted the increasing demand for French immersion education in Western Canada: 50,000 children are currently enrolled in French immersion programmes in Western Canada, and a Gallup poll has revealed that over 50 per cent of British Columbians want their children to become bilingual through the school system.

A representative of the Ukrainian community then expressed the view that, although matters relating to non-official languages were governed by the federal multiculturalism policy, the Official Languages Act (especially Section 38) should be extended to cover languages other than English and French.

Two leading western Canadian university administrators felt that great strides had been made with

respect to bilingualism in the West over the past twenty years. One of them noted, however, that earlier speakers had cited many statistics but had offered no explanation for there being so few Francophones in the West. Picking up on the triple theme of media involvement, the Manitoba issue and western alienation, he suggested that Francophones experience the same sense of alienation in the West as other westerners do vis-à-vis the rest of Canada.

Taking a different tack, another speaker said he had consistently opposed bilingualizing federal public service positions for "cosmetic" reasons at a cost of millions of dollars to the taxpayer. His sympathy, he said, lay with the longer-term project of teaching French to young people, not only in primary and secondary schools, but also at the university level.

Still on the issue of education, the next participant linked the need for better second-language instruction to the growing requirements of Canada's business community on the international scene. He pointed to Canada's unique linguistic composition and hailed the new awareness among students of the need to develop language skills to enable them to deal with others, not only in English and French but in other languages too. Later, another university administrator noted that one of the problems facing universities today is the retreat from the study of the humanities, including languages. The value of studying another language has not, in his view, been sufficiently stressed, and university students today feel that a liberal arts education does not carry much weight in the business community.

Turning to one of the central issues of the morning's proceedings, another wondered aloud how Francophones should react

when a national policy defined by the national government is not accepted as a policy for the West. Were some suggesting that there should be a multilingual policy for the West and a separate and bilingual policy for Central Canada?

In his response to some of these observations and questions, Max Yalden expressed the view that the statistics quoted from the 1977 Southam survey were now irrelevant, and argued that the West had not rejected the policy of bilingualism. The problem in Manitoba, he noted, is a provincial matter, and the difficulty arises when some westerners feel the federal government is imposing policy on a province over which has no jurisdiction. In reference to the growing numbers of children learning French in Western Canada, especially in Calgary, he added that some French instruction is available at the university level in the West. He also noted that the western media have by and large supported federal bilingualism and that, in this sense, they have been far ahead of some of their readers.

Bilingual services: now or later?

In response to the doubts expressed about the cost and urgency of bilingualizing the federal public service, he said that French-speaking Canadians could not possibly wait for twenty years while a generation of bilingual Anglophones grew up to serve them in French. And, while he endorsed the notion that Canadians should learn languages other than English and French, he felt that Canada should not contemplate according any more languages official status.

The next two speakers sprang to the defence of Western Canada, noting that, in some respects, much greater tolerance for

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*Principles
and practice*

What role does or should Government play in promoting linguistic equity in Western Canada? Is bilingualism good for business; and is business good to bilingualism? These waters were tested by Stanley Roberts, a Vancouver businessman; Edgar Gallant, Chairman, Public Service Commission; and Tom Rust, Chairman, Crown Forest Industries Limited.

The art of the possible

STANLEY ROBERTS

As the front pages of the major newspapers clearly attest, the language issue in Canada is still far from settled. With new leadership emerging in both major federal political parties, it is interesting and useful to find these questions once again in the forefront of political debate. Explosive and emotion-ridden though the subject may be, I promise not to choose my words as carefully as some of the more prominent players now campaigning on the national scene!

I am not a specialist in language matters; my remarks are those of an active observer and a member of the business community. Raised in a French-speaking community in Manitoba, I completed my high school exams in both official languages. Later, as a Manitoba MLA, I represented a rural riding where the most prevalent language was German. Since then, I have worked in business in Calgary, Montreal and Vancouver. These experiences have given me some understanding of the vast diversity, the broad cultural mosaic, that is one of the distinguishing marks of this country — a distinguishing mark that could make us great when we mature enough to appreciate it.

Bilingualism: what it means

I have always been, and continue to be, completely committed to bilingualism. Part of the "Canadian identity" — if I may use that rather dated term — is that modern Canada was founded by two peoples living for all practical purposes in two nations. This country can only continue to exist if we can live together, appreciate each other, and communicate effectively with one another.

The term "bilingualism" conjures up different images in the minds of different people, and in different

regions of this country. Literally, the dictionary defines bilingualism as "using or able to use two languages."

But in the West, bilingualism — and the program that have been instituted to help achieve the goal means much more. To Francophones living in the West, it means the right to communicate with the government in their own language, and a chance the preservation of their culture. To some Anglo-westerners, however, the term "bilingualism" has meant simply "ramming French down our throats." Believe it or not, one still hears scoffs about bilingual cornflake boxes or bilingual signs in a national park.

And to some westerners who immigrated here from other countries, the entrenchment of French language rights gives Francophones a "special status" with the West, and is perceived to ignore or minimize profound contribution that these other cultural groups have made in the building of this region.

These complex attitudes seem to originate in Canadian geography — its vastness — and its history.

Understanding history

Clearly, the federal language policies are based on historical fact. Canada was born by the union of founding peoples, French and English. But the history of the West is not simply an extension of Central Canada. Our historical roots are not the same. The West was settled by people from all over the world, many of whom arrived via the United States, or travelled straight through Quebec and Ontario to arrive in their new homeland. From the date of joining Confederation (and Manitoba is perhaps the exception) the West was multicultural.

Within this context, French-speaking Canadians in the West are seen as just another cultural group that helped build the Western frontier — and a small one at that. The data from the 1981 census (see Table 1) serve as a backdrop for understanding the multi-cultural heritage of the West. The question asked by Western citizens is: why should we be providing bilingual services in the West?

TABLE 1
French mother tongue population
in the western provinces and the territories

Province	French mother tongue		Others*	
	No.	%	No.	%
Manitoba	52,000	5.1	240,000	24
Saskatchewan	25,000	2.6	172,000	18
Alberta	62,000	2.5	365,000	16
British Columbia	45,000	1.6	450,000	16
Yukon	585	2.5	2,330	10
Northwest Territories	1,240	2.7	19,760	43

* do not include English mother tongue.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census.

On this question there are many logical answers, not the least of which is the fact that Canada as a country was created in 1867 by a cooperative agreement of two warring peoples who spoke English and French. Bilingual services re-affirm this historical accord and guarantee that Francophones *can* have a real voice in all areas of this country without sacrificing linguistic distinctiveness.

This question begs another: what kind of Canada do we want? Do we want a country that remembers its unique history, a country based on mutual respect and understanding among its distinct cultural groups, a country that wants to use each person's contribution to the fullest? If so, bilingualism policies are as sensible as ever. And explaining this to all is an immediate must, for many westerners — Anglo or French — have no fundamental understanding of the historical 1867 accord or of current federal language policies.

But what should these services be — both in the short and long-term? And how should they be implemented? Given the cultural context of Western Canada, how do we institute effective bilingualism policies without creating a backlash that would threaten the national unity we are trying to protect? Having personally studied Canadian history in both languages (hence different teachers and different textbooks), I am convinced we must find a way to present all Canadian students with a more consistent and coherent version of the history of Canada. In order to appreciate the unique character of our nation, we must all view the founding of Confederation in the same way.

Language education

Another absolutely essential component is language education. No lasting solutions will ever be reached without providing education to Francophones in the West in their own language and good, sound French courses to Anglophones.

There are two hopeful signs on this front. I am optimistic about how school authorities and the courts will interpret the new Charter's educational rights "where numbers warrant". Second, Canadians' inherited resistance to learning two or more languages appears to be breaking down as more and more parents press for French immersion schools at the elementary level. Perhaps the change in public attitudes will encourage the provinces and schools to introduce programmes that will produce more real bilingual capacity than they have in the past. Through this, we may well see in the future a situation where real equality — equalingualism — could exist throughout the regions.

Public and private sectors

Let me now turn to the private and public sectors — what is being done presently, and what could be done in the short and long term.

The federal language policies developed since 1969 have emphasized individual language rights within the "bilingual heartland" and a fair degree of minority-language support elsewhere. In the 15 years since their initial implementation, federal departments have made great strides in ensuring the potential use of widely offered public services in both languages.

Provincially, however, there is no equivalent commitment to the provision of bilingual services. During a random sample survey of provincial departments and provincial Crown corporations in Alberta and British Columbia, the vast majority stated that no policies were in place to ensure or stimulate the development of French services.

For the private sector in the West, the story is the same: there are no established policies. Last week, I contacted four major Canadian employers operating in

the West and found that none of their personnel departments has developed, or attempted to develop, a coherent policy on the use of French in the workplace or in the provision of services to customers.

Of course, any sane businessman or public servant is going to communicate with the general public in the public's language. To succeed, one must communicate. But essentially due to the statistics I cited earlier, there is no overwhelming economic need to provide French services. In many areas of Western Canada, "bilingual services" are being provided — but the two languages may not be French and English.

New approaches

What, then, is the solution? What we can actually do to increase the level of bilingualism in both the private and public sectors in the 1980s?

First, western Canadians must be motivated — not coerced or forced — to learn a second (or even third) language. Emphasis should be placed on regional strategies and motivational techniques rather than on strictly legal measures. One of our challenges in the 1980s is to make all western Canadians knowledgeable about, and proud of, our country's heritage. We must take pride in the fact that we do not live in a monocultural melting pot. We must also feel proud to be able to speak our two official languages — and more — and these ideas require professional marketing.

Such marketing would have to be done with care. If, for example, a generalized requirement were implemented tomorrow that all provincial government and/or Crown corporation employees must be functionally bilingual, the result would be to make very difficult the appointment or promotion of many otherwise qualified westerners. In fact, a vigorous policy of

this genre in the immediate future could well stimulate new and vigorous opposition to bilingualism. We might thus lose more than we would gain in terms of national understanding.

A different and more promising approach might be to advise potential managers that bilingualism may be one of the criteria for promotion — along with skill in, say, marketing, advertising, or human relations.

In conclusion, I believe that "bilingualism" is dormant, not dead, in the West. While provincial governments and major corporations in the three most westerly provinces seem to have no consistent policy on this question, there is a great opportunity for a more positive, less confrontational approach to the implementation of effective, durable bilingual services. While progress is greatly needed, there is very real danger of backlash if more stringent, legalistic approaches are taken to "correct" the situation.

As a pragmatic idealist who wishes to win the game of making Canada a homeland for all Canadians, I view education, skilful marketing, and a little patience as more likely to achieve our basic objectives than what is perceived as forced feeding. The education component is two-pronged: to provide an accurate and relatively consistent history of Canada and a clear explanation of our commitment to Francophones; to provide educational services in French to both Francophones and Anglophones.

The marketing objectives consist mainly of convincing old and young alike of the fun and personal growth opportunities in learning French. If the marketing is well done, our patience will be rewarded by a change in attitude whereby most westerners will want to speak both official languages.

Edgar Gallant's remarks

The very fact that we are attending a colloquium on *Official Languages: A Western Perspective* is a clear indication of the incredible progress that has been made in language policy in Canada. A review of the situation existing in the Public Service of Canada, in both the West and in the rest of the country, reveals the evolution of this policy. However, when dealing with this topic, it is essential to distinguish between myth and reality.

The first major reality is that the Public Service of Canada has become increasingly bilingual. Service to the public is provided in both official languages and public servants can receive internal services in English and in French and, in some areas, work in French. On the other hand, there is the persistent myth that federal public servants need to be bilingual. The reality is quite different, as I shall now try to show. At the end of 1983, 27 per cent of

the 222,000 positions in the public service were designated bilingual; 7 per cent were French essential, 60 per cent were English essential, and 6 per cent enabled the incumbent to use either English or French.

In the four western provinces, only 950 of the 50,000 positions (less than 2 per cent) were designated bilingual, and of this number 170 were occupied by people who did not meet the language requirements of their position.

Another reality is that the federal public service is now an institution in which both language groups participate more equitably. At the end of 1983, 27.4 per cent of the 1000-person federal workforce was Francophone. However, their participation rate varied from one employment category to another; Francophones represented 20 per cent of all staff in the management category and approximately 33 per cent in the administrative support category. In the western provinces, French was the first official language of 940 public servants (slightly under 2 per cent of federal employees in a region where Francophones represent 2.7 per cent of the population). While these figures show that progress has been made on the language front, they also indicate that the linguistic majority is in no way threatened and that minority participation is still, in some instances, too low.

Expressions of political commitment

Reflecting on these changes in public service over the past five years, we can reach a number of particularly noteworthy conclusions. First, without the political will that has been expressed and affirmed on many occasions, the official languages policy objectives would not have been achieved. It is not only the Official Languages Act of 1969 and the

Parliamentary Resolution of 1973, but also clear Treasury Board directives, a government white paper and the establishment of a Joint Commons and Senate Parliamentary Committee. These repeated expressions of firm political commitment have been and continue to be an essential factor in the success of the language reform programme. Another determining factor has been the judicious mix of methods used to ensure that this policy is respected. Firmness and determination as well as gentle persuasion have kept the programme on track.

Last but not least, another major factor has been the reasonable protection accorded the legitimate interests of public servants most intimately affected by these policies and programmes. Not only have they been given access to language training, but employees with long years of service and those approaching retirement have been allowed to remain unilingual, even when they occupied bilingual positions. Had such measures not been taken, the government would probably have been unable to overcome resistance to its language reform programme.

I am convinced that the language training programme has played, and continues to play, a major role in this reform, not simply because it enables people to learn the

second language but because it transforms attitudes. As a result of these courses, attitudes toward language use and toward those who speak the other language have changed, and many minds have been opened to the intellectual and cultural riches of the other official language.

These past fifteen years have taught us that extreme measures, even when inspired by honourable motives, can have negative effects. For example, in the early years (from 1973 to 1977), the designation of an excessive number of bilingual positions did risk compromising the programme. I could give other examples, but I would prefer to end by mentioning a positive phenomenon in the evolution of western attitudes. Great enthusiasm has been demonstrated toward French immersion courses in this region, as well as a growing interest among federal public servants in second-language evening courses. Many of these employees do not take such courses because they have to meet language requirements; they do so out of a personal interest to learn French. They want to be able to communicate better with their fellow citizens and participate more fully in the language reform adventure in Canada. They deserve our enthusiastic support.

Mr Rust's remarks

Let me begin by emphasizing that my remarks today represent the business community viewpoint of Western Canada as I see it. I have listened with interest to Mr. Roberts' views on bilingualism as it applies in particular to Western Canada. I do not agree with his statement that there is no consistent policy on

bilingualism in the business community in Western Canada; in my view there is no policy at all. Before saying anything more, perhaps I should explain a little about my background and the reasons I was asked here today.

I was born, raised and educated in Ontario, and worked there before

being transferred by my company, the Ontario Paper Company, to their operations in Baie Comeau, Quebec. I was there for 13 years — long before Baie Comeau became as famous as it is now. During my time in Baie Comeau, we witnessed the working language of operations switch from mainly English to almost 100 per cent

French. As a result, my background includes a fair degree of experience with bilingualism as it applies in the Province of Quebec from an industrial point of view.

I have now been in British Columbia for almost 20 years. Until this colloquium came along I had not given any more thought to bilingualism in business in Western Canada.

I read with interest the proceedings of last year's colloquium dealing with the issue of bilingualism in business. Most of the discussion focussed on Quebec and the language legislation governing business in that province.

There are still, I believe, many unanswered questions regarding the future of Bill 101, but there is no doubt that it has produced the desired result from Quebec's point of view — French is the language of business. However, even before the advent of Bill 101, this had largely been accomplished in the operating plants, if not in head offices.

Ontario, in particular Toronto, is now home to most of the head offices of Canadian companies. My observation from a distance is that bilingualism in these offices is not very far advanced. However, where these companies have operations in Quebec, the use of French by the employees directly responsible for the Quebec operation is encouraged and is no doubt a factor in promotion. I know this is the case with my former employers, the Ontario Paper Company.

My knowledge of the situation in the Maritime provinces precludes

me from making any comment except to say that I am sure businesses operating in predominantly French-speaking areas use French. In short, I believe that the situation relative to bilingualism is entirely different in the two settings — east and west.

In Western Canada, it is clear that the use of French is really not much of an issue today. The backlash and resentment that appeared ten years ago when federal bilingualism was first imposed on all of Canada has largely faded away. In general, people now accept French on cornflake boxes and on federal buildings, and I think most of us accept the rights of Francophones to court services in French.

This is not to say that everyone agrees with the concept or that everyone feels the resulting expenditures are necessary. However, as far as I can see, it has ceased to be an issue.

Bilingualism is appropriate on the industrial scene in Western Canada, particularly in British Columbia. But I would agree with Mr. Roberts that it is dormant. There is no perceived need to encourage or require employees to have a knowledge of French. If a Franco-phone wishes to work in British Columbia, he accepts the fact that his language of work will be English — just as in Quebec the Anglophone now accepts the fact he will work in French.

I am not saying that companies are anti-French — I am simply stating a fact. The cost of any attempt to have a bilingual workplace — in British Columbia at least — would

be far too great to contemplate. My own company has a small operation in Montreal. The language of work there is French, communications with Vancouver are in English.

The suggestion that bilingualism might be encouraged by making the ability to speak French one of the criteria for promotion would, in my opinion, be counterproductive. I do not think we should suggest to the employees of our companies that their chances of promotion in a unilingual company would be enhanced if they were to learn French. Of course, a person in, say, marketing, in a company involved in sales in Quebec spoke French, it would be a definite advantage and a factor in his promotional prospects.

Most companies provide their employees with a percentage of the cost of skill improvement programmes, including learning French where it is job related. This is where more could be done to encourage the learning of French provided it is entirely voluntary.

To sum up, I do not see any need to change the attitude of the business community in Western Canada so far as promoting bilingualism in industry is concerned. As I would be utterly opposed to any legislation or coercive approach from the federal government in this regard.

Bilingualism will come if it is perceived to enhance our ability to conduct an efficient business. In the meantime, we have too many other pressing problems to resolve.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION PERIOD

Participants in the second discussion period focussed their comments on three major issues: corporate attitudes and responsibilities vis-à-vis language;

the degree to which federal and provincial authorities meet their linguistic obligations to minority-language taxpayers; and various perceptions of the status of

French in the West.

Stanley Roberts' positive perspectives and Tom Rust's view that French plays only a minor

role in the western corporate ethos both came under fire. For example, a journalist, taking issue with the notion that the popularity of French immersion programmes in the West indicated an acceptance of bilingualism, pointed to the opposition to language reform in Manitoba and to western feelings that bilingualism was being imposed by those in power in Eastern Canada.

Corporate responsibility in the West

Several other speakers felt that the business sector in the West had done too little to promote the use of both languages and had failed to live up to its corporate responsibility to endorse the idea of nationhood. If federal Crown corporations are able to offer a degree of bilingual services from coast to coast, why should the private sector be incapable of doing likewise? Is it not the responsibility of large corporations, as much as government, to show leadership in this area? While some initiatives in this regard have been taken, they have been all too few in number; altogether too much emphasis has been placed on earnings about coercion, and too little on the espousal of a positive attitude toward equal status for English and French outside government.

On the subject of government efforts to promote equality for both official languages in the West, two participants referred to the RCMP's language programme, noting that organization's long association with Western Canada. A unique feature of the Force is that, although its national headquarters are in Ottawa, the greater portion of its personnel is stationed outside Central Canada. This has produced some linguistic headaches both internally and externally, but the RCMP has nevertheless made headway over the years. For instance, the Force's bilingual unit concept means that,

in areas where there is a significant demand for service in both official languages, a number of positions are filled by bilingual staff. Across Western Canada, some 425 positions are staffed in this manner.

On a related issue, the administration of justice in the West, another speaker noted that Alberta has an ample supply of French-speaking lawyers and judges and is able to provide a broad range of court services in both official languages.

Provincial commitment is urged

Turning to the larger question of provincial services, another speaker referred to the importance to minority groups of an institutional network that enables them to use their language on a daily basis. He was opposed to the view that Canada's linguistic duality is a completely federal matter, and thought that in the future it would be much more urgent for the provinces, the western provinces included, to commit themselves to the principles of linguistic duality and bilingualism. Laws are passed to conserve certain animal species, but when it comes to preserving the French language and culture, the only safeguard offered is the phrase "where numbers warrant". French should be used not merely as a language for small talk but as a viable instrument of communication in the workplace.

Endorsing this view, a Quebec Anglophone added that it was not necessary for every member of the civil service to be capable of operating in both languages; instead, government should be organized in such a way as to ensure that service is made available to taxpayers in their language.

In reference to Ontario, a senior public servant from that province agreed that a group's culture and

language should be recognized and supported by a network of services. The sectors where such services are to be made available in both languages should be identified and a system developed whereby key areas in the centre of the province can serve outlying areas through toll-free telephone lines. He noted that Ontario has gradually entrenched many of these services in legislation and that the freeze on hiring in the Ontario civil service does not apply to positions requiring bilingual skills.

A university administrator then took issue with the notion that French is a low-status language in Western Canada. Furthermore, we should not confine ourselves to the thought that only a quarter or so of the population is educable in the second language. That fallacy has been disproven by the experience of other countries, where large numbers of ordinary citizens learn to use more than one language.

Bilingualism: an integral part of Canada's future

Wrapping up the session, Stanley Roberts repeated his conviction that bilingualism was an admirable and essential goal for the future of Canada. The excellent immersion programmes in schools should not be relinquished but encouraged. He wondered, however, whether we were doing all we should to make Canada the kind of nation we want it to be. For example, is Canadian history being taught in a manner conducive to producing a sense of commitment to Canada? Lastly, he noted, many Canadians are beginning to realize that bilingualism will be the key to a decent job in the future. In his view, there are many ways of encouraging people to become bilingual without using coercion or making passionate pleas in the name of Canadian unity.

3 / LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

A majority of minorities

Within a constitutional framework that accords official primacy to English and French, how should we recognize, protect and nurture the multilingual and multicultural wealth of Western Canada? Three westerners offered responses to this question: Lloyd Barber, President, University of Regina; Joseph Slogan, President, Ukrainian-Canadian Professional and Business Federation; and Guy Goyette, President, Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta.

The challenge of linguistic pluralism

LLOYD BARBER

As we all know from recent experience here in the West and from the problems encountered by an unnamed aspirant for high office, my topic is surrounded by a very tricky mine field. There is no riskless entrée to the subject: facetious and reasoned comment alike can trigger an explosion.

I, a reluctant unilingual, grew up in rural Saskatchewan in the 1930s and 1940s when "bohunk" was a pejorative term and when "zombies" were beaten up because they would not fight in Europe. At that time, I did not realize the depth of prejudice my society had assumed during the period of massive European migration. In my youth, western Canadians were led to accept, whether we knew it or not, the melting-pot philosophy of our southern neighbours. My mother was an immigrant from the U.S. mid-west; and while I do not recall any direct references or discussions about the superiority of English, I know she went to some effort to try to get our Polish housekeeper to improve her English and to no effort to have me learn any Polish!

I imagine this is a background shared, with variations, by many in the room. My small community, because it was a summer resort, was in reality two societies. The summer society, with its transient population, was widely diverse, the winter society as confined as any Saskatchewan small town in that period.

Unfortunately, the cultural and linguistic differences that could have enriched life immeasurably were sacrificed to the melting-pot ethos. If there was a dominant second language in my village, it was Cree. But you never heard it in the playground and you weren't encouraged to learn more about the language and the heritage of the people who carried it; they, after all,

should learn to be like us, carry our values and speak our language. What a tragic loss of opportunity.

Every chance we had we went somewhere, "somewhere" being south or west. Before I was twenty, I had travelled over most of Western Canada and half of the United States and Mexico, but never to Toronto or Montreal. Certainly, we learned about Champlain and Cartier and Cabot. We studied Wolfe and Montcalm and conjured up mental pictures of the Plains of Abraham as vast as half the distance from Edmonton to Calgary. But we did not *feel* the founding cultures and the founding languages. And because we did not feel them or live them, we did not comprehend, in the fullest sense of the term, the meaning of these concepts in our being, our psyche or ethos. We felt a bit put upon when it is implied that we are inferior because we don't comprehend, and we get upset when we are told we must.

As many have, it is far too simple to suggest, in the wake of the debacle in Manitoba, that red-necked westerners are against the French language and against bilingualism. What puts the lie to this assertion is the almost insatiable demand for student places in bilingual education programmes right across the West. At the University of Regina we have had to place a special programme in our Faculty of Education to supply the demand for bilingual programmes. And while the focus of news is on the resistance to official bilingualism in Manitoba, parents are sending their children to bilingual programmes in greater and greater numbers.

It would be comforting to conclude that official bilingualism is assured because of this phenomenon, but I think the reality is much more complex than a simple embracing of the party line. Western Canadians are

world traders. Our prairie scope and our sea scope make us look outward, with the long view; I think we know that we are in competition with a good deal of the world for economic survival.

Multilingualism: opportunity lost

We also know that with our polyglot background we missed a genuine opportunity to be a multilingual society. We suppressed our "other" languages and deep down we regret this. We envy the Europeans who speak, or at least can get along in, a variety of languages. We marvel at the Chinese or the Sri Lankans or whoever who can function effectively in Mandarin or Tamil or Singhalese or French or English. We, who missed the golden opportunity to be multilingual because we thought the English speakers were superior, feel ignorant. It is a frustrating and stumbling experience.

We do not in any way wish to denigrate or downplay official bilingualism as a Canadian thrust. I recognize the importance of this thrust and appreciate its significance in terms of the past, present and future of Canada. In a general sense, despite surface indications to the contrary, I believe most Canadians accept this proposition. What they won't accept is coercion to get there. They will accept powerful persuasion, they will accept financial incentives, and they will accept the subtle sanctions that might be imposed if they don't take it; but they (read we in Western Canada) will not accept coercive force. Manitoba proves that.

A fascinating thing about all of this is that I think Western Canadians really do feel that they missed the multilingual boat when it was leaving the dock. We could have achieved the multilingual polyglot that Europe and every truly international air terminal in the world has become, but we missed it because we missed that we were a melting pot and English was the flame. Tragic, and deep down we know it.

Let us assume for a moment that the official thrust has been not toward bilingualism, but toward multilingualism. Set aside for the moment the practical problems inherent in this idea and assume that human energy, financial resources and official approval encouraged German and Icelandic, Ukrainian, Greek, Mandarin and Cree, Sioux and English.

Each group would have seized the opportunity to expand the influence of its language and would have encouraged others to learn, and each unilingual group would have chosen another language on the basis of interest. It is interesting to speculate about what society would have been produced by unlimited support for multiple language instruction.

Nationalism and tribalism

There is a growing realization of international interdependence in the world. Paradoxically, however,

when we become more internationalized and more interdependent, we also become increasingly tribalized. The single most distinguishing mark of internationalism is the ability to get along in several languages. The single most distinguishing mark of tribalism is the ability to converse and convince in the subtle nuance of the language of tribal communication.

A significant part of my working life was devoted to questions about aboriginal peoples. These experiences convinced me of a society's power through culture expressed in language to survive the worst onslaughts on that society's existence. I simply do not believe in monolithic societies, regardless of their political or economic underpinnings. There are too many minorities in the world who will cling to their language as a measure of their singularity even as all other measures have been eroded.

Western Canada is like that. We are a society that emerged somewhere between the beginnings of Canada in the 19th century and the current so-called post-industrial society. We are polyglot and we are proud of it. We recognize the benefits of linguistic skills because we are traders, and we need to talk to those with whom we would strike a deal. We also understand the persistence of culture and the importance of mother tongue in the preservation of the values that a culture carries.

Pragmatism and principle

In Western Canada we are proud of the bilingual thrust. We wish, deep down, that it could be a multilingual thrust. We recognize the absolute necessity, in the international commercial battle we face, for more people to have greater understanding of other peoples and other cultures, and we know that this comes, in part, through linguistic skills. Further, we understand the importance of the French language in the fabric of this country. Unlike many Canadians, however, we understand it in an intellectual and logical way rather than in the visceral way we perceive it to be understood in other parts of Canada. Others in Canada must recognize that our participation is more pragmatic than emotional. As traders, we in Western Canada increasingly recognize the need to speak several international languages. We kick ourselves for not realizing it thirty years ago when it would have been easy because of our ethnic diversity.

We will cleave to a Canadian French/English bilingual policy because we are pro-Canadian and because there are incentives, some direct and subtle, to go this route. We also know that French is a major international language.

If this country has a lesson to teach the world, it is that it can become bilingual, in the best sense of that term. It would be tragic, in my judgement, if we limited that objective through thinking only in our domestic context.

We are a multilingual country. Let us rejoice in that fact. Let us recognize the primacy of French and English in our make-up, but let us not forget the importance of Chinese and Ukrainian, Cree and Portuguese, German and Yiddish — and so many others. We have a cultural and linguistic mosaic which makes us unique. And all this, incidentally, is worth money to us.

This westerner says bilingualism is great, but our unique multilingualism is worth a lot more. It may be our salvation in the trading battles to come.

Let's capitalize on our cultural and linguistic pluralism.

Joseph Slogan's remarks

In my remarks, I shall attempt to review some historical events and relate them to the theory of two founding races and two official languages from a westerner's point of view.

The founding race concept is a matter with which I, a western Canadian of Ukrainian descent, take issue. This concept carries the connotation that one group of citizens has more inherent rights than another group, as is the case for rights devolving from the notion of "official" languages. This idea is difficult to substantiate in a democratic society, where everyone is to be considered equal. I thoroughly disagree with the concept, which ignores the fact that all of us — our native peoples included — were immigrants to this country at one time or another.

By way of background to this issue, let me begin by tracing a few of the significant events in the history of what is now Manitoba. Sir Thomas Button discovered the west shore of Hudson's Bay in 1612 while searching for the Northwest Passage. Raising a cross, he claimed the land for King James I and called it New Wales.

The early days in Canada

The exploration of the West followed two different paths. The British, for instance, sought to spearhead the fur trade and to develop it from Hudson's Bay by creating the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. The Company was almost a law unto itself, for it was granted rights to all the land that

drained into Hudson's Bay. It created the territory of Rupert's Land which, although under British control, was administered by the Company. The territory was five times larger than the then Dominion of Canada, and contained half of what is now the Province of Quebec.

The French were meanwhile pursuing a different path in search of the Northwest Passage. In 1734, having followed a fresh-water channel across the continent, La Vérendrye arrived at the Red River. He established Fort Rouge and other forts for the French, some of whom put down roots in the area over the years. Five foreign wars — English, French, Spanish, Austrian and American — affected the fate of the West from 1682 to 1782.

The Hudson's Bay Company's priority, however, was the fur trade, not the settlement of new lands. As a result, it decided to get rid of the land, selling it to Canada in 1869 for 300,000 pounds sterling. Since the British were not anxious to assume administration of this territory, they persuaded Canada to take it over and the Hudson's Bay Company ceased to be responsible for administration of the territory.

This situation created a void with some regrettable results. Since neither the Hudson's Bay Company nor Canada were exercising their authority, the citizens of the Red River area set up a provisional government and drew up a list of rights. Among the 14 provisions

that were later embodied in the Manitoba Act were declarations that English and French were the languages of the legislature and the courts and that all public documents and legislation should be published in both these languages. Different interpretations have been given to these declarations, but it seems clear that they were largely copied from the Quebec Act's guarantees to the French when they entered Confederation.

The founding of Manitoba

It is interesting to look at the type of society that existed in Manitoba in 1870. The census of 1870 shows us that the most important social groupings in Manitoba at the time of its creation were 48 per cent French-speaking Métis, 34 per cent English-speaking half-breeds, 6 per cent whites native to the country (more or less the descendants of settlers), 5 per cent Indians, 2 per cent whites born in Canada and 1 per cent whites born elsewhere. The total population was only 12,000. These figures were published on February 20, 1984, in an article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* which went on to say: "to impose a theory of two original founders upon Manitoba is to replace history with mythology."

But the rights embodied in the Manitoba Act of 1870 are understandable in the context of the society that existed at this time. They reflect its reality. During the period of turmoil, Louis Riel, leader of the Métis group, and others who had formed the provisional government, were in the end not

wed to carry out their plans. Despite Sir John A. MacDonald's wishes, the movement led by the Orange Lodge in Ontario was allowed to prevail and finally culminated in Riel's execution. I think this is a black mark on the history of both Canada and Manitoba and, I believe, the result of an imposition of the will of Eastern Canada. I would add, while the Manitoba Act reflected the fact that 55 per cent of the population spoke French and 45 per cent English, laws since then have failed to reflect the linguistic plurality of the population, only 5 per cent of which now speaks French.

Immigration

To really understand the West and the character of its people, we must look at the immigration that took place after the railroad was completed in the 1880s. The railroad enabled the government of Wilfrid Laurier to undertake a programme of colonization of the West. The Canadian government launched a major campaign, paying agents a per-head commission on immigrants sent to Canada. It promoted the West as a land of milk and honey and even promised immigrants guaranteed language rights. A staggering number of people came, including more than 200,000 Ukrainians. Since the population of Manitoba in 1880 was only about 12,000, one wonders to what extent its character, particularly its linguistic diversity, was changed when foreign-speaking immigrants often exceeded that number in a single year. In addition, many Americans came, as did people of Menno-German, Polish and Icelandic descent. This was not immigration as we know it today. Many families settled in distinct communities, isolated from the process of colonization.

If you drive through the West today, the results are evident. You will encounter one village that is mostly German next to one that is mostly Polish, another French-speaking one. When we talked about bilingualism we were not talking

about Anglophones learning French. In their isolated communities, Germans from one village learned to speak the Ukrainian of the neighbouring village, and vice versa. Their children intermarried and bred a type of person that is now a western Canadian. The immigrants came to the West with little, and the only contribution they could make to their new country was to work the land. It is said that the Ukrainians broke over 10 million acres of land, and I am sure that the other groups made an equal contribution. Their other major contribution to the country was the building of later sections of the railway, often at great personal sacrifice. More than 10,000 died in railway accidents or during construction work and ten times that number were injured. And although 10,000 Ukrainians fought for Canada in World War I, many were interned because of their Austrian passports. What I am saying, then, is that they made a contribution to this country. As Ukrainians, we can lay claim not perhaps to being a founding people, but certainly to being nation-builders, as can many others in Western Canada in addition to the English and French.

The legacy of 1890

From 1870, the composition of the society underwent enormous change. In 1890 the Government of Manitoba passed legislation that made English the only officially recognized language. And of course, that created problems. Eventually, passage of the Laurier-Greenway agreement gave the French and other ethnic groups the freedom to have bilingual schools. But as more and more bilingual schools were set up, there was pressure to take away these rights. And so in 1916, the minorities — the French, the Ukrainian and others — lost these rights. Over 120 Ukrainian schools were closed down. Near the steps of the legislature, the provincial government built a bonfire and burned the books, another black mark on our society.

We lived through that situation and tried to progress as best we could. Now we face another critical situation in Manitoba. I should like to quote part of a joint representation to the legislature made by the Ukrainian, German and Polish Business and Professional Associations:

"We accept and endorse the multicultural policy of the federal government and the concept of Canada as a multilingual country with two official languages, English and French. We are concerned that the implementation of extended French language services may infringe upon the equal opportunity in employment of civil servants. Particularly we urge that where a civil servant can serve a local community better because of his knowledge of English or French and the heritage language spoken in the local community, that the candidate be extended the same privilege of preference as those for French communities. We commend the province on the opportunities it has created for the learning of heritage languages in the schools of the province and we urge that this policy be maintained and equally entrenched. We therefore urge the government and the opposition to approach this sensitive issue in a cooperative and enlightened manner which will preserve the harmonious relationships amongst the multicultural peoples of Manitoba rather than spawn discord and divisiveness as is more and more evident."

The brief ended with the following quotation, from Pierre Elliot Trudeau: "If freedom of choice is in danger for some ethnic groups, it is in danger for all. It is the policy of this government to eliminate any such danger and to safeguard this freedom."

We supported entrenchment so that we would not undergo incidents similar to those of 1916. However, we realize that

entrenching rights in the Constitution can cause problems for a society that is constantly changing. We have seen what happened with the Manitoba Act. We feel our Constitution and our laws must recognize and reflect the present situation in Canada, not freeze us into a situation that is out of date, unjust or discriminatory.

To us, being Canadian means being a member of a multicultural and multilingual society in which we share common ideals of freedom and democracy, and common loyalty to a way of life that is uniquely Canadian. We believe in the

principle of partnership. We do not believe in founding and non-founding races, because no such division can be justified in a democratic society based on equality of citizenship. To use Prime Minister Trudeau's words, "no citizen is other than Canadian and all should be treated fairly."

In conclusion I would like to give you my version of Canada. My Canada makes me proud to be a Canadian first, unhyphenated and unfettered. I would like to think of every Canadian in terms of the contribution he is making to enriching our country and culture regardless of the colour of his skin or the language that he speaks. If he is different, I would like to try

to understand him and to know that he can appreciate the difference between us. I think that Canada is a great country that deserves our dedication to high principles and a great effort on our part to leave a heritage for our children. A Canada that is united that is homogeneous and that can prevail in the face of all obstacles whether they be economic, social, political or cultural. I would like to see a Canada in which we can speak with one voice to attain the principles to which all good Canadians should be dedicated. Whatever the language of that voice, I would hope that its objectives would be the same: to cement and strengthen our country rather than to divide and weaken it.

Guy Goyette's remarks

Let me begin by placing our western Canadian situation in a broader context.

Perhaps because we in Canada have never experienced large-scale war or violent dissension on our own territory, we are still grappling with the problem of determining our identity as a nation. One element of that quest for identity is the development of a satisfactory approach to the linguistic realities of this vast country.

The political and social realities of bilingualism

Official bilingualism is a political and social reality, its principle being that English and French have official status in the federal domain throughout Canada. In practice and in fact, however, this recognition is less than absolute.

Although the dollars produced by federal and provincial taxes are printed in both languages, there is little recognition of bilingualism in the laws or regulations that these dollars help to produce and enforce. For instance, the oft-used phrase "where numbers warrant" is a democratic euphemism employed when we do not wish to consent to the absolute application

of a principle or when, for whatever motive, we wish to attract the attention of the majority. It is like asking the majority if the minority should have rights — a question posed, of course, in the name of democracy.

Plebiscites or referenda serve only to divide the population and should be avoided. The majority should not be asked what the rights of the minority are or how they should be applied. History is full of examples showing that, when there is unwillingness to legislate on a difficult issue, the problem is referred to the people at large, who are divided on the issue. This enables government to cover its traces easily and claim that it need no longer make a decision that would clearly leave some people unhappy. Indecision is the hallmark of weak government.

As Canadians, Francophones have always participated as fully as possible in the development of Canada at all levels — economic, artistic and educational — and we plan to continue to do so. As individuals belonging to a well-identified cultural and linguistic group, we work together to maintain the

French language and culture in the West.

Preserving the Canadian identity

The more encouragement given to a particular group's cultural and linguistic development, the easier it becomes for its members to participate in Canada's development. We firmly believe that a person participates more fully in Canadian life when his day-to-day existence reflects his own origins. When those origins are abandoned and replaced by assimilation, part of the Canadian identity is destroyed.

The advantages and essential fairness of bilingualism and cultural and linguistic pluralism are clearly demonstrated in many walks of life. It is widely recognized, for example, that people who speak a number of languages open their minds to others and can thus participate in the richness of the international community. Canadians should be proud that their two official languages have international currency.

The learning of French as a second language by western Canadians is a positive undertaking that must

emphasized. Thousands of non-cophones are learning French second language, the fundamental reason being their attraction to the world of communication.

However, our political leaders must make a distinction between first and second language education.

Key for balance

Equality in everyday life cannot be legislated. The key to the whole matter lies in the desire to improve the human condition. In Western Canada, we have all the necessary ingredients for a better world for all citizens: unlimited energy, innumerable resources, and high expectations of a country still young in years. But what so often prevents us is that we return to the same conduct of the buffalo-herd and quarrel, apparently without effort to obtain vengeance, compensation or recognition. Why are we incapable of living in a just and peaceful society? Can we not find a solution that benefits all Canadians? Can we not understand that enabling another culture to fulfil itself in no way detracts from one's own peace and identity?

All cultures in Canada can be compared to the members of a symphony orchestra: every instru-

ment is important. We listen to each of them and together they form an artistic ensemble that pleases our ear and our intellect. The different cultures in Canada form a magnificent symphony, the first movement of which has the Canadian identity as its theme. Let us hope that the finale will offer a synthesis of the real Canada.

How is it that Canada is bilingual, but that only one of its 12 provinces and territories is officially so? Why is Canada a jigsaw puzzle with one overall colour but with individual pieces of a completely different colour?

It is not very realistic to expect Canada to become 100 per cent bilingual, and this is not the purpose of the Official Languages Act. What is positive and achievable is that every Canadian should respect the language and culture of his fellow citizens. Let our governments establish rules that will encourage the development and respect of our languages and cultures. Let our governments recognize the rights and responsibilities of the official language communities in their territory. It is this spirit that must motivate every Canadian dreaming of a free country worthy of his ancestors. If an official language community is poorly treated in some provinces, what will happen to the visible

minorities who are also seeking their place in the sun?

Respect for others is the key

Let us then be practical; let us recognize the law of Canada. And let us also recognize that Canadians share a plurality of languages and cultures. No one suffers by recognizing the rights of others. Indeed, by encouraging others and respecting their culture, we gain acceptance of ourselves. Let us therefore strive to achieve a better understanding in the West of our cultural and linguistic identities. In making this effort we should try to reach agreements based on some of the elementary rules governing the human condition. Lastly, let us keep our negotiations as far from the courts as possible, for if in the end we have to appeal to the judicial system, we shall have exhausted all human resources of good will and mutual understanding.

This applies to all western Canadians, whether Francophone, Anglophone, Ukrainian or German. The rigours of our climate have taught us to find prompt and effective solutions to our problems. We have all the necessary elements for an equitable solution. Let us use our energy to advance. Let us do it for the love of our country.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION PERIOD

Turning to the challenge of the debate, which by now had focused clearly on the central issue — how to reconcile official bilingualism with the multilingual/multicultural make-up of western Canadian society — intervenors in the third discussion period pulled out their punches. Where, several speakers implicitly asked, lay the common ground, between these two concepts? Which

of the obvious differences should be maintained?

Both federal and provincial support is necessary

The first speaker suggested that the federal government had a choice. Either it could run roughshod over the diversity of Western Canada, or it could work with it and try to establish alliances and coalitions with groups that were

neither English nor French. He deplored what he felt were the weak constitutional guarantees for non-official language communities, and was disturbed by the failure of provincial authorities to provide on-going support and funding for such groups. He added that these minority communities in the West saw English and French as national languages of communication, and other languages as vehicles for

particular cultures. Both concepts should be supported by government, for the communities in question could not, by themselves, fight successfully against the forces of assimilation.

Endorsing these views, particularly the fact that the provincial governments should live up to their obligations in this area, another participant added that he felt there had been altogether too much self-congratulation expressed at the colloquium on the matter of French immersion programmes. These, he felt, should not be viewed as a solution to the fundamental problem facing Francophone minorities in Western Canada. Echoing this sentiment, a later speaker said he saw Anglophone support for French immersion as an insurance policy taken out by pragmatists rather than as a symbol of a deeper commitment to official bilingualism.

Responding acidly to Patrick O'Callaghan's earlier reference to Francophones in the West — "185,000 snowflakes do not constitute a Prairie winter" — more than one speaker noted that snowflakes melt and disappear. That, one suggested, was the danger continued assimilation posed for Francophones. Why, she asked, did some people appear to think that the Manitoba issue had suddenly dropped from the sky? Manitoba had been officially, constitutionally, and legally bilingual in 1870; a terrible injustice had been committed in 1890; and

Francophones have been waiting 94 years for it to be rectified. Canadians should now accept the fact that their Constitution guarantees certain rights — among them, language rights — and should see to it that every effort is made to give these rights substance.

Another Francophone expressed optimism over the transformation that has taken place in Canada since 1964. Words and phrases such as "Francophone community", unheard of twenty years ago, are now in common usage. Today Quebec is not the only province for Francophones in Canada, but merely one of many Francophone communities. Some of these communities are having difficulty understanding the concept of a single Canadian identity. Francophone forces have splintered and the smallest groups find themselves in a difficult situation because other minority language groups have also demanded more concrete recognition. He believed all minority groups should be recognized as part of a new Canadian identity and that we should not return to the old notion of hyphenated Canadians.

Two Quebecers — one Francophone, the other Anglophone — offered different perspectives on recent trends in their province and the effect of such changes on western Francophones. One deplored what he saw as a trend in Quebec among students and teachers to study and teach solely in French. He thought it important that

people be aware of this evolution, particularly because of its impact on the amount of support Francophone minorities in the West can expect to obtain from Quebec. He noted that some Francophone communities have voiced resentment against this evolution, adding that minorities in the rest of Canada should rely on their own forcefulness to press for better education and development assistance.

His fellow Quebecer disagreed with the notion that English is virtually dead at the official level in Quebec. However, the Quebec government has become a symbol for the rejection of bilingualism because of its position that access to government services in English is merely discretionary. If everyone agrees that bilingualism is accepted as a goal in Manitoba, he remarked, then an effective programme should be developed to attain it. He qualified as "naive" the notion that a solution to the problem would likely crop up in fifteen years or so.

In his closing remarks, Lloyd Barber again drew attention to the fact that the colloquium had ignored native languages and native rights. Our aboriginal people, he noted, were also minorities in Canada and should be part of any policy that addressed the issue of language and culture.

1 / LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

Options and futures *Language as a vehicle for instruction and as a subject on the school curriculum poses many questions for Western Canada. What role should English and French play in relation to other languages? What are the implications of the "where numbers errant"? Should the minorities control their own schools? And should languages be compulsory subjects? These and associated topics were discussed by George Pedersen, President, University of British Columbia; David King, Minister of Education, Alberta; and Claude Ryan, Member of the Quebec National Assembly.*

Tolerance, balance, and public choice

GEORGE PEDERSEN and THOMAS FLEMING

There is no issue of greater historical significance to Canadians than bilingualism and its embodiment in law and education. For more than two centuries, Canadians have struggled to understand the meaning of living in a country with two languages and have tried to reconcile the needs and aspirations of the two cultures they represent. Our participation in this colloquium reflects a continuing interest in achieving linguistic equilibrium in this country.

In an effort to provide a western perspective on language and education, I shall direct my remarks to three points: first, to some elements that comprise the social context of French-language instruction in the West; second, to some important developments in French-language education in the western provinces since the 1960s; and, finally, to a number of approaches to language policy that will serve us well now and in the future. I shall also address several related themes which seem to have a bearing on a search for serviceable language and cultural policies, which refer to regional needs and to the need to develop our educational programmes. In the latter regard, I believe that the principles of tolerance, balance, and public choice should underlie our approach to language education, and that, wherever possible, language programmes should be developed in accordance with local needs, interests, and levels of support.

Social context for French-language instruction
Book II of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, the commissioners noted a number of features which have made French-language instruction in the western provinces a special kind of undertaking. They observed, for

example, that French-speaking minorities in the West differed in many ways from those of other provinces, that French-speaking people were more widely dispersed in terms of geography, and that there were no large settlements in the West where Francophones congregated in ways similar to those found in Ontario or New Brunswick. They also pointed out that western Francophones were only *one* linguistic or cultural minority among many, and that they were frequently not the largest minority group.

The commissioners were correct in observing that the question of French-language study in the West should be seen against the backdrop of a larger linguistic and cultural mosaic, even though French is recognized as one of the two official languages of the nation. Such historical and geographical realities further suggest we must be sensitive to the linguistic and cultural aspirations of other minorities and that we should be aware that much of the support for French-language study in the West is derived from English-speaking or other linguistic constituencies rather than from Francophones themselves. In light of this unique situation, it is extremely important that language policies and programmes developed by federal and other authorities allow for certain degrees of tolerance and public choice and aim for a certain balance between the ideals of language reform and parity, and what communities throughout the West will accept. The Official Languages Act provides a blueprint for language reform and the Charter of Rights now makes constitutional provision for the "equality of status and equal rights and privileges" as to the use of the two official languages of Canada in all federal institutions. Nevertheless, in a region such as the West, attempts to promote the survival of the French language clearly should not take place at the expense of other minority groups.

All in all, the French-language policies developed nationally over the last two decades have been implemented in a fairly judicious manner, and some important steps have been taken toward securing the "equal partnership" referred to by the B and B Commission. In many respects, western Canadians are more conscious today of the need to encourage biculturalism, and westerners in general have become increasingly supportive of learning the second official language. While this interest in French has in large part been fostered by federal policies, and by federal support for language education, it has also been spurred by other broad social factors, not least of which is that Canadians in all provinces have a new, more mature appreciation, understanding, and tolerance of minority rights in general. Canadians have also come to realize the advantages of becoming fluent in both official languages.

The study of a second or third language has long been considered a mark of a well-rounded liberal education. We have also come to realize that bilingualism has certain utilitarian benefits: occupational mobility, and increased opportunities for government and international service, trade and commerce, and travel. The fact that the two official languages of Canada are the two most widely-used languages of communication in the world provides strong incentive for language study. Thus, quite apart from the benefits that can accrue to Canadians by breaking down the language barrier that has for so long divided us, powerful economic and international pressures exist for learning a second language.

Language education programmes in the West

The growing interest of English-speaking Canadians in the study of French can clearly be seen in the development of language education programmes in the West. In at least two western provinces, there has been fairly strong growth at the elementary school level in the numbers of youngsters enrolled in core French-language study. In Manitoba, 45 per cent of elementary pupils received language instruction in French last year, compared to only 29 per cent a decade or so ago. In British Columbia, more than half of all school boards have made French a part of their curriculum; about 28 per cent of elementary pupils now study French, compared to 5.6 ten years ago.

At the secondary level, the signs are somewhat less encouraging. But although there have been declines in student enrolments in all four western provinces, the percentage of instructional time given to French has increased in Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia, and has remained constant in Saskatchewan. Factors that have undoubtedly shaped these declines include changing curricula at the junior and senior high school level, the fact that students have "room" for only a certain number of subjects, and pupil perceptions about the kinds of courses that will be immediately useful to them in the labour market.

In the West, the big success story has been French immersion programmes. Increasing emphasis by the federal government on bilingualism, dissatisfaction with traditional methods of French-language instruction, and new public support for language study have all contributed to the growth of such programmes, which now enrol more than 100,000 youngsters across the country.

In the West, immersion has taken on a life of its own, building on a groundswell of parental interest and participation. In Manitoba, for example, fewer than 1,000 youngsters were enrolled in immersion in 1977; today, there are more than 9,000 and by 1994 it is anticipated there will be over 25,000. In Saskatchewan in recent years, there has been a 20 per cent to 30 per cent growth, with nearly 5,000 youngsters currently enrolled in immersion programmes. In Alberta, for the 1983-84 school year, more than 90 schools in 35 jurisdictions are offering French-language instruction, and almost 17,000 pupils study French from early childhood to Grade 12 in immersion and other programmes. In coming years, it is estimated that the overall growth in French-language programmes will continue to increase in Alberta at a rate of approximately 10 to 15 per cent annually. Likewise, in some school districts in British Columbia, around 25 per cent of kindergarten pupils are enrolled in immersion. Altogether, more than 10,000 youngsters in the province are at various stages of immersion instruction. Thus, since 1976-77, elementary and secondary pupil enrolments in immersion programmes have increased about sixfold in Manitoba, tenfold in Saskatchewan and ninefold in British Columbia.

Such expansion, of course, has not been without problems. For one thing, immersion teachers seem to face heavier workloads and the popularity of the programme has caused problems for schoolboards and administrators. In some instances, immersion classes are swelling while enrolments in other areas of the curriculum, or in school populations in general, are declining. Such situations have sometimes produced difficulties in redeploying personnel, in dealing with seniority issues and teacher layoffs, and in finding suitable candidates to staff the new positions.

Some critics charge that the expansion of French-language programmes has occurred so rapidly that there is an inadequate supply of qualified bilingual teachers. The universities have responded to this challenge in several ways. At the University of Regina, a bilingual bachelor of education programme is now available for immersion and other teachers; and special programmes for immersion teachers are now offered at Simon Fraser University and at the University of British Columbia. French language programmes are also available at the University of Alberta, and students can now take a full programme in arts, sciences and education at the Faculté St-Jean at the University of Alberta in Edmonton.

ch developments testify to the effectiveness of language education policies that permit local initiative and provide support for language instruction evolving in line with changing public tastes and perceptions. The great benefits of such an incremental strategy for promoting bilingual language education are clear. In balancing desires for language reform with an understanding and tolerance of what communities and institutions will and will not accept, government can avoid creating the kind of public resistance that sometimes accompanies the introduction of new policies.

Future action

Language education in Canada is *not* simply a pedagogical issue — there are real emotional and political components underlying policies about language. Indeed, although language can have salutary effects on an individual's educational, cultural, and economic opportunities, we must also recognize that, in this country, the question of language is ultimately contested in political and philosophical ways to larger questions about national unity and identity, national purpose, and the linguistic and cultural survival of a minority group. Nor should we ignore the fact that language policies have reference not just to divisions between French and English, but between East and West, and between the federal government and the provinces. Decision makers in Ottawa must keep in mind the problems that may ripple throughout provincial educational systems as they try to accommodate federal policy changes.

A second question of great practical significance is what parents want in terms of French-language instruction for their youngsters. Are they looking for fluency in both official languages? Is this a realistic goal? Or do we run the risk of giving youngsters an inadequate command of both languages? Are parents prepared to take the chance that their children might be unable to master their first language and its literary

heritage for the sake of some degree of fluency in French? How many parents are qualified to judge the quality of the French programmes their children receive, or the effects such programmes have on the rest of their schooling? Should we be teaching the language and culture of French Canada, or be concentrating firmly on international standards of French? If we choose the latter, what does this mean in terms of promoting our goals for Canadian studies? And so on.

Even if we can agree upon the philosophical and pedagogical foundations for language education, do we not also need to consider the limits of formal schooling in promoting and maintaining bilingualism? Given that the language of work in this country is principally English, we need to provide greater numbers of continuing education programmes for adults who wish to maintain or improve whatever fluency they have achieved. Continuing education departments at the universities can no doubt assist in this regard, but more needs to be done to provide other kinds of formal and informal opportunities for study required by graduates of immersion programmes.

There is considerable reason to be pleased by what we have achieved in recent decades. In the West, the study of French is no longer seen as an obstacle but as an advantage; language education has caused many parents to participate enthusiastically in public education, and has helped forge new links between the schools and the communities they serve; there is a new mood of tolerance for minority rights and cultures, and we seem to have found new ways to accommodate some of our political goals with the rights and interests of individuals. In short, we are making progress in the West toward achieving some workable form of linguistic equilibrium between French and English in a predominantly English-speaking part of the country.

David King's remarks

Over the past two days, our discussions have clearly revealed the complexity and importance of the language question in Western Canada. I will comment briefly on four aspects of the question that we seem to return to time and time again; the first I will call the environment, the second the issue, the political need and the third the strategy.

The environment

Canada has an unusual Constitution in that it is not the same one that blankets us all from sea to sea. For example, the Constitution that governs those of us who live in Alberta includes the Alberta Act of 1905. Our Constitution is thus different from the one governing people living in Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, different

again from the one governing Manitobans.

It would probably be fair to characterize an Albertan's view of our constitutional history as having been based on an agreement between two founding races and four communities. When Canada extended itself by acquiring Rupert's Land shortly after

Confederation, our national leaders quite reasonably decided to borrow some of the language of the 1867 British North America Act in drafting the Manitoba Act of 1870. Subsequently, however, in particular between 1896 and 1905, the nature of the pact as it applied to Western Canada changed. Deliberate decisions were made that certain provisions of the earlier constitutional documents would not be included in the Alberta Act and the Saskatchewan Act, both of 1905. Thus, for example, Alberta's government and its services are unilingual.

As a result of this background and of current realities, it seems to me that if fundamental changes are contemplated for the linguistic regime in this province, they will more likely move us in the direction of multilingual government and services rather than toward bilingual government and services. But there is one important exception to that generalization: in 1976 and 1977, Alberta associated itself with all the other provinces of Canada, and later subscribed fully to the Charter of Rights' provision that, where numbers warrant, it would provide minority-language education in French. Indeed, policy statements now under consideration by Cabinet will, if approved, go beyond those commitments.

Some 16,500 students in Alberta are today taking their studies in French. In addition, however, we have some 1,000 students studying mathematics, science, social studies and history in Ukrainian, and others doing so in German, Hebrew, Cree, Arabic, Italian, Polish and several other languages.

Another important difference is that Alberta is one of only two provinces in Canada that will certify teachers on the basis of their competence in either of Canada's official languages.

In terms of language of instruction, then, Alberta has made significant progress. We have not yet

done enough, but there is little doubt that we shall accomplish more.

The issue

Earlier today, someone asked why we are all being so polite. For me, at least, the answer lies in the fact that I am attempting to learn a new terminology and grasp an issue that is being described by some in terms that are not meaningful for us in Alberta. Take for example, the term "Anglophone": while many people in Western Canada speak English, they are not Anglophones. Our experience with the concept of Canada is different from that of many people living in Ontario or Quebec.

Similarly, what do we mean by the term "assimilation" and why is that term so pejorative? Here in the West, we operate on the assumption that we want to create a culture that is not Anglophone or Francophone, but which, in Don Harron's word, is "Canajun". Such a process has undertones of 'assimilation'. We are trying to grow a culture that will *not* submerge the best of other cultures, but will draw out the best from all other cultures, and lend energy to the new creation by a process of synergy. When we hear talk that describes association with this emerging culture in pejorative terms we are concerned.

On the other hand, to describe bilingualism as the essential defence against 'assimilation' is to argue that language is essential to cultural distinctiveness. In that case, a bilingualism policy makes a mockery of a multicultural policy.

The political need

The concept of nationhood requires that we stand on common ground, share a common history and share common convictions about the future. Who can describe our national goals, or how they are set? Who can convince us that the goals are capable of achievement? We lack morale, which depends on leadership.

The goal of nationhood cannot be achieved without leadership, leadership from politicians, from businessmen and from the universities. And if bilingualism is deemed to be one of the necessary elements for achieving that goal, nationhood, it is essential that the political will be present and that the concept be endorsed by leaders of the business and university communities.

Strategy

All of which brings me to my last point. Our strategy in the education field should, first and foremost, be to endorse the value of bilingualism. Second, without recourse to coercion, we should ensure that people are given the opportunity to pursue that goal. Third, we should provide incentives for people to become bilingual and, finally, we should reward people who make that choice. In the education field, we do all these things, because we believe that bilingualism is educationally sound, conducive to the furtherance of our idea of Canada, and personally valuable for individuals and the community at large. Our current plans to develop a new policy on language education is another step toward achieving that goal. I for one am confident that it will be successful.

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Claude Ryan's remarks

By reminding us of the problems involved in implementing the official languages policy in the western provinces, our discussions at this colloquium have brought us to the heart of the Canadian dilemma: the necessity and the difficulty of reaching nationwide agreement on certain national goals.

My position on this matter can be simply put. For Canada to truly distinguish itself from its southern neighbour, make an original contribution to world affairs and allow Canadians to develop in a spirit of harmony and cooperation, it must accept, in principle and in fact, the French/English duality in this country. History, demography and geography offer no other alternative. If we try to muffle this duality or avoid the issue, the country will spin its wheels and fail to develop its potential as quickly as we might hope.

National goals:

Establishing priorities

Respect for cultural diversity should be our second national goal. But we must realize that before we can achieve respect for cultural pluralism, we must accept linguistic and cultural duality. It is one of Canada's fundamental features. If we accept this, our second goal will be much easier to achieve than if we begin with the premise that Canada should develop in a monolithic, uniform fashion. In short, I believe it is essential to establish clear priorities between these two goals.

When we speak of French/English duality, we associate it primarily with language, but not with language alone. Along with the language are the people who speak it. After one of our sessions, a Montreal colleague of mine participating in this colloquium told me emphatically: "I get the impression that some people like the French language but not the French-

Canadians." It seems to me if someone truly likes the French language and upholds the principle of French/English duality, then he has a duty as a Francophone, to like and respect those who speak English and, conversely, as an Anglophone, to like and respect those who speak French and who wish to maintain their culture and language wherever they happen to live in Canada.

Furthermore I find the goal of linguistic duality a civilized and enduring objective. It is a goal to which we may all commit ourselves in the almost certain knowledge that in ten, fifteen or twenty years, it will still be valid. It is through perseverance and continuity that we build a great people. Linguistic duality is a noble goal that can be very attractive. However, in order for it to develop into a national goal we must be prepared to accept the fact that it requires the commitment not only of the federal, but also of the provincial and municipal governments, heads of industry, institutions and associations, leaders in the media and private citizens. Acceptance of duality and all its consequences is the price we must be prepared to pay if we want a strong Canada. If we accept that, then we can accomplish a great deal no matter what the future holds for Canada's political structure.

I for one shall never subscribe to the argument that we must do a little more for French in the West in order to prevent Quebec from separating. Don't expect me to engage in such an argument. I prefer to deal with these issues on a higher plane. It is vital that we be convinced that what we are called upon to do is just. This must be repeated over and over again.

I should now like to outline a few goals which we might, in light of

what I have just said, collectively seek to attain in the field of education. For the short term, I would not consider new laws or constitutional change. Those things should come at the proper time, once public opinion has sufficiently matured.

With our collective progress in mind, I should like to suggest four objectives.

First, we should seek to ensure that every Canadian has the opportunity to receive instruction in his or her language at least in elementary and secondary school and, to the extent possible, at higher levels. In other words, all French-speaking children should have access to French-language elementary and secondary schools and English-speaking children should have access to schooling in English throughout Canada.

Currently, to use the language of the 1982 Constitution Act, we are at the point of "where numbers warrant". I hope the provincial governments will act with enough generosity to make legal action before the courts completely unnecessary. I also hope that when the Constitution is next revised, with the participation of the Quebec government, we will see this restrictive clause dropped. You may wonder if that is possible. My answer is that, in Quebec, it has always been so.

Second, we must have a network of institutions and services at the elementary and secondary school levels over which Francophones have an effective measure of control. I am here referring to Francophones outside the Province of Quebec but my comments hold true for the Anglophones of Quebec as well.

Control over their schools is rapidly becoming the major demand of our linguistic minorities.

Much still remains to be done in this regard. If two or three French schools in a given region are governed by an Anglophone school board, you can expect many decisions to be made without a complete understanding of the problems facing Francophones. For this reason, Francophones want a regrouping of their schools and institutions. In Quebec, English-speaking Protestants have long had effective responsibility for their school system. This holds true to such an extent that, even when the Department of Education wants them to implement overly precise policy directives, it often has to issue its directives several times before they are put into practice. We do not wish to deprive the boards of this control. We maintain — at least my party does — that they must keep it; such control is, in our view, in keeping with respect for the goal of duality. Granted, the degree of control would necessarily vary from one province to another according to population composition and distribution, but we must be firm in our resolve to achieve this goal.

The linguistic minorities require more than access to school systems tailored to their needs. They also need community support through a network of infrastructures that enables them to maintain their growth and acts as a support for their development and their day-to-day life.

If all a region has to offer are French-language schools and nothing else to enable Francophones to realize their potential, clearly they will not go very far. For years, French life in the West has been eroding at an alarming rate. This phenomenon was already apparent fifteen years ago when I had opportunities to visit the West more often. It seems to me to have worsened over the past few years. If we want to check the pace of this erosion, a minimum number of public services must be offered in French in the western provinces. This is the meaning of the

battle that Francophones are waging in Manitoba. It is tragic to observe the hysterical direction that public debate on the matter has too often taken. What is important is not whether the 2,000 or 4,000 laws adopted in Manitoba since 1867 will be translated into French within one or two years.

What does the future hold

What is really important is to know what will happen to Franco-Manitobans this year, next year and the year after. There is, however, still no answer to this more serious problem. One of the participants in this colloquium told me, "Don't try and use strong-arm tactics with us, we've proven in Manitoba that they don't work." I beg to differ; there was never any question of coercion in Manitoba. What we had was a legitimate government acting within its normal mandate.

Anyone disagreeing with its approach had the option of voting against the government in the next election. The type of obstruction we witnessed in Manitoba is unworthy, in my humble opinion, of a vigorous democracy.

Still on the same theme, it is essential that a certain number of jobs be available to Francophones in the West in French. It is not without significance, for example, that the federal government employs 55,000 public servants in this region and that a number of them are Francophones. It does not matter that these people are called upon to work in French only part of the time. What matters is that the Francophone community is assured of service in French and of a number of jobs that enable them to avoid totally forgetting or abandoning their culture as soon as they enter the work force.

Third, we should seek to ensure that every young Canadian has the opportunity to acquire, in our elementary and secondary schools, a solid understanding of his first

language and culture as well as satisfactory knowledge of the second official language and culture. I shall deal only with the second aspect of this proposal, adequate mastery of the second official language.

That too is a noble goal that Canadians should set for themselves. We need not try to achieve it overnight. But if we decided we wanted to make it a reality say, ten years, and that we would work together to achieve that goal, the results would be outstanding. We can do it.

Immersion programmes: a success story

I applaud the spectacular success of French immersion programmes in the four western provinces. The English-speaking Protestant schools of Quebec have made equally remarkable progress in this field.

On the other hand, the major accomplishments made at the elementary level may prove futile if no comparable effort is sustained at the secondary level where study of the second language drops sharply outside the Province of Quebec. The reason for this decline is simple: French is no longer a compulsory subject. Given the present indecision of government and public opinion vis-à-vis language issues, it is not surprising that students are not overly anxious to study French.

In Quebec, English is a compulsory subject in high schools and the teaching of English has produced significant results. Furthermore, most Quebecers would agree that the second proposal we have just made is a valid goal for all Canadians.

Our education programmes must also make room for more courses on the cultural heritage of ethnic groups and on heritage languages and cultures. We have made important progress on this front in Quebec but much still remains to be done.

we should also seek to provide members of ethnic communities with public services in their language situations where demography so justifies. I feel no apprehension supporting such a proposal. Initiatives of this type have long been apparent in the Canadian West. Who could truly take offense at that? Political leaders have a duty to offer the public the best possible services. If this means that services are to be offered in the only language through which a particular group of citizens can be reached, why should anyone object?

Finally, we should increase the number of exchange programmes between students, teachers, parents and school administrators in the different provinces and regions of the country.

Last year in Quebec, major amendments were made to the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101). Eric Maldoff, President of the Alliance Quebec, has said during this colloquium that even if major grievances still exist and substantial improvements need to

be made, the major irritants have been resolved or alleviated. I note, however, that almost no one in the West has heard of these changes. They still talk of this legislation as though no amendments had ever taken place over the past year.

Increasing the number of exchange programmes between the provinces and regions of Canada would undoubtedly contribute to better mutual communication and understanding. The National Assembly of Quebec is often visited by groups of young people from Ontario and the western provinces. These young visitors are always amazed by what they discover in Quebec and we are always very happy, for our part, to have them come. As one of our national goals in education, we should promote and organize these programmes on an even more solid basis.

By way of conclusion I would say that if we pay only lip service to the national goal of linguistic and cultural duality, we might just as well say we reject it.

The federal government has now accomplished much of what it had to do. Certainly, there is room for many minor improvements, but the groundwork is in place.

As for the provinces, I would not like to see the federal government force them into action as it has sometimes done in the past, whether through over-zealousness or intrigue. A genuine sense of conviction must develop of its own accord within each province. For good to come of it, each province must act in the belief that the cause is a good one and not because they are afraid of future retaliation. Particularly in the field of official languages education, provincial commitment must be more clearly evident and the federal commitment must not waiver.

Federal financial support in this area will be necessary for a number of years to come. Such assistance should, however, be applied to programmes conceived or fully supported by the provinces.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION PERIOD

Reflecting the consensus that education, in its various forms, offers the best hope for linguistic equity and reconciliation in tomorrow's Canada, speakers in the final discussion period concentrated their comments on current realities — both positive and negative — and on the need for continued reform. The debate focussed on two major issues: the demands of minority-language communities; and the efforts of education administrators to meet the diverse needs of the society they serve.

The first speaker, a leader of Saskatchewan's French-speaking community, noted that assimilation has taken a heavy toll in that province. The 25,000 or so Francophones who remain are trying hard to have French recognized as an official language in Saskatchewan, and a case related to that issue is now before the courts. The Supreme Court's impending decision on the Manitoba case will undoubtedly have an influence on the Fransaskois and Franco-Albertan communities.

New developments are encouraging

Next to speak was a representative of the Francophone minority in British Columbia. He found it encouraging that a Francophone Chamber of Commerce had been formed in Vancouver and that the provincial government was beginning to reach out to its Francophone population. Noting that the first French school, École Anne Hébert, opened in Vancouver this year, he echoed several other speakers who stressed the importance of having French schools for Francophones distinct from French immersion schools for Anglophones. He also thought that the western provinces were having difficulty with their commitment to the Constitution, adding that the Government of British

Columbia should accept its commitment to guarantee Francophone rights.

A member of the legal community, noting that the survival and expansion of a minority language and culture begins in the classroom, said the school system for Francophones should be controlled by Francophones and financed by public funds, as is the case for the Anglo-controlled Anglo-Protestant school system in Quebec. He further suggested that the English version of Quebec's legislation on this matter should be adapted to the western provinces so that Francophone minorities could have a system equivalent to that enjoyed by their Anglophone counterparts in Quebec.

The next intervenor, a Franco-Ontarian, agreed with Mr. Ryan's comment that all secondary schools in Ontario should provide courses in the second language; this would enable Francophones to obtain their secondary school diplomas by taking all their courses in French. He mentioned, however, that the Government of Ontario was not totally in favour of such a regime at the present time. He did, however, feel that the province had made remarkable progress over the past year. The western provinces would benefit greatly from an examination of what the Ontario government was doing.

Dialogue, tolerance and understanding

A series of speakers reflected on the broader issue of language and education. One, noting that Canada has no national goal for education, wondered if this were not one reason why Canadians are so lukewarm toward bilingualism and to the provision of proper facilities for the minority population. Another, a union leader, said

the word "dialogue" should accompany "tolerance and understanding" as key expressions of any reform philosophy in this area. The ability to dialogue with one another would be the only way to prevent what has happened in the work world with respect to other languages. Just as it took some legislative clout to bring about recognition of French as the working language of Quebec, so too is legislative support needed in order to draw commitments from various institutions in the West.

Yet another speaker thought it essential to expand the use of French throughout Canada: every educated person should speak the language or languages of his or her country. Education in Canada involved the notion of feeling at home in both official languages; quite apart from the deeper metaphysical questions of national identity or self identity, the most admirable aspect of our country is its linguistic and cultural duality. He did not think there should be so much emphasis on language training for children. What was more important, he said, were the consequences of that training and the living, practical things that should be done to make French a living presence in Canada.

French in Alberta

Turning to Alberta — and in particular to Calgary, the next intervenor gave a brief rundown of the changes that had occurred in the city since 1969. Although Francophones represented only a small percentage of the population, there were now educational and cultural facilities providing services in French. And, more important perhaps, was the support for such facilities demonstrated by people from all racial backgrounds.

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E.T. come home: communicating with
the extraterrestrial
John S. Davidson

"I believe the tradition of diversity which allows multiculturalism to flourish in the West is fundamentally rooted and would not exist without the official languages and the two founding cultures being reflected in our law." Following is the text of the Right Honourable Joe Clark's keynote address to colloquium participants.

Past imperfect, future conditional

JOE CLARK

My words this evening will be those of a national politician from Western Canada who not only wants our official language policies to succeed, but who also wants the West to feel and to be an equal partner in Confederation. I particularly want to discuss how we can make our national language policy work without dividing the country.

First, I think it must be said that the war over acceptance of the Official Languages Act in the West is an old war, a war that has been largely won. In the new battle being waged today, language is not so much an issue as a symbol — a symbol of the growing concern among westerners about the role of Western Canada as an equal partner in the Canadian Confederation. If language policy must, as I believe, be seen in the context of national unity, then the theme of language policy in Western Canada must be examined in light of the goals of bilingualism and in light of the nature of Western Canada.

Past historic, present tense

A few words need to be said about two aspects of the nature of this region: its history and its recent experiences. There is no denying that this region has a different history of settlement from the rest of the country. That historic reality naturally produces a different sense of who we are, as well as different attitudes and responses toward the question of official languages and "bilingualism". It is revealing, for example, to note that all six Cabinet ministers in my government from the Prairies and the North were bilingual, but I was the only one who spoke French.

More recently, there has been an accelerating sense in Western Canada that national policy has been

conducted without proper regard for the legitimate interests of this part of the country. For example, many people from other parts of Canada who were concerned about the Constitution saw it in terms of Quebec and the centre. But in Western Canada it was not seen in those terms at all: rather, it was seen in terms of an attempt to impose an inferior status upon the provinces in this region.

Thus, in my view, the recent outbreak of conflict in Manitoba should not be viewed as yet another battle in the old war against the official languages policy. The position of Mr. Mulroney and our party was taken because it reflected not only a national, but a regional, consensus. All of us here from the West acknowledge that the "language issue" — while not a major concern for most people and not an issue of public policy in these provinces — is vital to the existence of our country. Why? Because these matters are of intense concern and importance to over 25 per cent of our fellow Canadians whose mother tongue is French — some 6.5 million people. We also understand that minority language rights are of increasing concern to 800,000 Canadians who belong to Quebec's English-speaking minority. And we know that these issues are an important element in the continuance in Confederation of one of our provinces, Quebec.

We also know that equal status for the two official languages was an essential part of the bargain that made the original Confederation possible in 1867. We are today being reminded of a part of our Canadian and western Canadian history that has been ignored for many decades: equality of status for English and French was part of the bargain that extended Confederation westwards beyond its original boundaries. Most westerners know this; they also know that of

Canadian history and, more importantly, our Canadian reality cannot be changed. I believe this to be an accurate description of the position of those western Canadians whose decisions will influence language policy; and I think it is reassuring to anyone concerned that the Manitoba controversy has changed official western Canadian attitudes materially.

It is important today that we begin to pay more attention to the new challenge for this region. In the West, the language question should be regarded as a *national policy*, not as a *national cause*. In parts of the country where the population is aware of a common history of French and English, you can perhaps pursue bilingualism as a matter of patriotism; here it is better to pursue it as a matter of pragmatism.

Why? Because apart from the very important communities of Francophone minorities in all our western provinces, the residents of this region have had almost no direct experience with the French language. French is a part of our future, but for most of us it is not a part of our past. My daughter has ample reason to become bilingual, but my parents did not. And, until I decided to save the country, nor did I! After all, to whom would I speak French in High River?

Turning in to the West

I assume that one of the purposes of this colloquium is to move beyond the conventional discussions about national language policy and to address its implications for this particular region. What must be recognized is that a language policy designed to unify those parts of Canada with a conscious history of two languages could, if pursued without care, aggrivate a region with a different conscious history.

What is the problem with the official languages policy in most of Western Canada, and that is what flared to bitter division in Manitoba. Language policy, which is seen as an instrument of "belonging" in most of Canada, can be seen as an instrument of exclusion in Western Canada. There is no deep opposition to the Official Languages Act, or to French. There is just a natural fear, more evident in hard economic times, that the rules are being written which make western Canadians less than equal. In order to counter the growing sense of exclusion in the West, we will have to proceed with sensitivity as we develop official languages policies, and we shall have to act quickly to ensure that youngsters in rural and urban Western Canada have an equal opportunity to become Canadian successes.

I will now take issue gently with the idea that support for bilingualism is the key to Quebec remaining in Confederation. That view is based on the idea that language alone defines the French-Canadian community in Canada. Although language is important, the sense of community is even more so. That is why,

without diminishing the importance or the rights of the Francophone community outside Quebec, we have to recognize the special nature of the Province of Quebec as the crucible of the French-Canadian culture. I hasten to emphasize that that is my personal view. I think Quebec is more than language and I think a policy is inadequate which pretends that guarantees of language will alone enable the French-Canadian culture in Canada to flourish.

Political insensitivity

Putting aside the response to the crisis in Manitoba, I believe the present Government's elaboration of language policy has revealed a profound insensitivity to Western Canada; that insensitivity is the author of much of the opposition to official bilingualism in the West. If this were merely past history, I would not raise it here; unhappily, however, there are current examples too.

Jacques Olivier began his term as Minister of State for Amateur Sport by telling the Calgary committee organizing the Olympic Games to become more bilingual. And John Munro, with virtually no consultation, announced a bill applying the Official Languages Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, whose elected territorial governments he went out of his way to describe as "creations of the Government of Canada". That is a euphemism for colonies.

Now what is the point of that? Mr. Olivier acquired a brief reputation as the Billy Smith of language policy, and the invocation of the North's colonial status angered every Anglophone and Francophone and Inuit north of the 60th parallel. But the poor guy in High River who wants to think well of bilingualism because Joe Clark does, or perhaps even because Pierre Trudeau does, wonders: why are they throwing their weight around?

One of the issues we faced during my brief but intense period in power was the Chouinard Report on bilingual air traffic control. We acted on it quickly, without fanfare, because we were less interested in having our action celebrated in Quebec than we were in getting it accepted in the rest of Canada, including the West. With all due modesty, I recommend that as an example to people who are concerned about language policy in this region.

Room at the top

I have two concerns about the future of western Canadians in Confederation in light of language policy. One of these, for the short and medium term, is addressed to the federal government. In attempting to set an example of bilingualism at the top, we must not create a situation in which the top ranks of the public service become the preserve of people who come from the so-called bilingual belt in Central Canada. I urge the government to be sensitive to the need for a

public service that not only reflects the two official language groups at all levels, but is geographically representative as well. It was bad for Canada in every way, and it was potentially fatal for Confederation when the public service in Ottawa was wall-to-wall unilingual Anglophone. That situation has changed immensely. But it will be no less wrong if, because of language or any other reason, westerners come to feel that they are denied advancement to the top jobs. They should be shown flexibility and reasonableness since they have had less exposure to French in their early lives than many easterners have had. However, I recommend that all people interested in the full future of the country learn both official languages.

Investing in the future

The second concern is for the longer term, the need to equip our youngsters with a working knowledge of Canada's two official languages. This, of course, falls under provincial jurisdiction. As surely as our school system in the West must equip our children to master new technologies, so it must also equip them to meet Canada's linguistic challenge as more and more of the top jobs, regardless of the sector, require bilingual capability. I appreciate the progress that has been achieved in Alberta and in the other three western provinces. But we are still a long way from giving all our children the opportunity to acquire the linguistic capacity they are going to need in the future. French immersion is fairly widespread and much in demand in the West. But immersion must obviously be the exception rather than the rule in elementary and secondary schools in an English-speaking school system. Of the 1.3 million students in the elementary and secondary school systems of Western Canada, some 126,000 are in French immersion programmes this year. The mass of students in Western Canada must be taught French as a part of the regular curriculum.

Although there have been encouraging increases in the percentage of students studying French at the elementary level, there has unfortunately been a sharp decline at the secondary level. The same situation may be observed in other largely Anglophone provinces — Newfoundland, P.E.I., Nova Scotia, and Ontario — and it is disquieting.

Whatever explanations are offered by those in a position to explain this phenomenon, I should like to know why our school systems cannot make compulsory the study of both of Canada's official

languages, and why our universities cannot make this a requirement both for entrance and for graduation.

Nobody should underestimate the difficulties in turning this situation around. It will require a great degree of cooperative effort on the part of ministers of education, teachers' unions, school boards and parents. The difficulties are real but not insuperable. It is, after all, the interests of our youngsters that are directly at stake. It will affect their access to career opportunities in Canada that will be closed to them if they are not bilingual. Ultimately, then, it is the future of our country that is at stake.

The Canadian tradition

There is one last topic I should like to touch on before I conclude. It has to do with the problem of how we approach the question of two official languages and a multitude of cultures. Some argue that there is conflict between those goals. I disagree. I believe that the fact that we have two official languages has created in this country what I have called a tradition of diversity. We often pride ourselves on our tolerance. But our tolerance is partly a response to necessity. The two communities were here. We had to get along in the bosom of a single state and that created an attitude, a larger view of things, a tolerance that I believe contributed directly to the distinguishable Canadian tradition of encouraging Canadians who came here from the Ukraine, Poland, Asia or elsewhere, to be Canadian while guarding the language, culture and traditions of their origin. I believe the tradition of diversity which allows multiculturalism to flourish here is fundamentally rooted and would not exist without the official languages and the two founding cultures being reflected in our law.

I also think there is a particular tradition of tolerance in Western Canada. People grew up with neighbourliness. I do not think we are a region of particular bitterness or narrowness. I think the opposite. Tolerance is very much a part of Canadian life, in part because we have been forced to be tolerant by the circumstances of geography or of the founding cultures that established this country. Although there are still difficulties today, those difficulties have as much to do with the method of approaching the implementation of language policy as they do with the acceptance of it. The problems can be overcome if we have the will to do so and if we proceed with an understanding of the community in which we are acting.

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avons promptement donné suite, sans grands éclats, parce que nous cherchions moins à obtenir les louanges du Québec qu'à faire accepter nos mesures par le reste du Canada, y compris l'Ouest. En toute modestie, je recommandais à ceux qui se préoccupent de la politique linguistique dans cette région du pays, de faire de même.

Étant donné la politique linguistique en vigueur, je nourris deux préoccupations au sujet de l'avenir des Canadiens de l'Ouest au sein de la Confédération. La première, à court et à moyen terme, intéresse

l'administration fédérale. En tentant de donner l'exemple du bilinguisme au sommet, il ne faudrait pas faire en sorte que les échelons supérieurs de la fonction publique soient occupés exclusivement par des personnes venant de ce qu'on a convenu d'appeler la ceinture bilingue du centre du Canada. La fonction publique doit, à tous les niveaux, représenter non seulement les deux groupes linguistiques mais aussi les différentes régions du pays. L'unilinguisme anglais du passé a été malheureux pour le Canada et préjudiciable à la Confédération. Heureusement, la situation a changé. Mais il serait tout aussi regrettable que, pour des raisons de langue ou autre, les Canadiens de l'Ouest se voient refuser l'accès aux postes élevés. Il faut faire preuve, dans leur cas, de souplesse et de raison, puisqu'ils n'ont pas été exposés au français à un aussi jeune âge que leurs compatriotes de l'Est. Mais en définitive, je recommande à tous ceux qui ont à cœur d'assurer l'avenir du pays d'apprendre les deux langues officielles.

Mon deuxième souci intéresse l'avenir éloigné : il s'agit de la nécessité de donner aux jeunes une con-

naissance pratique de nos deux langues officielles. Ce domaine relève bien sûr de la compétence provinciale. En plus de donner aux jeunes Canadiens les moyens de maîtriser les technologies nouvelles, le système scolaire de l'Ouest doit leur permettre de relever le défi linguistique canadien étant donné que, de plus en plus, les postes supérieurs, dans tous les secteurs, exigent la connaissance des deux langues. Conscient des progrès réalisés en Alberta et dans les trois autres provinces occidentales, je crois néanmoins que nous avons encore beaucoup à faire pour donner à tous nos enfants la possibilité d'acquérir la compétence linguistique dont ils auront besoin dans l'avenir. Les programmes d'immersion en français sont passablement répandus et très en demande dans l'Ouest. Mais ce régime d'enseignement ne peut être que l'exception et non la règle dans les écoles primaires et secondaires anglophones. Des 1,3 millions d'enfants qui fréquentent ces établissements dans l'Ouest, quelque 126 000 sont inscrits cette année dans des classes immersives. Cela signifie que la grande majorité des élèves doivent apprendre le français dans le contexte d'un programme de cours ordinaire.

L'augmentation encourageante du nombre de jeunes apprenant le français à l'élémentaire est malheureusement

ment contrebalancée par une baisse marquée au secondaire. Cette situation existe aussi dans d'autres provinces à prédominance anglophone comme l'ère-Neuve, l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, la Nouvelle-Écosse et l'Ontario, et il y a lieu de s'en inquiéter.

Les autorités ont beau expliquer ce phénomène d'une multitude de façons, je n'arrive toujours pas à comprendre pourquoi nos systèmes scolaires n'obligent pas tous les élèves à apprendre les deux langues officielles du Canada, ni pourquoi nos établissements de haut-savoir ne font pas de la connaissance de celles-ci une condition d'admission et d'obtention d'un diplôme. Il ne sera certes pas facile de changer cette situation. Chacun, depuis les ministres de l'éducation jusqu'aux parents en passant par les syndicats d'enseignants et les conseils scolaires, devra y mettre du sien. Pour réelles qu'elles soient, les difficultés ne sont toutefois pas insurmontables. Il y va, après tout, de l'intérêt de nos jeunes et l'enjeu n'est rien de moins que les possibilités de carrière dont ils seront privés s'ils ne deviennent pas bilingues. En définitive, cela intéresse l'avenir même du Canada.

Une tradition bien à nous

J'aimerais, avant de conclure, toucher un dernier point. Il s'agit de la question des deux langues officielles face à une multitude de cultures. Certains estiment que ces objectifs se contredisent; pour ma part, je ne le crois pas. Notre bilinguisme officiel a créé au pays ce que j'ai appelé une tradition de diversité. Nous nous enorgueillons fréquemment de notre tolérance Mais la réalité, soit la coexistence historique des deux collectivités, nous l'imposait. Nous avons par nécessité été forcés de nous entendre au sein d'un seul et même État et cela a suscité une attitude, une vision élargie des choses, une tolérance qui a contribué à créer un trait proprement canadien, soit celui d'encourager tous ceux qui sont venus ici d'Ukraine, de Pologne, d'Asie ou d'ailleurs à être Canadiens tout en préservant leur langue, leur culture et leurs traditions d'origine. Je suis persuadé que cette tradition de diversité qui favorise l'épanouissement du multiculturalisme dans l'Ouest a des racines profondes et qu'elle ne pourrait exister sans la consécration officielle des langues et des cultures des deux groupes fondateurs.

Cette tolérance se manifeste spécialement dans l'Ouest, où voisins et collectivités ont beaucoup d'importance. L'amertume et l'étréouesse d'esprit n'ont pas leur place chez nous. Au contraire, la compréhension est un de nos traits marquants; nous avons dû apprendre à nous accepter les uns les autres à cause de la géographie du territoire et des deux cultures qui ont fondé le pays. Les difficultés auxquelles nous nous heurtons encore de nos jours sont attribuables tant au mode d'application de la politique linguistique qu'à son acceptation. Nous pouvons les surmonter à condition de le vouloir et d'être sensibles aux col-

lectivités au sein desquelles nous oeuvrons.

mesures linguistiques en faisant preuve de beaucoup de circonspection et agir rapidement pour assurer que les jeunes Canadiens des régions rurales et urbaines de l'Ouest aient autant de chance de réussir que leurs contemporains des autres coins du pays.

Il me faut par ailleurs faire part de mon désaccord avec l'idée que le bilinguisme est essentiel si l'on veut que le Québec demeure au sein de la Confédération. Cela suppose que la collectivité canadienne-française se définit uniquement en termes linguistiques. Certes importante, la langue l'est cependant moins que le sens d'appartenance au groupe. C'est pourquoi, sans minimiser la place ou les droits des collectivités francophones hors Québec, nous devons reconnaître le caractère spécial de cette province comme foyer de la culture canadienne-française. C'est là bien sûr une opinion personnelle. Le Québec, à mon avis, ne se définit pas seulement par la langue que parlent la plupart de ses habitants, et l'on aurait tort de croire qu'une politique peut assurer l'épanouissement de la culture canadienne-française au pays du seul fait qu'elle garantit des droits linguistiques.

Une question de sensibilité

Indépendamment de sa réaction à la crise manitobaine, on constate que le gouvernement actuel s'est montré profondément insensible, dans sa politique linguistique, aux préoccupations de l'Ouest. Et c'est cette indifférence qui a provoqué dans cette région tant d'opposition au bilinguisme. S'il ne s'agissait que d'un fait de l'histoire ancienne, je passerais outre. Malheureusement, nous ne manquons pas d'exemples récents.

Jacques Olivier a commencé son mandat comme ministre d'État au Sport amateur en demandant au comité organisateur des Jeux olympiques de Calgary de se bilinguiser. Pour sa part, John Munro, sans consulter personne pour ainsi dire, a annoncé un projet de loi appliquant la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et la *Charte des droits et libertés* au Yukon et aux Territoires du Nord-Ouest et il a été obligé de faire des entorses à la logique pour décrire leurs gouvernements élus comme étant des « créations du gouvernement du Canada », cet euphémisme pour colonies.

À quoi tout cela a-t-il servi ? M. Olivier a brièvement acquis la réputation d'être le « croisé » du bilinguisme tandis que l'allusion au statut de colonie du Nord a irrité tous les Anglophones, Francophones et Inuit vivant au-delà du 60° parallèle. Mais le pauvre type de High River qui s'efforce d'accepter le bilinguisme, parce que Joe Clark y voit un bien ou peut-être même se demander pourquoi le gouvernement fait à ce point l'important.

Pendant mon bref mais intense exercice du pouvoir, mon gouvernement a été saisi du rapport Chouinard sur le contrôle de la circulation aérienne. Nous y

été mécon nue pendant de longues décennies, soit le fait que cette égalité de statut était prévue à l'accord qui a servi à étendre la Confédération vers l'Ouest en n'aisant élargir les frontières originelles. La plupart des Canadiens de l'Ouest en sont conscients, ils se rendent aussi compte de l'impossibilité de changer l'histoire et, qui plus est, de modifier la réalité canadienne. Je pense que cela correspond essentiellement à la position que défendent les Canadiens de l'Ouest dont les décisions exerceront une influence déterminante sur la politique linguistique. Il est aussi sûr, pour tous les intéressés, de savoir que la controverse manitobaine a fondamentalement transformé l'attitude officielle de l'Ouest.

Il est important pour nous de commencer aujourd'hui porter davantage attention au défi nouveau qui se pose à cette région. Dans l'Ouest, la question linguistique doit être considérée comme une *politique* et non comme une *cause nationale*. Là où la population a pris conscience de la communauté d'histoire entre Anglophones et Francophones, l'objectif de bilinguisme peut être poursuivi par patriotisme; ici, il est préférable d'agir par pragmatisme.

Pourquoi ? Parce que, en dehors des collectivités francophones importantes mais minoritaires que l'on trouve dans les quatre provinces de l'Ouest, les gens de cette région n'ont pas eu de contact direct avec le français. Cette langue fait partie de notre avenir, mais pour la plupart d'entre nous elle n'appartient pas à notre passé. Ma fille a toutes les raisons du monde de devenir bilingue, mes parents, eux, n'en avaient aucune. Et avant que je ne me décide à sauver le pays, je n'en avais pas non plus ! À qui en effet aurais-je parlé français à High River ?

Les appréhensions de l'Ouest

Je suppose qu'un des objectifs de ce colloque est de dépasser le cadre des discussions traditionnelles au sujet de la politique linguistique pour examiner ses répercussions sur cette région. Il faut absolument reconnaître qu'une politique linguistique destinée à unifier les régions du Canada dont l'histoire s'est tissée en langues distinctes risque, si elle est appliquée sans discernement, de contrarier celles dont l'histoire est tout autre.

C'est sur ce point qu'achoppe dans l'Ouest la politique des langues officielles et c'est ce qui a provoqué un conflit du Manitoba. Considérée presque partout comme un moyen de concrétiser le sentiment d'appartenance « des Canadiens, cette politique peut être perçue, dans l'Ouest, comme un mécanisme d'exclusion. Non pas que les Canadiens de cette région s'opposent foncièrement à la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ou au français. Ils craignent plutôt — et cela est tout à fait normal et plus manifeste en périodes de marasme économique — que certaines règles ne soient préjudiciables à leur égalité de statut. Pour lutter contre ce sentiment croissant, il faudra élaborer des

«Je suis persuadé que cette tradition de diversité qui favorise l'épanouissement du multiculturalisme dans l'Ouest a des racines profondes et qu'elle ne pourrait exister sans la consécration officielle des langues et des cultures des deux groupes fondateurs.» Cette citation est tirée de l'allocution qu'a prononcée le très honorable Joe Clark lors du colloque, et dont vous trouverez ci-après le texte intégral.

Du passé compassé au futur prometteur

JOE CLARK

M

es propos ce soir seront ceux d'un homme politique de l'Ouest oeuvrant sur le front national et qui tient à voir non seulement notre politique linguistique réussir, mais aussi l'Ouest être et se sentir égal à ses partenaires au sein de la Confédération. Je voudrais notamment discuter des moyens que nous pouvons prendre pour que notre politique linguistique soit fructueuse, sans pour autant diviser le pays.

Premièrement, disons que la guerre visant à faire accepter la *Loi sur les langues officielles* par l'Ouest est terminée et qu'elle a largement été gagnée. Dans la présente lutte, la langue n'est plus tant une préoccupation qu'un symbole — une expression du sentiment de plus en plus vif des gens de l'Ouest que leur région n'est pas considérée ni traitée à l'égal des autres.

S'il faut voir la politique linguistique dans le contexte de l'unité nationale — ce qui est à mon avis le seul point de vue défendable —, alors je crois qu'il faut examiner le thème de ce colloque en tenant compte des buts du bilinguisme et de la nature même de l'Ouest canadien.

Arrêtons-nous, si vous le voulez bien, à deux aspects fondamentaux de cette région : son histoire et ses expériences récentes. Ce territoire a indéniablement été colonisé d'une manière différente du reste du pays. Pour cette raison, nous voyons différemment et nous avons une attitude et des réactions distinctes face à la question des langues officielles et du « bilinguisme ». Je vous signale par exemple que les six ministres de la Prairie et du Nord qui faisaient partie de mon cabinet étaient tous bilingues, mais j'étais le seul à parler français.

C'est d'ailleurs pourquoi il ne faut pas, à mon avis, voir le récent conflit au Manitoba comme un autre épisode de la guerre, aujourd'hui révolue, contre la politique des langues officielles. M. Mulroney et mon parti ont décidé de défendre une position qui traduit un consensus non seulement national mais aussi régional. Nous tous, Canadiens de l'Ouest, sommes d'accord pour dire que la « question linguistique », même si elle ne préoccupe pas la plupart des gens et ne constitue pas un élément important de la politique sociale dans cette région, est absolument essentielle à l'existence de notre pays. Pourquoi ? Parce qu'elle est extrêmement importante pour plus du quart de nos citoyens dont la langue maternelle est le français — soit quelque six millions et demi de Canadiens. Nous sommes aussi sensibles au fait que les droits linguistiques de la minorité intéressent au plus haut point les 800 000 Canadiens qui forment la minorité anglophone du Québec. Enfin, nous savons que ces questions sont fédératif dans cette province.

L'égalité de statut des deux langues officielles constituait également une des conditions fondamentales du contrat qui a permis en 1867 de réaliser la Confédération. On nous rappelle aujourd'hui une partie de l'histoire du Canada et de l'histoire de l'Ouest qui

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un accord entre le gouvernement la collectivité francophone en liberté quant à la mise en application de l'article 23 de la Constitution. Il semble donc peu probable que les tribunaux soient saisis de question. M. King s'est dit à nouveau convaincu que les Canadiens de l'Ouest reconnaissent la notion de dualité et le principe des deux peuples fondateurs constituaient deux des données essentielles de la réalité canadienne, toutant que les gouvernements de l'Ouest étaient tout à la fois déterminés de mettre en valeur le fait que les francophones et de favoriser l'épanouissement d'une culture canadienne aux multiples facettes. Le gouvernement fédéral a une politique de bilinguisme et de multiculturalisme, mais la population britannique est sceptique à cet égard pour deux raisons. Premièrement, la langue est un élément essentiel de la culture, pourquoi trait-elle plus essentielle pour les francophones que pour les Ukrainiens ou les Polonais ? Deuxièmement, si l'assimilation est pré-déterminable aux Francophones, ne peut-elle pas aussi pour les autres groupes ?

la réponse aux commentaires formulés sur ses remarques antérieures, M. George Federsen a déclaré qu'il ne voyait absolument pas comment le Canada, pays hautement développé, pourrait progresser sur les plans économiques, sociaux et culturels sans tout d'abord bien comprendre les buts et le rôle de l'enseignement dans le développement global. M. Max Valden conclut cette période de discussion et le colloque par une note optimiste. Selon lui, les collectivités francophones sont finiment plus dynamiques aujourd'hui qu'il y a dix ou quinze ans, il est même permis de penser que les droits des Francophones ont l'objet d'un consensus de plus en plus large partout au Canada.

RÉSUMÉ DES DISCUSSIONS

Traduisant leur conviction unanime que l'enseignement, sous toutes ses formes, offre le meilleur espoir de parvenir à l'équité et la réconciliation linguistiques dans le Canada de demain, les intervenants ont surtout traité, lors de cette dernière période de discussion, des réalités de l'heure — tant positives que négatives — et de la nécessité de poursuivre la réforme. Le débat s'est axé sur deux grands points : les revendications des minorités linguistiques et les efforts consentis par les autorités scolaires pour répondre aux besoins variés de la société qu'elles ont pour mission de servir.

Le premier intervenant, un des chefs de file de la collectivité francophone de la Saskatchewan, a signalé l'ampleur de l'assimilation dans la province. Les quelque 25 000 francophones actuels s'emploient à obtenir la reconnaissance du français comme langue officielle à l'échelon provincial; les tribunaux sont d'ailleurs saisis d'une cause à ce sujet. Il ne fait aucun doute à ses yeux que la décision imminente de la Cour suprême touchant le Manitoba va se répercuter sur les Fransaskois et les Franco-Albertains.

Puis ce fut le tour d'un représentant de la collectivité francophone de la Colombie-Britannique. Il s'est dit encouragé par la création de la Chambre de commerce francophone de Vancouver et par le fait que le gouvernement provincial commence à tenir compte de l'élément français dans la province. Après avoir signalé l'ouverture de la première école française de Vancouver, l'École Anne-Hébert, il a repris à son compte les propos de plusieurs autres participants sur l'importance pour les Franco-phones d'avoir leurs propres écoles, par opposition aux classes immersives pour les jeunes Anglophones. Signalant qu'à son avis les provinces de l'Ouest ont de la difficulté à respecter leur engagement constitutionnel, il a ajouté

que le gouvernement de la Colombie-Britannique se doit de faire face à ses responsabilités quant à la sauvegarde des droits des Francophones.

Après avoir fait remarquer que la survie et l'expansion d'une langue et d'une culture minoritaires passent nécessairement par l'école, un représentant du milieu juridique a déclaré que le système scolaire des Francophones devrait être placé entre les mains de ces derniers et financé à même les deniers publics, comme c'est le cas pour les commissions scolaires anglo-protestantes au Québec, qui sont dirigées par des Anglophones. À son avis, il faudrait adapter à l'Ouest la loi du Québec en cette matière afin que les minorités francophones jouissent d'un régime équivalent à celui de leurs homologues québécois.

L'intervenant suivant, un Franco-Ontarien, s'est dit d'accord avec M. Claude Ryan, à savoir que toutes les écoles secondaires de l'Ontario devraient offrir des cours en français afin que les Franco-phones puissent poursuivre leurs études dans leur propre langue jusqu'à la fin de ce cycle. Il a fait cependant remarquer que, pour l'instant, le gouvernement ontarien n'était pas entièrement favorable à cette solution, même s'il a fait des progrès remarquables depuis un an. Les provinces de l'Ouest, a-t-il dit, auraient grand intérêt à considérer les mesures prises par l'Ontario.

Plusieurs participants ont ensuite exploré la question générale de la langue et de l'enseignement. L'un d'entre eux s'est demandé par exemple si le fait que le Canada n'ait pas d'objectif national en matière d'enseignement n'explique pas en partie l'indifférence des Canadiens à l'égard du bilinguisme et l'absence d'installations acceptables pour les minorités. Un autre, un dirigeant syndical, a affirmé que les mots « dialogue »

et « tolérance et compréhension » devraient être le cri de ralliement de toute réforme dans ce domaine. Le dialogue constitue la seule façon d'empêcher que ne se reproduise ce qui est déjà arrivé dans le milieu du travail quant à d'autres langues. Tout comme il a fallu procéder par la voie législative pour faire reconnaître le français en tant que langue de travail au Québec, de même, il faudrait adopter des lois pour obtenir l'engagement des diverses institutions dans l'Ouest.

D'après un autre intervenant, il faut absolument étendre l'utilisation du français partout au Canada : toute personne instruite doit, à son avis, parler la ou les langues de son pays. Au Canada, l'enseignement doit permettre à chacun de se sentir à l'aise dans les deux langues officielles; indépendamment de toutes considérations philosophiques sur l'identité nationale ou personnelle, le trait le plus admirable de notre pays est certes sa dualité linguistique et culturelle. Selon lui, on a sur l'enseignement de la langue aux enfants. Ce qui importe davantage ce sont les conséquences de cette formation et les mesures concrètes et pratiques qu'il faut prendre pour répandre et vivifier la présence du français au Canada.

Parlant pour sa part de l'Alberta, et en particulier de Calgary, le participant suivant a fait un rapide survol des transformations qui se sont produites dans cette ville depuis 1969. Bien qu'ils ne représentent qu'une faible proportion de la population, les Francophones y ont désormais accès à des équipements scolaires et culturels offrant des services en français. Et, fait plus important sans doute, cela s'est fait avec l'appui de citoyens de toutes origines.

En réponse à diverses questions, M. David King a d'abord tenu à dire qu'il y a raison de croire en

provinces de l'Ouest. Ces jeunes visiteurs sont toujours renversés de ce qu'ils découvrent à Québec. Nous sommes toujours extrêmement heureux, quant à nous, de les recevoir. Ce devrait être l'un de nos objectifs nationaux, dans le domaine de l'éducation, que de promouvoir et d'organiser sur une base encore plus efficace ces programmes.

En guise de conclusion, je tiens à faire remarquer que si nous n'acceptons l'objectif national de la dualité linguistique et culturelle que du bout des lèvres, cela voudra tout simplement dire que nous le refusons.

Le gros du travail qui devait être accompli par le gouvernement fédéral l'a été. Il y a certes de nombreux perfectionnements à apporter à l'oeuvre commencée, mais l'essentiel est en place.

En ce qui regarde les provinces, je ne voudrais pas que le gouvernement fédéral vienne les forcer à agir. Dans le passé, il a parfois pêché, de ce côté, par excès de zèle ou d'intrigue. Il faut qu'une conviction authentique se développe à l'intérieur de chaque province. Il faut que chacune d'entre elles en fasse bien davantage, non pas parce qu'elles auraient peur de l'avenir, mais parce qu'elles sont convaincues que la cause est bonne et qu'il y a lieu qu'elles s'y consacrent avec conviction. En ce qui touche particulièrement l'enseignement des langues officielles, il faut que l'engagement des provinces soit plus clair, et que le gouvernement fédéral ne cède pas à la tentation de diminuer son engagement. Son aide financière dans ce domaine sera nécessaire pendant plusieurs années encore. Mais cette aide devra s'appliquer à des programmes conçus par les provinces ou avec leur plein accord.

publics dans leur langue là où la situation démographique le justifie. Cette proposition ne crée chez moi aucune espèce d'apprehension. Il y a déjà longtemps que l'on a commencé à prendre des initiatives dans ce sens dans l'Ouest canadien. Qui pourrait vraiment s'en scandaliser ? Les dirigeants politiques ont le devoir d'offrir à la population les meilleurs services possibles. Si cela implique que certains services doivent être offerts dans la seule langue où certaines catégories de citoyens peuvent être atteints, pourquoi devrait-on s'y objecter ?

Multiplier les programmes d'échanges

Quatrième, nous devons multiplier les programmes d'échanges entre étudiants, entre professeurs, entre parents, entre administrateurs scolaires des différentes provinces et régions du pays.

Au Québec, l'an dernier, des amendements importants ont été apportés à la *Charte de la langue française* (loi 101). M. Eric Malloff, président d'Alliance Québec, a dit à l'occasion de ce colloque que, s'il reste des griefs importants et des améliorations substantielles à faire, les irritants majeurs ont été effacés ou atténués. Je constate cependant qu'à peu près personne, dans l'Ouest, n'a entendu parler de ces changements. On continue à parler de cette loi comme si elle n'avait fait l'objet d'aucune modification au cours de la dernière année.

La multiplication des programmes d'échange entre les provinces et les régions du Canada contribuerait sans aucun doute à une meilleure information réciproque et à une plus grande compréhension. Nous recevons très souvent, à l'Assemblée nationale du Québec, des groupes de jeunes en provenance de l'Ontario et des

et que nous con-nions de faire converger nos efforts dans cette direction, les résultats seraient extraordinaires. Nous en sommes capables.

plaudis à la réussite ectaculaire de l'immersion en anglais dans les quatre provinces l'Ouest. Les écoles anglo-otestantes du Québec ont égale-ent accompli des progrès re-irquables dans cette voie.

r contre, les progrès majeurs accomplis au primaire risquent d'être vains parce qu'on ne déploie aucun effort comparable au niveau condaire, où l'étude de la langue conde décline brutalement en hors du Québec. La raison de ce clin est simple : le français n'y t plus qu'une matière option-ile. Dans l'état d'indécision où trouvent encore en matière lin-istrique les gouvernements et pinion publique, il n'est pas nmant que les étudiants ne ient pas outre mesure attirés par tude du français.

Québec, l'anglais est une atière obligatoire au niveau condaire, et son enseignement y ait des progrès considérables. outre, il n'est guère de citoyens Québec qui doutent que le uxième objectif qui vient d'être oposé vaille la peine d'être ursuivi par tous les Canadiens.

Importance de l'héritage culturel

Il faut aussi faire une place plus portante dans les programmes enseignement à l'héritage cul-el des communautés ethniques, x langues et aux cultures d'ori-ne. Nous avons fait des pas ortants dans cette voie au ébec. Il nous reste cependant aucoup à faire.

ous devons également viser à urnir aux membres des com-munautés ethniques des services

avons franchie avec l'adoption de la loi constitutionnelle de 1982.

J'espère que les gouvernements provinciaux sauront agir avec asses de générosité pour qu'il ne soit nulle part nécessaire de recourir en cette matière à l'arbitrage des tribunaux. J'espère aussi que, à l'occasion d'une prochaine révision constitutionnelle, faite celle-là avec la participation du Québec, on verra disparaître cette clause restrictive. Vous me demandez si cela est possible. Je vous réponds qu'au Québec, c'est ainsi que nous agissons depuis toujours.

Deuxièmement, il faut que nous disposions, aux niveaux primaire et secondaire, d'un réseau d'institutions et de services sur lesquels les Francophones pourront agir efficacement. Je parle des Francophones des autres provinces que le Québec, mais mes remarques valent également pour les Anglophones du Québec.

Le contrôle de leurs écoles devient rapidement la revendication majeure des minorités linguistiques. Il reste encore beaucoup de progrès à accomplir dans cette voie. Si vous avez, dans une région, deux ou trois écoles françaises dirigées par une commission scolaire anglophone, vous pouvez vous attendre à ce que maintes décisions soient prises sans une parfaite compréhension des problèmes des Francophones. C'est pourquoi ces derniers veulent un regroupement de leurs écoles et de leurs institutions. Au Québec, les anglo-protestants ont depuis longtemps la responsabilité effective de leur système scolaire. Cela est tellement vrai que même quand le ministère de l'Éducation veut leur donner des directives trop précises, il doit souvent s'y prendre à plusieurs reprises avant qu'elles ne soient vraiment appliquées. Nous ne voulons pas que ce contrôle leur soit enlevé. Nous soutenons, du moins dans mon parti, qu'ils doivent le garder, car cela nous paraît conforme au respect de l'objectif de la dualité. Certes le

degré de contrôle sera appelé à varier d'une province à l'autre, selon la composition et la distribution de la population. Mais nous devons tendre carrément et résolument vers la réalisation de cet objectif.

Une infrastructure

adéquate

J'ajouterai à ce sujet qu'il ne suffira pas que les minorités linguistiques disposent de réseaux scolaires conformes à leurs besoins. Il leur faudra également bénéficier d'un certain support communautaire, d'infrastructures capables de soutenir leur développement et leur existence quotidienne.

Que nous

réserve l'avenir ?

Si, dans une région, vous avez seulement des écoles françaises et que tout le reste de la vie collective nie l'existence des Francophones, il est évident que ceux-ci ne pourront pas aller très loin. Depuis des années, le processus d'érosion de la vie française progresse à un rythme inquiétant dans l'Ouest. Ce phénomène était déjà à l'oeuvre il y a une quinzaine d'années, quand j'avais l'occasion de visiter l'Ouest plus souvent. Il me semble s'être accéléré au cours des dernières années. Si l'on veut enrayer la progression du mal, il faudra qu'un minimum de services publics soit accessible en français dans les provinces de l'Ouest. Tel est le sens de la lutte que les Francophones mènent au Manitoba. Il est tragique d'observer la tournure folle qu'a trop souvent prise le débat public à ce sujet. Ce qui compte, ce n'est pas de savoir si les 2 000 ou 4 000 lois adoptées au Manitoba depuis 1867 seront traduites en français d'ici un an ou deux. Ce qui est vraiment important, c'est de savoir ce qu'il adviendra des Francophones du Manitoba cette année, l'an prochain et l'année d'après. Il n'existe encore aucune réponse à ce problème pourant plus grave. J'entendais l'un des participants à ce colloque me dire : N'essayez pas de prendre avec nous la manière forte; nous avons prouvé au Manitoba que nous la manière

Langue maternelle et langue seconde

Troisièmement, nous devons viser à procurer à tous les jeunes Canadiens la chance d'acquérir

dans les écoles primaires et secondaires une connaissance solide de leur langue maternelle et de la culture qu'elle véhicule, et aussi une connaissance satisfaisante de la deuxième langue officielle et de la culture qu'elle véhicule. Je m'attarderai seulement au deuxième aspect de cette proposition, c'est-à-dire à l'acquisition d'une maîtrise suffisante de la deuxième langue officielle.

Il s'agit là d'un objectif noble que les Canadiens devraient se fixer. On n'est pas tenu de le réaliser du jour au lendemain. Mais si nous nous disions ensemble que nous voulons l'atteindre d'ici dix ans

Commentaires de Claude Ryan

En nous rappelant les difficultés qui entourent la mise en oeuvre de la politique des langues officielles dans les provinces de l'Ouest, les débats de l' colloque nous ramènent au coeur du problème canadien : la nécessité, et la difficulté, de s'entendre d'un bout à l'autre du pays sur un certain nombre d'objectifs nationaux.

La position à cet égard est fort simple. Pour qu'il en arrive à se distinguer vraiment de son voisin du Sud, à fournir une contribution originale aux affaires du monde et à permettre à tous ses citoyens de développer dans l'harmonie et à collaborer, le Canada doit accepter le principe et le fait de la qualité française-anglaise. L'histoire, la démographie et la géographie ne lui offrent à cet égard aucune échappatoire. On peut bien sûr tenter de gommer cette égalité. Mais pendant que l'on tergiverse ainsi, le pays, comme une roue qui tourne à vide, ne progressera pas au rythme que l'on pourrait souhaiter.

Réalités nationales : lualité et diversité

Le respect de notre diversité culturelle devrait constituer notre second objectif national. Mais il nous faut bien voir que le respect du pluralisme culturel passe d'abord par l'acceptation de la dualité linguistique et culturelle qui est l'un des traits fondamentaux du Canada. Si nous acceptons ce fait, il nous sera beaucoup plus facile ensuite de poursuivre la réalisation de ce deuxième objectif, que si nous partons du postulat que ce pays doit se construire dans une perspective monolithique ou unitaire. Bref, il est essentiel à mes yeux d'établir une hiérarchie nette entre ces deux objectifs.

Quand on parle de la dualité française-anglaise, on embrasse la langue au premier chef, mais pas

seulement la langue. Il y a aussi le peuple, les gens qui la parlent. Un de mes collègues de Montréal qui participe à ce colloque me disait privément, à la blague, au sortir de l'une de nos séances : « J'ai l'impression que dans certains milieux on aime la langue française, mais non les Canadiens français ». Si on aime vraiment la langue française, si on adhère au principe de la dualité française-anglaise, on a le devoir, me semble-t-il, comme Francophone d'aimer et de respecter ceux qui parlent la langue anglaise et vice-versa, comme Anglophone, d'aimer et de respecter ceux qui parlent le français et qui veulent maintenir leur culture et leur langue où qu'ils vivent au pays.

Persévérance et continuité

En outre, l'objectif de la dualité linguistique m'apparaît comme un objectif civilisé et durable. C'est un objectif auquel nous pourrions tous ensemble nous attacher en ayant l'assurance très raisonnable que dans dix ans, quinze ans et vingt ans, il sera encore valide. C'est à force de persévérance et de continuité qu'on finit par bâtir un grand peuple. Très noble, l'objectif de la dualité peut aussi avoir une grande force d'attraction. Pour qu'il devienne cependant un objectif national, il faut être prêt à accepter qu'il n'engage pas seulement le gouvernement fédéral, mais aussi ceux des provinces, les administrations municipales, les chefs d'entreprises, les responsables d'institutions et d'associations, les dirigeants des médias et les citoyens ordinaires.

L'acceptation de la dualité, avec toutes les conséquences que cela entraîne, est le prix que nous devons être prêts à payer si nous voulons faire du Canada un pays fort. Si nous acceptons cela, nous produirons de grandes choses, quelle que soit la forme que

L'avenir réserve aux structures politiques de ce pays. Jamais je ne souscrirai à l'argument selon lequel il faut mettre un peu plus de français dans l'Ouest pour empêcher que le Québec se sépare. N'attendez pas de ma part ce genre d'argument. Je préfère aborder ces matières dans un esprit plus élevé, car il faut que chacun soit convaincu de la justesse de ce qu'il est appelé à faire. Nous devons souligner ce point avec beaucoup de force. Je voudrais maintenant fixer quelques objectifs que nous pourrions, à la lumière des considérations qui précèdent, essayer de poursuivre ensemble dans le domaine de l'éducation. Je ne pense dans l'immédiat ni à de nouvelles lois ni à des changements constitutionnels. Il est préférable que ces choses viennent en leur temps, c'est-à-dire une fois que l'opinion a suffisamment mûri.

Éducation dans la langue maternelle

Premièrement, nous devons viser à procurer à chaque Canadien la chance de s'instruire dans sa langue aux niveaux élémentaire et secondaire à tout le moins, et, dans toute la mesure du possible, aux niveaux supérieurs. Cela veut dire que l'école élémentaire et secondaire française doit être accessible à tous les enfants de langue française. Et vice-versa, l'école de langue anglaise doit être accessible à tous les enfants de langue anglaise, partout au Canada. Nous en sommes présentement au stade du « quand le nombre le justifie ». Telle est l'étape que nous

qui régit les Albertains, par exemple, comprend l'Acte de l'Al-
berta de 1905 et diffère ainsi de
celle qui est en vigueur en Onta-
rio, au Québec et au Nouveau-
Brunswick, de même que de la
constitution qui s'applique aux
Manitobains.

Il est probablement juste de dire
que les Albertains voient notre his-
toire constitutionnelle comme étant
fondée sur une entente conclue
entre deux races fondatrices et
quatre collectives. Lorsque le
Canada a reculé ses frontières en
acquérant, peu après la Confédéra-
tion, la Terre de Rupert, nos di-
rigeants se sont à juste raison ins-
pirés de la *Loi constitutionnelle* de
1867 pour rédiger la *Loi de 1870 sur*
le Manitoba. Par la suite cependant,
et spécialement entre 1896 et 1905,
la nature du pacte, en ce qu'il in-
téressait l'Ouest, s'est transformée.
Il fut ainsi décidé de ne pas inclure
dans l'Acte de l'Alberta et l'Acte
de la Saskatchewan, tous deux de
documents constitutionnels an-
térieurs. C'est ce qui explique par
exemple l'unilinguisme de
l'administration et des services de
l'Alberta.

Vu ce contexte et les réalités de
l'heure, il me semble que si le
régime linguistique de l'Alberta
devait changer, il s'agirait de le
rendre multilingue plutôt que
bilingue. Mais un fait important
nous empêche de généraliser de la
sorte : en 1976 et 1977, l'Alberta
s'est associée aux autres provinces
canadiennes et elle a par la suite
souscrit à la disposition de la
Charte des droits stipulant que, la
où le nombre le justifie, il fallait
assurer l'enseignement en français
à la minorité francophone. D'ail-
leurs, les énoncés de principes
qu'étudie actuellement le cabinet
vont même au-delà de cet engage-
ment.

Il y a actuellement en Alberta quel-
que 16 500 jeunes qui font leurs
études en français. Mais il faut
signaler que près de 1 000 autres
étudient les mathématiques, les
sciences, les sciences sociales ainsi

que l'histoire en ukrainien et que
d'autres suivent leurs cours en
allemand, en hébreu, en cri, en
arabe, en italien, en polonais et
dans bien d'autres langues. Par ail-
leurs, l'Alberta est une des deux
seules provinces qui accèdentient les
enseignants suivant leurs com-
pétences dans l'une ou l'autre lan-
gue officielle.

Sur le plan de la langue d'en-
seignement, l'Alberta a donc réa-
lisé des progrès sensibles. Peut-être
n'avons-nous pas fait assez, mais
nous allons accomplir davantage,
cela est à peu près certain.

Le fond de la question

Tantôt, quelqu'un a voulu savoir

pourquoi nous nous montrions
tous si gentils. Pour ma part, cela
tient au fait que je m'efforce d'ap-
prendre une terminologie nouvelle
et de saisir une question que cer-
tains décrivent dans des termes
n'ayant pour nous Albertains que
peu de signification. Prenons par
exemple le mot « Anglophone ».

Bien sûr, beaucoup de Canadiens
de l'Ouest parlent anglais, mais ils
ne se considèrent pas pour autant
comme des Anglophones. L'idée
que nous nous faisons du Canada
n'est pas identique à celle des
Ontariens ou des Québécois.

Il en va de même pour notre défi-
nition du mot « assimilation ». Ici,
ailleurs a un sens très péjoratif. Ici,
dans l'Ouest, nous cherchons à
créer une culture qui ne soit ni an-
glophone ni francophone mais
canadienne. En d'autres mots,

nous oeuvrons à l'éclosion d'une
culture qui non seulement n'étouf-
fera pas le meilleur des autres cul-
tures mais, au contraire, s'en nour-
rira. Affirmer, par exemple, que le
bilinguisme est notre ultime de-
fense contre l'assimilation, c'est

laisser entendre que la langue est
la composante essentielle de notre
identité culturelle. Dans ce cas, la
politique des langues officielles
rend totalement risible celle du
multiculturalisme.

La composante politique

L'idée de nation suppose une com-
munauté de territoire, d'histoire et

d'orientations quant à l'avenir. Qui
dispose vraiment aujourd'hui de
l'autorité morale et politique
l'autorisant à définir nos objectifs
nationaux ? Comment sont-ils
établis ? Qui peut nous assurer
qu'ils sont réalisables ? Cette auto-
rité, ce leadership, nous fait
cruellement défaut. Nous ne
pouvons devenir une nation sans
direction, de la part du milieu poli-
tique, du monde des affaires et
des universités. Et si le bilin-
guisme est un des objectifs que
nous devons réaliser pour y parve-
nir, cela exige la manifestation de
la volonté politique et l'appui des
dirigeants d'entreprises et
d'universités.

La stratégie

Cela m'amène à mon dernier
point. Notre stratégie, dans le
domaine de l'enseignement, doit
comprendre quatre volets. Pre-
mièrement, et cela est certes l'élé-
ment capital, nous devons recon-
naître la valeur du bilinguisme.
Deuxièmement, nous devons
assurer aux Canadiens, sans toute-
fois recourir à la coercition, des
occasions de devenir bilingues.
Troisièmement, nous devons les
encourager et quatrièmement,
y parvenant.

Nous sommes poussés à agir ainsi
par notre conviction que le bilin-
guisme est salutaire sur le plan
éducatif, qu'il contribue à la
réalisation de nos objectifs
nationaux et qu'il enrichit et les
particuliers et les collectivités. Nos
projets actuels visant l'élaboration
d'une politique nouvelle en
matière d'enseignement des lan-
gues nous rapprochent de notre
but. Je suis pour ma part persuadé
qu'ils seront fructueux.

Commentaires de David King

Une seconde question pratique qui se pose est celle de voir ce que les parents attendent pour leurs enfants la politique fédérale.

ont en voie de s'adapter aux modifications apportées sur les systèmes d'enseignement provinciaux qui plus perdre de vue les problèmes pouvant se répercuter. Les décideurs d'Ottawa ne doivent pas non l'Ouest et entre le gouvernement fédéral et les provinciales. Les divisions existant non seulement entre anglophones et francophones, mais aussi entre l'Est et l'Ouest ont plus oublié que l'élément linguistique et culturelle d'une minorité. Nous ne notre sens d'un destin commun et de la survie grandes questions de l'unité et de l'identité nationale, sur les plans de la politique et des principes, aux a la question des langues est en fin de compte liée, une personne, il faut aussi reconnaître qu'au Canada, perspectives éducatives, culturelles et économiques peut bien sûr avoir des effets salutaires sur les linguistiques comportent une importante composante rationnelle et politique. Et si la connaissance des rituellement pédagogique parce que nos orientations enseignement des langues chez nous *dépasse* le cadre

programmes. accompagne parfois la mise en place de nouveaux publics peuvent éviter la résistance publique qui tutions sont ou non prêtes à accepter, les pouvoirs leur tolérance de ce que les collectivités et les ins- rme linguistique et d'autre part leur compréhension osant convenablement d'une part leur désir de ré- stratégie de promotion de l'enseignement bilingue. En outre des avantages extraordinaires d'une telle es goûts et de l'opinion du public. Personne ne peut enseigner qui tiennent compte de l'évolution ative locale et assure un appui aux programmes ue de l'enseignement des langues qui favorise l'ini- ses réalisations témoignent de l'efficacité d'une politi- an de cette université, à Edmonton. let en arts, sciences et éducation à la Faculté Saint- étudiants peuvent désormais s'inscrire à un cycle com- iste aussi des programmes de langue française et les es cours spéciaux. À l'Université de l'Alberta, il l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique dispensent uréat bilingue en éducation tandis que Simon Fraser tament aux titulaires de cours immersifs un bacca- lutions. L'Université de Regina, par exemple, offre ver le défi, les universités ont appliqué diverses énurie d'enseignants bilingues compétents. Pour re-

os discussions des deux derniers jours ont révélé la complexité et l'importance de la question linguistique dans l'Ouest. J'aimerais m'arrêter à

quatre aspects du sujet auxquels nous semblons constamment revenir et que j'appelle le contexte, le fond de la question, la composante poli- tique et la stratégie.

Le contexte
La constitution du Canada est unique en ce que ses dispositions ne s'appliquent pas universelle-

ment à tous les Canadiens. Celle

Nous pouvons à mon avis être fiers de nos réalisations des dernières décennies. Dans l'Ouest, l'étude du français n'est plus considérée comme un obstacle mais comme un avantage. L'enseignement des lan- gues a aussi amené beaucoup de parents à participer avec enthousiasme à l'enseignement public et il a aidé à forger de nouveaux liens entre les écoles et les col- lectivités qu'elles desservent. On y fait désormais preuve de plus de tolérance à l'égard des droits et de la culture des minorités et on semble avoir trouvé de nouveaux moyens de réaliser des compromis entre nos objectifs politiques et les droits et les pré- occupation des particuliers. Bref, nous sommes en voie dans l'Ouest, c'est-à-dire dans une région à pré- dominance anglophone, de parvenir à un certain équilibre acceptable entre l'anglais et le français.

de la langue. verses façons, structurées ou non, leur apprentissage programmes immersifs puissent poursuivre de di- initiatives pour faire en sorte que les diplômés des manente des universités peuvent contribuer beaucoup à cet égard, mais nous devons aussi prendre d'autres cun doute que les départements d'éducation per- améliorer leur connaissance du français. Il ne fait au- manente pour les adultes qui désirent maintenir ou plier le nombre des programmes d'éducation per- de travail au Canada est l'anglais, nous devons multi- le bilinguisme ? Etant donné que la principale langue limites comme moyen de promouvoir et de maintenir des langues, ne devons-nous pas aussi examiner ses philosophiques et pédagogiques de l'enseignement Même si nous sommes d'accord sur les fondements parmi bien d'autres, auxquelles nous devons répondre, motion des études canadiennes ? Autant de questions, ce dernier cas, qu'est-ce que cela signifie pour la pro- tenir strictement à des normes internationales ? Dans langue et la culture du Canada français ou nous en reste de leur instruction ? Devons-nous enseigner la inscrits et des répercussions qu'ils peuvent avoir sur le s'enseignement du français auxquels leurs rejets sont aptes à juger de la qualité des programmes d'en- naissance du français ? Combien d'entre eux sont littéraire dans l'espoir d'acquiescer une certaine con- maîtrisent pas leur première langue et son patrimoine parents sont-ils prêts à risquer que leurs enfants ne au mieux hésitante de l'une et l'autre langues ? Les danger de donner aux jeunes une connaissance tout la d'un objectif réaliste ? Ne s'expose-t-on pas ainsi au lent couramment les deux langues officielles ? S'agit-il de l'enseignement du français. Veulent-ils qu'ils par-



Aller Dans l'Ouest, la double question des langues d'enseignement et des langues en tant que matière au programme, ne cesse de solliciter l'imagination de la bonne école

Comment doit-on interpréter la justification par le nombre ? Les minorités devraient-elles avoir autorité sur leurs écoles ? Les langues devraient-elles constituer des matières obligatoires ? Tous ces points, et d'autres encore, ont été examinés par MM. George Pedersen, président de l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique, David King, ministre de l'Éducation de l'Alberta, et Claude Ryan, membre de l'Assemblée nationale du Québec.

Tolérance, équilibre et choix

GEORGE PEDERSEN et THOMAS FLEMING

Nulle autre question ne revêt pour les Canadiens autant d'importance historique que celle du bilinguisme et de son expression en droit et dans l'enseignement. Voici plus de deux siècles qu'ils s'acharnent à comprendre toutes les ramifications d'un régime bilingue et à trouver des moyens de concilier ces besoins et les aspirations des cultures que véhiculent le français et l'anglais. Si nous participons à ce colloque, c'est que nous avons toujours à cœur de réaliser un équilibre linguistique dans ce pays.

Pour présenter le point de vue de l'Ouest sur la langue et l'enseignement, j'insisterai sur trois aspects principaux : certains des éléments qui forment la trame sociale où s'insère l'enseignement en français dans l'Ouest ; quelques-unes des grandes étapes qui ont marqué l'évolution de cet enseignement depuis les années 1960 ; et enfin, diverses façons d'envisager la politique linguistique pour l'avenir immédiat et lointain. Je m'arrêterai également à plusieurs thèmes généraux qui semblent exercer une influence déterminante sur la formulation d'une politique culturelle et linguistique acceptable, eu égard aux besoins régionaux et à la nécessité de bien concevoir nos programmes d'enseignement. La tolérance, l'équilibre et le choix doivent à mon avis déterminer notre attitude à l'enseignement de la langue. De plus, les programmes linguistiques doivent, dans toute la mesure du possible, tenir compte des besoins, des préoccupations et de l'appui existant dans la collectivité immédiate.

Dans le livre II du Rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, les commissaires signalaient certains facteurs qui ont contribué à faire de l'enseignement du français dans l'Ouest une initiative assez particulière. Ils constataient, par

exemple, que les minorités francophones de cette région se distinguent à bien des égards de celles des autres provinces, que les Francophones y sont géographiquement plus éparpillés et qu'il n'existe pas de collectivités de langue française importantes comme on en trouve en Ontario et au Nouveau Brunswick. Ils font également remarquer que ce groupe ne constitue qu'une des nombreuses minorités linguistiques et culturelles de cette région, généralement la moins importante.

Les commissaires ont eu raison d'observer que dans l'Ouest l'enseignement du français, même s'il s'agit d'une des deux langues officielles du pays, doit être vu dans le contexte d'une mosaïque linguistique et culturelle plus diversifiée qu'ailleurs. Ces réalités historiques et géographiques nous obligent en outre à tenir compte des aspirations culturelles et linguistiques des autres minorités et à prendre conscience du fait que l'appui accordé à l'enseignement du français dans l'Ouest vient en grande partie, non pas des Francophones eux-mêmes, mais des Anglophones et des autres groupes linguistiques. Vu cette situation singulière, il est extrêmement important que, dans leur politique et leurs programmes linguistiques, l'administration fédérale et les autres ordres de gouvernement se montrent tolérants et respectueux des choix du public et visent à un certain équilibre entre les idéaux de la réforme et le degré d'acceptation dont sont capables les collectivités de l'Ouest. La Loi sur les langues officielles donne l'orientation générale que doit prendre la réforme linguistique et la Charte des droits stipule que le français et l'anglais « ont un statut et des droits et privilèges égaux » quant à leur usage par toutes les institutions fédérales. Cependant, dans une région comme l'Ouest, les mesures visant la survie du français ne doivent manifestement pas être prises aux dépens des autres groupes minoritaires.

RÉSUMÉ DES DISCUSSIONS

Arrivés désormais au coeur du débat — Est-il possible de concilier la reconnaissance de deux langues officielles et le caractère multilingue et multiculturel de l'Québec ? — les participants n'ont pas hésité à dire crûment leurs opinions. Dans les propos de nombre d'entre eux on pouvait lire en filigrane les interrogations suivantes : Existe-t-il un lien, une possibilité d'accommodement, entre ces deux réalités ? Parmi les hésitations, les résistances et les oppositions qui se manifestent à leur égard, lesquelles y a-t-il lieu de ménager ?

Reconnaître et rallier la diversité de l'Québec

Selon le premier intervenant, le gouvernement fédéral avait le choix entre deux attitudes : agir comme si la diversité de l'Québec n'existait pas, ou la reconnaître et tenter de rallier à ses vues les groupes minoritaires autres que francophones et anglophones. Il a déploré le fait que la Constitution prévoit si peu de garanties pour ces groupes, et que les autorités provinciales ne leur accordent ni le soutien ni le financement nécessaires à leur développement. Pour ces minorités, a-t-il ajouté, le français et l'anglais sont des langues nationales de communication, alors que les autres sont autant d'expressions de cultures particulières. L'Administration devrait souscrire à ces deux principes, ces collectivités ne pouvant lutter seules contre les forces assimilatrices.

Souscrivant à ces opinions et insistant sur le fait que les gouvernements provinciaux devraient respecter leurs obligations envers ces groupes, le participant suivant a ajouté que, quoi qu'en aient dit ses collègues, l'enseignement immersif en français n'est pas une panacée. Dans le meilleur des cas, il n'apporte aucune solution au problème fondamental qui hante les minorités de l'Québec. Faisant écho à ce sentiment, un autre participant a estimé que la faveur que les Anglophones accordent aux programmes d'immersion apparaissait bien

d'avantage comme une précaution, une police d'assurance, prise par des gens réalistes, que comme la preuve d'un engagement profond à l'égard du bilinguisme officiel.

Réagissant vivement à la déclaration de Patrick O'Callaghan sur les Francophones de l'Québec — « 185 000 flocons de neige ne suffisent pas pour faire un hiver chez nous » —, plus d'un participant ont rappelé qu'il est hélas dans la nature des choses que les flocons de neige fondent et disparaissent. Tel est le danger que représente l'assimilation pour les Francophones, a souligné une intervenante. Le débat manitobain n'est pas survenu comme un coup de tonnerre dans un ciel sans nuage. En 1870, le Manitoba était officiellement, constitutionnellement et légalement bilingue; en 1890, une terrible injustice a été commise. Les Francophones ont attendu sa réparation pendant 94 ans. Les Canadiens doivent accepter le fait que leur Constitution garantit certains droits, notamment linguistiques, et faire en sorte qu'aucun effort ne soit ménagé pour en assurer concrètement le respect.

Changements encourageants depuis 1964

Un autre Francophone s'est montré optimiste face aux changements qui se sont produits depuis 1964. Il y a vingt ans, des expressions comme « communauté francophone » semblaient farfelues; aujourd'hui elles sont monnaie courante. Le Québec, loin d'être le seul foyer des Canadiens français, partage désormais ce rôle avec plusieurs autres provinces. D'autre part, certaines communautés linguistiques ne peuvent comprendre ou accepter l'idée d'une identité canadienne unique. Par ailleurs, les forces francophones s'étant scindées, les petits groupes de langue officielle minoritaire se trouvent en situation précaire depuis que les autres minorités réclament elles aussi une reconnaissance officielle. Selon lui, toutes les collectivités minoritaires devraient faire

deux Québécois — l'un francophone, l'autre anglophone — ont fait entendre deux sons de cloche à propos des récentes tendances dans leur province et de leurs répercussions sur les Francophones de l'Québec. L'un a déploré le fait qu'au Québec les étudiants et les enseignants tendent à se limiter au strict usage du français. Selon lui, il importe que les gens soient conscients de cette situation, surtout en raison de ses effets sur le soutien que les minorités francophones dans l'Québec peuvent attendre du Québec. Tout en soulignant que bon nombre de Francophones s'opposaient à cette tendance, il a invité les minorités du reste du pays à se fonder sur leur propre dynamisme pour obtenir un meilleur enseignement et l'aide dont elles ont besoin pour s'épanouir.

Son collègue anglophone a pour sa part déclaré qu'il était faux de prétendre que l'anglais ait à toutes fins utiles disparu des milieux éducatifs et des milieux officiels québécois. Le fait cependant que le gouvernement du Québec ait déclaré son soutien à la prestation des services publics en anglais relevait de son seul bon vouloir, a fait de lui le symbole de rejet du bilinguisme. Si par contre tout le monde se met d'accord pour dire que le Manitoba doit reconnaître, et reconnaître en fait, le bilinguisme, il restera alors à mettre sur pied un programme permettant d'atteindre cet objectif. Mais ce serait se leurrer que de croire que tout sera réglé dans une quinzaine d'années.

Lloyd Barber a conclu la séance en attirant de nouveau l'attention sur le fait que le colloque n'avait pas tenu compte des Autochtones. Leurs droits doivent être pris en compte — au même titre que ceux des autres groupes minoritaires du pays — dans toute politique visant la langue et la culture.

Cependant les Canadiens peuvent apprendre à respecter la langue et la culture de leurs concitoyens. Pressons les gouvernements d'établir les règlements qui favorisent le développement et le respect de nos langues et cultures. In- citons-les à reconnaître les droits et responsabilités des minorités de langues officielles dans leur ter- ritoire. C'est cette flamme qui doit animer tous les Canadiens aspirant à un pays libre et digne de leurs ancêtres. Si dans certaines pro- vinces, la minorité de langue offi- cielle est laissée pour compte, qu'advendra-t-il des minorités visibles, qui elles aussi cherchent leur place au soleil ?

L'essentiel : respecter les droits d'autrui!

Soyons pratiques et acceptons la loi fondamentale du Canada. Sachons aussi reconnaître que les Canadiens se partagent une plura- lité de langues et cultures. Nul ne souffrira d'avoir respecté les droits d'autrui. En effet, en encourageant les autres et en estimant leur cul- ture, nous apprenons à nous accepter. Canadiens de l'Ouest, aspirons donc à une meilleure compréhension de nos identités culturelles et linguistiques. Ten- tons de parvenir à des ententes re- flétant les réalités de la condition humaine. Enfin, essayons dans la mesure du possible de ne pas mé- ler les tribunaux à nos disputes, car recourir à eux c'est faire la preuve que nous avons épuisé toutes ressources de bonne volonté et de compréhension mutuelle.

Cette règle s'applique à tous les Canadiens de l'Ouest, qu'ils soient d'origine française, anglaise, ukrainienne ou allemande. Les rigueurs de notre climat nous ont appris à trouver des solutions rapides et efficaces à nos pro- blèmes. Nous avons tous les élé- ments nécessaires pour trouver une solution équitable. Sachons tirer parti de notre énergie et de nos ressources. Faisons-le par amour pour la patrie.

entre l'enseignement en langue pre- mière et l'apprentissage de la lan- gue seconde.

On ne peut légiférer en matière de bilinguisme « quotidien ». La clé du problème réside dans le désir de vivre conformément aux exi- gences de la condition humaine. Dans l'Ouest, nous avons tous les ingrédients nécessaires pour amé- liorer la vie de tous les citoyens : espace illimité, ressources inom- brables, attentes d'un pays encore jeune. Mais souvent nous nous croyons encore au temps de la chasse aux bisons et nous nous querellons. Pourquoi ? Pour obte- nir vengeance, compensation ou reconnaissance. Pourquoi sommes- nous incapables de faire la paix linguistique comme ont su le faire les Suisses ? N'y a-t-il pas de solu- tion qui soit profitable à tous les Canadiens ? Parviendrons-nous à comprendre que l'épanouissement de la culture minoritaire ne menace en rien notre richesse et notre identité ?

Au Canada, les cultures peuvent être comparées aux membres d'un orchestre symphonique : chacun des instruments a un rôle à jouer. Ensemble, ils forment un tout artistique qui séduit à la fois l'oreille et l'esprit. Notre mosaïque culturelle constitue une magnifique symphonie, le premier mouvement ayant pour thème l'identité cana- dienne. Espérons que le finale offrira une synthèse authentique du Canada.

Le Canada, pays bilingue. Alors comment expliquer que seulement une province sur douze provinces et territoires soit officiellement bilin- gue ? Le Canada un casse-tête en camaiou ? Alors pourquoi les mor- ceaux sont-ils de couleurs différentes ?

Il n'est pas très réaliste de s'at- tendre à ce que le Canada de- vienne bilingue à 100 pour cent. Ce qui n'est d'ailleurs pas l'objet de la Loi sur les langues officielles.

ne le gouvernement est peu dis- osé à légiférer sur une question, elle-ci est soumise au peuple, qui, il est divisé. Le gouvernement eut ainsi couvrir ses arrières et affirmer qu'il n'a plus à prendre ne décision qui manifestement disposerait certaines personnes. L'indécision est la marque d'un gouvernement faible.

n tant que Canadiens, les Franco- nnes ont toujours participé aussi éternement que possible au dé- veloppement du Canada et ce ans tous les domaines — écono- mique, artistique et éducatif — et nous comptons bien poursuivre ans cette voie. En tant que mem- bres d'un groupe culturel et lin- guistique reconnu, nous travaillons ensemble à la sauvegarde de la langue et de la culture françaises dans l'Ouest.

Plus le développement culturel et linguistique d'un groupe est favo- risé, plus il est facile pour ses membres de participer au dé- veloppement du pays. Nous som- mes convaincus qu'une personne participe davantage à la vie cana- dienne lorsque son quotidien re- flète ses origines. Renoncer à ses origines au profit de l'assimilation, c'est miner l'identité canadienne. es avantages et le caractère es- sentiellement équitable du bilin- guisme et du pluralisme culturel et linguistique sont manifestes pour tous. Il est bien connu, par exem- ple, que ceux et celles qui parlent plusieurs langues s'ouvrent aux autres et, par le fait même, ont accès aux richesses de la com- munité internationale. Les Cana- diens devraient être fiers que leurs deux langues officielles aient cours partout dans le monde.

apprentissage du français langue seconde par les Canadiens de l'Ouest est une initiative que l'on se doit de souligner. Intéressés par l'univers des communications, des milliers de non-francophones apprennent le français. Toutefois, es autorités doivent distinguer

l'élargissement des services en français ne soit contraire à la politique d'égalité d'accès à l'emploi dans la Fonction publique. Si la connaissance de l'une des langues officielles et de la langue patrimoniale d'une collectivité permet à un fonctionnaire d'offrir un meilleur service à la clientèle, nous vous recommandons fortement de lui accorder le même « privilège de préférence » que celui prévu pour les collectivités francophones.

promise partout. Le gouvernement entend éliminer ce danger et protéger cette liberté. »

Si nous avons appuyé la constitutionnalisation des droits, c'est pour éviter une répétition des événements de 1916. Nous sommes toutefois conscients des problèmes que peut poser une telle initiative pour une société en constante évolution. D'ailleurs, la Loi de 1870 sur le *Mantoba* n'en n'est-il pas un exemple frappant ? À nos yeux, la Constitution et les lois du pays doivent s'articuler sur la réalité présente et s'efforcer de la refléter; elles ne doivent pas nous figer dans un état qui appartient du passé, consacrant ainsi l'injustice et la discrimination.

Pour nous, être Canadien signifie appartenir à une société multiculturelle et multilingue où sont partagés des idéaux de liberté et de démocratie et un loyalisme envers un mode de vie authentiquement canadien. Nous croyons au principe de l'association. Nous rejetons cependant la notion de peuples fondateurs, car pareille distinction n'est pas acceptable dans une société démocratique reposant sur le principe de l'égalité de chacun. Pour citer le premier

Les auteurs du mémoire s'en sont remis à Pierre Elliott Trudeau pour le mot de la fin : « Il faut protéger et rechercher cette liberté. Si elle est compromise chez certains groupes ethniques, elle est compromise pour tous. »

Si nous sommes encore en quête d'une identité qui nous est propre, c'est peut-être parce que le Canada n'a jamais été le théâtre de grandes guerres ou de dissensions violentes. Cette quête appelle l'adoption d'un régime qui s'adresse aux réalités linguistiques de ce grand pays.

Le bilinguisme officiel est une réalité politique et sociale sous-

Commentaires de Guy Goyette

tendue par le principe suivant : le statut officiel de l'anglais et du français à la grandeur de l'administration fédérale. On ne peut cependant parler de reconnaissance absolue. Bien que les dollars, fruits des impôts fédéraux et provinciaux, soient imprimés dans les deux langues, il n'en va pas de même pour les lois et règlements formulés et mis en vigueur grâce aux deniers publics. Prenons l'exemple de la sémantique : « la où le nombre le justifie » : euphémisme démocratique employé lorsque nous ne voulons pas consentir à l'application d'un

principe ou lorsque, pour une raison ou une autre, nous voulons attirer l'attention de la majorité. C'est comme demander à la majorité si la minorité devrait avoir des droits. Question posée, il va sans dire, au nom de la démocratie.

Les embûches à éviter

Plebiscites et référendums ne servent qu'à diviser la population et doivent être évités. La majorité ne devrait pas être appelée à se prononcer sur la définition et l'application des droits de la minorité. L'histoire en témoigne, lors-

ministre Trudeau : « Il n'y a pas un citoyen, pas un groupe de citoyens qui soit autre que Canadien, et tous doivent être traités équitablement. »

En guise de conclusion laissez-moi vous dépendre mon Canada à moi. Dans ce pays, je suis tout simplement un Canadien, sans trait d'union ni entraves. Chaque citoyen y est apprécié en fonction de son apport au développement du pays et de son épanouissement culturel, sans égard à la couleur de sa peau ou à sa langue. Ceux qui ne me ressemblent pas, je me fais comme eux à mon égard, un devoir de les comprendre. Ce pays, qui est grand, exige de tous ses citoyens qu'ils s'attachent à des principes et à des idéaux élevés et ne négligent aucun effort pour y bâtir l'avenir de leurs enfants. Il est uni, car c'est ainsi seulement qu'il pourra franchir tous les obstacles d'ordre économique, social, politique ou culturel qui se présentent sur sa route. Ce Canada oeuvre en outre, dans l'harmonie à la réalisation d'un double objectif que tout Canadien qui a le cœur la bonne place doit accepter de se donner : assurer l'unité et la solidité de pays.

* Texte publié

grand. Bien que 10 000 Ukrainiens aient combattu sous les drapeaux canadiens durant la Première Guerre mondiale, nombreux sont ceux qui ont été internés à cause de leur passeport autrichien. Ce que je tente de faire ressortir ici, c'est leur contribution à l'évolution de ce pays. Si les Ukrainiens ne peuvent prétendre au titre de fondateurs, du moins peuvent-ils aspirer à celui de bâtisseurs d'un pays comme bien d'autres groupes qui ne sont d'origine ni française ni anglaise.

Le legs de 1890

À partir de 1870, de grands changements ont ébranlé les assises de la société manitobaine. En 1890, le gouvernement de la province promulguait une loi qui faisait de l'anglais la seule langue officielle. Ce qui, on s'en doute, a posé des problèmes. Finalement le compromis Laurier-Greenway accordait aux Francophones et aux autres groupes ethniques le droit d'avoir des écoles bilingues. Mais plus leur nombre croissait, plus les pressions exercées pour leur abolition se faisaient fortes. Con-

séquemment, en 1916 les minorités — Francophones, Ukrainiens et autres — perdaient leurs droits. Plus de 120 écoles ukrainiennes ont dû fermer leurs portes. Non loin de l'escalier menant à l'Assemblée, le gouvernement du Manitoba allumait un grand feu et y faisait brûler les manuels scolaires « étrangers ». Autre journée de deuil dans notre histoire.

Nous avons survécu à cette crise et tenté d'aller de l'avant. Aujourd'hui les Manitobains font face à une autre situation critique. J'aimerais vous lire un extrait d'un mémoire déposé auprès de l'Assemblée par diverses associations professionnelles et commerciales ukrainiennes, allemandes et polonaises :

« Nous acceptons et appuyons la politique fédérale du multiculturalisme ainsi que la notion d'un Canada multilingue ayant deux langues officielles, l'anglais et le français. Nous craignons que

pour chaque immigrant qu'ils attirent au Canada. Il dépeignait l'Ouest comme un pays de cocagne et allait jusqu'à garantir des droits linguistiques aux minorités. Ils furent légion à répondre à l'appel, dont plus de 20 000 Ukrainiens. Quand on songe que le nombre des immigrants a souvent dépassé, dans une même année, le chiffre total de la population du Manitoba (12 000 âmes), il est facile de comprendre dans quelle mesure ses caractéristiques, surtout linguistiques, en furent bouleversées. En outre, quantité d'Américains, de Mennonites, d'Allemands, de Polonais et d'Islandais sont venus se joindre aux Ukrainiens. Ce mouvement ne doit pas être confondu avec l'immigration telle que nous l'entendons aujourd'hui, car des grappes entières de familles de même origine se regroupèrent alors pour former des collectivités distinctes. Bref, c'est plutôt de colonisation qu'il faut parler.

S'il vous est donné de traverser l'Ouest en voiture, vous aurez vite fait de comprendre. Un village à prédominance allemande en côtoie un à prédominance polonaise qui en côtoie un à prédominance française, et ainsi de suite. Le bilinguisme n'a jamais signifié pour nous l'apprentissage du français par des Anglophones. Isolés, les Allemands d'un village ont appris la langue que parlait la communauté ukrainienne voisine. Leurs enfants se sont mariés entre eux et engendrés cette race appelée « Canadiens de l'Ouest ». Les immigrants arrivaient dans leur nouvelle patrie avec pour toute richesse la volonté de travailler la terre. On prétend que les Ukrainiens ont défriché plus de 10 millions d'arpents, et je suis convaincu que d'autres groupes ont fourni un effort tout aussi grand. Autre contribution de mes ancêtres : la construction des derniers tronçons de chemin de fer, souvent au prix de très grands sacrifices. Plus de 10 000 ont péri sur les voies ferrées ou durant les travaux de construction, le nombre de blessés étant dix fois plus

« anglophones, 34 pour cent; Blancs de l'Ouest (c'est-à-dire des descendants des colons), 5 pour cent; Amérindiens, 5 pour cent; Blancs d'origine canadienne, 4 pour cent; Blancs d'origine étrangère, 4 pour cent. Au total, la population atteignait alors quelque 100 000 âmes. Ces chiffres étaient l'article paru le 20 février dernier dans le *Winnipeg Free Press* affirmant : « qu'imposer la théorie des deux peuples fondateurs au Manitoba équivalait à remplacer l'histoire par la mythologie ».

« Mais si l'on tient compte du contexte de l'époque, les droits garantis par la Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba sont justifiables. Ils étaient le reflet de la réalité manitobaine. Durant cette période d'agitation, Louis Riel, chef du mouvement méti, et ceux qui l'avaient aidé à mettre sur pied un gouvernement provisoire ont été contraints de renoncer à leurs projets. Les vues de l'ordre méti des Orangistes l'emportèrent sur celles de sir John A. Macdonald, et Louis Riel fut exécuté. Mon avis, l'histoire du Canada du Manitoba est à jamais enrichie par l'imposition de la ploutocratie de l'Est du Canada. Toujours par ailleurs que si la Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba reflétait en la composition de la population d'alors — 55 pour cent de francophones contre 45 pour cent d'Anglophones — les textes législatifs n'ont jamais tenu compte de la pluralité linguistique de la population, qui ne renferme aujourd'hui que 5 pour cent de variétés françaises.

«/agnes
près vagues . . .
on ne peut espérer comprendre l'Ouest et le caractère de son mouvement d'immigration qui suivit l'achèvement du chemin de fer les années 1880. Cette réalisation permit au gouvernement sir Wilfrid Laurier de mettre sur pied un programme de colonisation de l'Ouest. Le gouvernement canadien lança une campagne de grande envergure, versant aux agents recruteurs une commission

Nous adhérons à la politique fédérale des deux langues officielles parce que nous sommes procanadiens et parce que nous y sommes poussés, directement ou non. Nous sommes aussi conscients du rôle de premier plan que joue le français sur la scène internationale.

Si ce pays a quelque chose à enseigner au reste du monde, c'est qu'il peut devenir bilingue, dans le vrai sens du terme. À mon avis, il serait tragique de limiter cet objectif en ne l'appliquant qu'au contexte canadien.

Nous sommes un pays multilingue. Et il faut s'en réjouir. Reconnaissons la primauté du français et de

Sachons donc tirer profit de notre pluralisme culturel et linguistique !

L'anglais dans la Constitution du pays, sans oublier toutefois le chinois et l'ukrainien, le cri et le portugais allemand et le yiddish — et combien d'autres. Nous avons une mosaïque culturelle et linguistique sans pareil. Atout qui, soi dit en passant, vaut son pesant d'or.

Ce Canadien de l'Ouest vous dit que le bilinguisme est une excellente chose, mais que notre multilinguisme vaut bien davantage car c'est lui qui, vraisemblablement, constituera notre meilleure arme pour la conquête des marchés internationaux.

Commentaires de Joseph Slogan

Les remarques porteront essentiellement sur certaines réalités historiques dans leur rapport avec la théorie des deux peuples fondateurs.

Canadien de l'Ouest d'origine ukrainienne, je n'aime guère cette notion car elle donne à entendre qu'un groupe de citoyens possède des droits naturels que les autres n'ont pas comme ceux qui décourent du concept des langues « officielles ». Pareille thèse est in-défendable dans une société démocratique, où tous doivent être tenus pour égaux. Je m'y oppose avec force parce qu'elle néglige de prendre en compte que nous avons tous été à un moment ou l'autre — même les Autochtones — des émigrés dans ce pays.

C'est en 1612 que sir Thomas Button alors à la recherche du passage du Nord-Ouest aborda la côte ouest de la Baie d'Hudson. Il en prit possession au nom du roi Jacques 1^{er} en y élevant une croix, et la baptisa Nouvelle-Galles.

Les premiers pas
L'exploration de l'Ouest a emprunté deux voies distinctes. Les Britanniques, par exemple, soucieux de s'approprier le com-

merce des fourrures dans la baie d'Hudson formèrent, en 1670, la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson. Cette dernière y représentait à toutes fins utiles la loi, s'étant vu accorder le privilège exclusif de toutes les terres aboutissant à la baie. Elle créa la Terre de Rupert qui, bien que territoire britannique, était gérée par la Compagnie. Cinq fois plus étendu que le Dominion du Canada, ce territoire équivalait à la moitié du Québec d'aujourd'hui.

Les Français également à la recherche du passage du Nord-Ouest, avaient emprunté un chemininement différent. En 1734, La Vérendrye, qui avait suivi un canal d'eau douce qui traversait le continent, atteignit la rivière Rouge. Il y érigea entre autres le fort Rouge pour le compte des Français, dont certains s'entraînèrent dans la région au cours des ans. Entre 1682 et 1782, le sort de l'Ouest a été à la merci de cinq grands conflits armés mettant en cause selon les époques l'Angleterre, la France, l'Espagne, l'Autriche et les États-Unis.

La Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, qui s'était donnée comme mission le commerce des fourrures et non la colonisation des nouvelles terres, décida de se débarrasser du territoire en le cédant au Canada en 1869 pour 300 000 livres sterling. Peu disposés à assumer la

gestion de ce territoire, les Britanniques convinquirent le Canada de s'en charger, libérant ainsi la Compagnie de ses obligations. Cette situation créa un vide aux conséquences regrettables. Étant donné que ni la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson ni le Canada n'exercèrent alors leur autorité, les citoyens de la rivièrre Rouge décidèrent de former un gouvernement provisoire et de dresser une Liste des droits. Parmi les 14 dispositions qui devaient plus tard être intégrées dans la Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba, se trouvaient celle qui faisaient de l'anglais et du français les langues de la législation et des tribunaux et rendaient obligatoire la publication des documents publics dans ces deux langues. Bien qu'on leur ait prêté différentes interprétations, ces déclarations s'inspiraient de toute évidence des garanties consenties aux Francophones par l'Acte de Québec de 1774 et qui furent confirmées au moment de l'entrée de cette province dans la Confédération.

La création du Manitoba
La situation démographique du Manitoba d'alors vaut la peine qu'on s'y attarde. Le recensement de 1870 montre qu'au moment de sa création la province était essentiellement composée des groupes suivants : Métis francophones, 48 pour cent; « half-

d'apprendre la langue seconde qui leur convenait le mieux. Il est intéressant de s'interroger sur la société qui aurait été le fruit d'un soutien illimité à l'enseignement des langues.

Internationalisme et tribalisme

Nous sommes de plus en plus sensibilisés à l'interdépendance planétaire. Mais, paradoxalement, une internationalisation et une interdépendance accrue suscite un tribalisme accru. La principale caractéristique de l'internationalisme est la capacité de parler plusieurs langues. Celle du tribalisme est la capacité de converser et de savoir converser dans la langue subtilement nuancée des communications tribales.

J'ai consacré une bonne partie de ma vie professionnelle à l'étude des questions touchant les populations autochtones. Mon expérience m'a convaincu qu'une société peut, grâce à la culture que véhicule sa langue, survivre aux pires attaques. Je ne crois tout simplement pas aux sociétés monolithiques, indépendamment de leurs assises politiques ou économiques. Elles seront toujours travaillées, partout dans le monde, par celles de leurs minorités qui, ayant épuisé tous les autres recours, s'accrochent à leur langue pour affirmer leur singularité.

L'Ouest du Canada ressemble à ces minorités. Nous sommes une société qui a vu le jour quelque part entre la naissance du Canada au 19^e siècle et l'apparition de la soi-disant société post-industrielle. Nous sommes polyglottes et nous en sommes fiers. Nous reconnaissons les avantages des compétences langagières parce que nous sommes des négociants et qu'avant de conclure un marché nous devons négocier. Nous sommes sensibles à la survie culturelle et comprenons fort bien le rôle décisif que joue la langue maternelle dans la sauvegarde des valeurs dont témoigne une culture.

Plus pragmatiques qu'émotifs

Les Canadiens de l'Ouest se réjouissent de la poussée vers le bilinguisme. Mais dans leur for intérieur ils aimeraient voir les efforts s'axer aussi sur le multilinguisme. Nous reconnaissons qu'il est impérieux, menons, qu'un nombre croissant de personnes soient plus ouvertes aux autres peuples et aux autres cultures. Et nous savons que cette compréhension ne peut être acquise sans compétences linguistiques.

Nous sommes aussi conscients de l'importance de la langue française dans la structure de ce pays. Contrairement à bon nombre de Canadiens, cependant, notre compréhension est plus intellectuelle que viscérale, et notre adhésion plus pragmatique qu'émotive. À titre de négociants, les Canadiens de l'Ouest, de plus en plus, reconnaissent le besoin d'être polyglottes. Ils regrettent amèrement de ne pas s'en être rendu compte il y a trente ans, alors que leur diversité ethnique aurait pu aisément les mener dans cette voie.

beaucoup plus complexe qu'une simple adhésion judaïque au credo politique d'un parti. Les Canadiens de l'Ouest sont des négociants sur la scène internationale. Ouverts sur la Prairie et la mer, nous sommes naturellement enclins à nous tourner vers l'extérieur; il ne nous échappe pas, je crois, que notre vie économique est liée au succès de la concurrence que nous devons livrer à nombre de pays.

Le multilinguisme : quel beau gâchis

Nous sommes conscients par ailleurs que malgré un contexte historique plurilinguiste nous avons raté notre seule chance d'être une communauté multilingue. Nous avons supprimé nos « autres » langues dans notre for intérieur nous le regrettons. Nous vivions les Européens qui réussissent à s'exprimer ou tout au moins à se faire comprendre dans plusieurs langues. Nous nous émerveillons des Chinois, des Anglais ou des autres qui ont une connaissance parfaite du mandarin, du tamoul, du cinghalais, du français et de l'anglais. Nous qui avons raté le coche du multilinguisme parce que nous croyions les cultures anglaises supérieures aux autres, reconnaissons notre ignorance. Expérience frustrante et humiliante. Il en est une.

Je ne voudrais d'aucune façon dénigrer le bilinguisme officiel en tant qu'effort canadien. J'en reconnais l'importance et je l'apprecie à sa juste valeur dans le contexte passé, présent et futur du Canada. En général, en dépit des indications apparentes du contraire, je crois que la majorité des Canadiens acceptent cette proposition. Par contre, ils résistent aux méthodes coercitives. Ils ne s'opposent pas à des pressions vigoureuses si elles se font persuasives, à des stimulants financiers et des sanctions raisonnables s'ils érogent à la règle; mais l'Ouest ne pliera pas devant la force. Le Manitoba en est la preuve.

agissons pour un instant que le gouvernement ait exécuté ses efforts non pas sur le bilinguisme, mais sur le multilinguisme. Mettons de côté les problèmes d'ordre pratique liés à cette hypothèse et supposons que l'efficacité des ressources humaines et financières de même que la politique fédérale aient favorisé l'allemand et l'islandais, l'ukrainien et le grec, le mandarin et le cri, le sion et le yiddish.

chacun de ces groupes aurait saisi l'occasion d'accroître l'influence de sa langue et fait de nombreux rosélytes. Les unilingues auraient alors choisi

L'incrustation de la diversité

et valoriser les multiples ressources linguistiques et culturelles que recèle l'Ouest canadien ?
Trois personnalités de cette région — M^{lle}. Lloyd Barber, président de l'Université de Régina, Joseph Slogan, président de l'Ukrainian-Canadian Professional and Business Federation, et Guy Goyette, président de l'Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta — ont proposé divers éléments de réponse à cette question.

Le plurilinguisme : un défi de taille

LLOYD BARBER

Les événements récents qui se sont produits dans l'Ouest et les pièges qu'a difficilement évités un aspirant aux plus hautes fonctions de la nation ont démontré le caractère épineux de mon sujet. Il n'existe pas d'en- trée en matière éprouvée; farfelus ou raisonnés, les commentaires risquent de déchaîner les passions. Unilingue malgré moi, j'ai grandi dans la Saskatchewan rurale des années 30 et 40 à l'époque où « bohunk » était une épithète péjorative et où les « zombies » étaient passés à tabac parce qu'ils re- fusaient d'aller se battre en Europe. Je ne m'étais pas encore rendu compte alors de la ténacité des préjugés que nourrissaient mes concitoyens au moment de l'immigration de forts contingents d'Européens. Au temps de ma jeunesse, les Canadiens de l'Ouest ont été amenés à faire leur, qu'ils en aient été conscients ou non, la philosophie d'homogénéisation culturelle et linguistique de nos voisins du sud. Ma mère était ori- ginaire du Midwest et bien que je n'aie pas souvenir qu'elle ait été explicite sur la supériorité de l'anglais, je me rappelle qu'elle s'efforçait de connaître notre domestique polonaise de parfaire sa connaissance de cette langue. Elle ne fit toutefois aucun effort pour que j'apprenne le polonais !

J'imagine que nombre d'entre vous ont vécu, à peu de choses près, des situations semblables. Station esti- vale, mon village abritait en réalité deux commu- nautés. En été, la population de passage en faisait un milieu très diversifié; l'hiver elle était aussi repliée sur elle-même que les autres villages de la province. Malheureusement, les distinctions culturelles et lin- guistiques, dont l'apport à nos vies aurait pu être in- commensurable, ont fondu dans une sorte de creuset. S'il y avait une seconde langue qui prédominait dans le village, c'était le cri. Mais on ne l'entendait jamais

Il est trop facile de suggérer, comme plusieurs l'ont fait, à la lumière de la débâcle manitobaine, que les « rednecks » de l'Ouest s'opposent à la langue fran- çaise et au bilinguisme. La demande quasi-insatiable en faveur de programmes d'enseignement bilingue dans tout l'Ouest nous permet de contredire cette assertion. À l'Université de Régina, la faculté des sciences de l'éducation a dû mettre sur pied un pro- gramme spécial afin de satisfaire la demande en pro- grammes bilingues. Bien que les médias mettent l'ac- cent sur la résistance manitobaine au bilinguisme offi- ciel, les parents qui inscrivent leurs enfants à des pro- grammes bilingues se font de plus en plus nombreux. Il serait certes réconfortant de croire que le bilin- guisme officiel est acquis. Je crois que la réalité est

Dès que nous le pouvions, nous partions. Destina- tion ? le sud ou l'ouest. Je n'avais pas vingt ans, que j'avais sillonné presque tout l'ouest canadien et la moitié des États-Unis et du Mexique. Mais je ne m'étais jamais rendu à Toronto ou à Montréal. Cham- plain, Cartier et Cabot ne nous étaient pas inconnus, de même que Wolfe et Montcalm. Nous nous ima- ginions les plaines d'Abraham aussi vastes que la dis- tance qui sépare Edmonton de Calgary. Mais nous ne sentions pas et, partant, ne comprenions pas au tré- fonds de nous mêmes les cultures et les langues des « peuples fondateurs ». Mais quand on nous laisse en- tendre que cette « lacune » fait de nous des être in- férieurs, cela passe plutôt mal. Et la moutarde nous monte au nez quand l'on ajoute qu'il est de notre devoir d'acquiescer cette compréhension.

au terrain de jeux, pas plus que nous étions encon- ragés à en connaître davantage sur la langue et l'héri- tage de ses locuteurs. Après tout, il leur incombat d'être comme nous, d'adopter nos valeurs et de parler notre langue. Que de possibilités perdues !

RÉSUMÉ DES DISCUSSIONS

Les participants à cette séance se sont surtout attaqués à trois grands dossiers : les attitudes et les responsabilités des entreprises en matière de langue ; la mesure dans laquelle les autorités fédérales et provinciales remplissent leurs obligations linguistiques envers les groupes minoritaires ; les divergences auxquelles donne lieu le statut du français dans l'ouest.

Tout autant l'optimisme de Stanley Roberts que les propos de Tom Rusk sur le peu de place que le français occupe dans la politique des entreprises de l'ouest, se sont attirés les foudres des divers intervenants. Par exemple, un journaliste, contestant tout lien entre le succès des programmes immersifs en français et l'acceptation du bilinguisme dans l'ouest, a insisté sur les réactions négatives qu'a suscité le projet de réforme linguistique au Manitoba et sur le sentiment d'aliénation des Canadiens de services dans les deux langues officielles.

Les entreprises :

Plusieurs autres étaient d'avis que le secteur des affaires n'avait pas consenti assez d'efforts pour promouvoir l'usage des deux langues et, par le fait même, avait failli à ses obligations « nationales ». Si les sociétés de la Couronne se précipitent d'offrir un certain nombre de services bilingues partout au pays, pour qu'il le secteur privé n'en ferait-il pas autant ? N'incombe-t-il pas aux entrepreneurs, à l'instar du gouvernement, d'agir en chefs de file ? Certes des mesures ont été prises à cet effet, mais elles demeurent l'exception. On a trop insisté sur la menace de la coercition et pas assez sur l'opportunité d'adopter une attitude positive à l'égard de l'égalité du français et de l'anglais à l'extérieur du secteur public.

Pour ce qui est des efforts du gouvernement d'encourager l'égalité du français et de l'anglais dans l'ouest en tant que langues officielles, deux participants ont cité l'exemple du programme de forma-

tion linguistique de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada (GRC), qui exerce sur tout dans l'ouest et depuis fort longtemps. Même si son siège social se trouve à Ottawa, il faut souligner le fait qu'un faible pourcentage de son personnel travaille dans le centre du pays. Cela n'a pas manqué de créer des maux de tête linguistiques, tant internes qu'externes, mais la GRC a néanmoins marqué des progrès. Elle définit par exemple le concept « d'unité bilingue » comme suit : dans les régions où la demande justifie la prestation de services dans les deux langues officielles, un certain nombre de postes sont classés bilingues. Dans l'ouest on en retrouve 425.

Abordant un sujet connexe, l'admission de la justice, un autre conférencier a fait valoir que l'Alberta comptait suffisamment d'avocats et de juges francophones pour offrir un vaste éventail de services dans les deux langues officielles.

Passant à la question plus vaste des services provinciaux, un conférencier a souligné la nécessité d'assurer aux groupes minoritaires un réseau institutionnel qui leur permette d'utiliser leur langue maternelle dans la vie quotidienne. Pour lui, la dualité linguistique canadienne ne relève pas de la seule compétence du fédéral, précisant qu'il serait impérieux à l'avenir que les provinces, y compris celles de l'ouest, reconnaissent cette dualité et souscrivent au principe du bilinguisme. On n'hésite pas à adopter des lois pour préserver certaines espèces menacées d'extinction, mais lorsqu'il s'agit de sauvegarder la langue et la culture françaises, la seule garantie offerte est celle de « là où le nombre le justifie ». Le français ne devrait pas être considéré comme la langue des propos de cuisine, mais comme un outil de communication en milieu de travail.

Partageant cette opinion, un Anglo-Québécois a ajouté qu'il n'était pas nécessaire que tous les fonctionnaires soient bilingues. Le gouvernement devrait plutôt faire en sorte que tous les

Le bilinguisme :

Stanley Roberts a conclu la séance en réitérant sa conviction que le bilinguisme était un objectif louable et essentiel à l'avenir du pays. Les excellents programmes immersifs offerts par les écoles ne devraient pas être mis aux oubliettes, mais bien au contraire encouragés. Il a cependant posé la question suivante : faisons-nous tout ce qui est en notre pouvoir pour que le Canada devienne ce que nous souhaitons qu'il soit ? Par exemple, l'enseignement de l'histoire du pays fait-il naître chez les étudiants un sentiment d'appartenance profonde ? En dernier lieu, a-t-il noté, nombre de Canadiens se rendent de plus en plus compte que le bilinguisme est un atout sur le marché du travail. À son avis, il existe bien d'autres façons que la coercition ou les appels déchirants à l'unité pour inciter les Canadiens à se bilinguiser.

contribuables aient accès aux services publics dans leur langue officielle d'élection.

Un haut fonctionnaire de l'Ontario s'est dit d'accord avec l'importance de créer un réseau de services qui vienne favoriser l'épanouissement de la langue et de la culture. Il s'agit de cerner les secteurs significatifs et de mettre en place un système permettant aux grandes villes du centre de la province de desservir les régions isolées par des lignes libre-appel. Il a fait remarquer que l'Ontario avait peu à peu adopté diverses lois à cette fin, et que le gel de l'embauche dans la fonction publique de la province ne visait pas les postes bilingues.

Un administrateur universitaire s'est alors opposé à l'idée que le français était le parent pauvre de l'ouest. De plus, a-t-il dit, il est grand temps de cesser de croire que seulement un quart de la population est apte à apprendre une langue seconde. L'expérience d'autres pays, où un grand nombre de citoyens ordinaires peuvent communiquer en plusieurs langues, réfute ce sophisme.

Le bilinguisme : Stanley Roberts a conclu la séance en réitérant sa conviction que le bilinguisme était un objectif louable et essentiel à l'avenir du pays. Les excellents programmes immersifs offerts par les écoles ne devraient pas être mis aux oubliettes, mais bien au contraire encouragés. Il a cependant posé la question suivante : faisons-nous tout ce qui est en notre pouvoir pour que le Canada devienne ce que nous souhaitons qu'il soit ? Par exemple, l'enseignement de l'histoire du pays fait-il naître chez les étudiants un sentiment d'appartenance profonde ? En dernier lieu, a-t-il noté, nombre de Canadiens se rendent de plus en plus compte que le bilinguisme est un atout sur le marché du travail. À son avis, il existe bien d'autres façons que la coercition ou les appels déchirants à l'unité pour inciter les Canadiens à se bilinguiser.

Avant d'aller plus loin, permettez-moi de vous donner mes coordonnées et de vous expliquer pourquoi les responsables de ce colloque m'ont invité.

Né, élevé et instruit en Ontario, j'ai travaillé dans cette province avant que mon employeur, l'Ontario Paper Company, me mûte à Baie Comeau, au Québec. J'y suis resté treize ans, bien avant que cette ville ne puisse prétendre, comme aujourd'hui, à la notoriété. Pendant mon séjour, nous avons assisté à la transformation de la situation en matière de langue de travail : alors qu'au départ elle était presque exclusivement l'anglais, elle est devenue entièrement le français. J'ai donc largement trempé dans le bilinguisme en contacte industriel québécois.

J'habite maintenant la Colombie-Britannique depuis bientôt vingt ans. Avant ce colloque, je ne m'étais jamais vraiment arrêté à la question du bilinguisme dans le milieu des affaires de l'Ouest. J'ai lu attentivement les actes du colloque de l'an dernier sur le bilinguisme dans les entreprises. Les discussions ont en grande partie porté sur le Québec et les mesures linguistiques s'appliquant au milieu des affaires québécois.

L'avenir de la *Charte de la langue française* soulève toujours de nombreuses questions, mais il ne fait aucun doute que cette mesure a produit le résultat recherché par le Québec, c'est-à-dire la francisation du monde des affaires. Pourtant, même avant l'adoption de cette loi, une mutation linguistique s'était déjà produite dans les usines sinon aux sièges sociaux. C'est en Ontario, et spécialement à Toronto, que la plupart des sociétés canadiennes ont de nos jours leurs sièges sociaux. De mon point de vue, quelque peu en retrait, il me semble que le bilinguisme n'y est pas très florissant. Toutefois, celles dont une partie des activités se déroulent au Québec encouragent leurs employés chargés des

opérations québécoises à utiliser le français, et ce facteur entre très certainement en ligne de compte pour l'avancement. Je sais du moins que c'est le cas chez mon ancien employeur, l'Ontario Paper Company.

Ma connaissance de la situation dans les provinces de l'Atlantique n'est pas assez poussée pour me permettre de formuler des observations précises, mais je suis sûr que les entreprises exploitant dans des secteurs à prédominance francophone utilisent le français. Bref, je crois que la situation varie énormément entre l'est et l'ouest en ce qui a trait au bilinguisme.

Le français

moins controversé

Dans l'Ouest, l'utilisation du français n'est plus la question fort controversée qu'elle a jadis été. L'hostilité et le ressentiment qui ont accueilli il y a dix ans les mesures fédérales de bilinguisme ont en grande partie disparu. Les Canadiens de cette région acceptent désormais qu'il y ait du français sur leurs boîtes de céréales et sur les immeubles fédéraux, et je crois que nous reconnaissons pour la plupart le droit qu'ont les Francophones d'avoir des services judiciaires dans leur langue.

Non pas que le principe de base fasse l'unanimité ou que les dépenses résultantes soient considérées comme nécessaires, mais la question ne suscite plus les débats enflammés d'autrefois.

Le bilinguisme en milieu industriel est maintenant acceptable dans l'Ouest et spécialement en Colombie-Britannique. Je conviens toutefois avec M. Roberts qu'il est en veilleuse. Les entreprises ne ressentent pas le besoin d'encourager ou d'obliger leurs employés à connaître le français. Le Franco-Colombie-Britannique accepte que la langue de travail soit l'anglais — tout comme l'Anglophone s'est fait à l'idée de travailler en français au Québec.

exorbitants.

Ma propre société possède un établissement à Montréal où le travail se fait en français. Les communications avec le bureau de Vancouver s'effectuent toutefois en anglais.

Il est futile à mon avis d'affirmer qu'une façon de favoriser le bilinguisme serait de faire de l'apprentissage une condition préalable pour l'emploi spécialisé en commercialisation par exemple et travaillant pour une société qui fait affaire avec le Québec.

Le français

et l'entreprise privée

La plupart des sociétés défrayaient leurs employés pour une partie du coût de participation à des programmes de perfectionnement professionnel, et entre autres, à des cours de français lorsque cela touche le travail. C'est sur ce plan que l'on pourrait encourager l'apprentissage du français, à condition que cela reste entièrement libre.

Bref, je ne vois pas la nécessité d'changer la mentalité des entreprises de l'Ouest en ce qui concerne la promotion du bilinguisme dans l'industrie. Je serais par ailleurs farouchement opposé à cette loi ou mesure coercitive à cet égard de la part du gouvernement fédéral. Les entreprises adopteront le bilinguisme si elles y voient un moyen d'accroître leur efficacité. Entre temps, des questions pressantes sollicitent notre attention de toutes parts.

probablement été incapable de surmonter les résistances à son programme de réforme.

Je ne saurais non plus passer sous silence le programme d'apprentissage des langues. Cette initiative a largement contribué à la réforme linguistique, non pas surtout parce qu'elle a permis l'acquisition de la langue seconde, mais parce qu'elle a opéré une transformation des mentalités. Les attitudes face à l'emploi de la langue et envers ceux qui la parlent s'en sont trouvées grandement modifiées et les esprits se sont ouverts aux richesses intellectuelles et culturelles de l'autre langue officielle.

Nous avons appris en quinze ans que les mesures extrêmes, même inspirées par des motifs honorables, pouvaient compromettre le succès du programme. Au début, soit de 1973 à 1977, on a par exemple désigné bilingues un nombre excessif de postes. Je pourrais bien sûr vous donner d'autres exemples, mais je préfère terminer en signalant un phénomène qui, selon moi, est un signe positif de l'évolution des mentalités dans l'Ouest, soit l'intérêt marqué qui s'y manifeste pour les programmes d'immersion en français ainsi que la popularité croissante que les cours du soir de langue seconde connaissent auprès des fonctionnaires fédéraux. En ce qui a trait à ces derniers, ce n'est pas tant que leur travail l'exige ni toujours parce qu'ils veulent améliorer leurs perspectives d'emploi; bien souvent, ils le font afin de pouvoir mieux communiquer avec leurs concitoyens et participer pleinement à la grande aventure de la réforme linguistique au Canada. Je les en félicite.

politique *cohérente* à ce sujet dans nos entreprises; ces dernières, à mon avis, n'ont tout simplement aucune politique.

Dans les provinces de l'Ouest, le français est la première langue officielle de 940 fonctionnaires (un peu moins de 2 pour cent de l'ensemble des effectifs dans une région où les francophones représentent 2,7 pour cent de la population). Outre qu'elles témoignent des progrès réalisés, ces statistiques nous apprennent deux choses : d'une part, la participation de la minorité ne constitue pas une menace pour la majorité et, d'autre part, elle demeure trop faible.

La volonté politique

Un examen de l'évolution de la Fonction publique depuis 15 ans nous permet de tirer nombre de conclusions. Premièrement, il ne fait aucun doute que sans la volonté politique exprimée et réfléfirmée à maintes occasions, nous n'aurions jamais atteint nos objectifs en matière de langues officielles. L'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* n'a pas suffi. Il a également fallu la Résolution parlementaire de 1973, les directives du Conseil du Trésor, le livre blanc du gouvernement et, enfin, la création du Comité permanent mixte sur les langues officielles. L'expression réitérée de cette volonté était et reste une condition du succès de la réforme linguistique. Un autre facteur déterminant a été le mariage judicieux des méthodes employées. À certains moments, il a fallu insister avec fermeté et résolution, tandis qu'à d'autres, la persuasion semblait être la voie la plus prometteuse. En troisième lieu, il importe de signaler la décision de reconnaître aux employés de longue date approchant de la retraite le droit de demeurer unilingues. Sans ces mesures, le gouvernement aurait

Commentaires de Tom Rust

révisons d'embée que je vous livre aujourd'hui le point de vue du monde des affaires de l'Ouest, tel que je le perçois. J'ai écouté avec beaucoup

la première grande réalité, c'est que la Fonction publique du Canada s'est largement bilinguisée. Le service au public est désormais offert dans les deux langues officielles, les fonctionnaires, pour leur part, ont accès aux services administratifs internes en français et en anglais, et dans certains endroits, il leur est loisible de travailler en français. Côte mythique ! On soutient toujours dans certains quartiers que les fonctionnaires fédéraux sont tenus d'être bilingues. Voyons donc ce qui en est réellement. À la fin de 1983, il y avait dans l'ensemble de la Fonction publique canadienne, 222 000 postes permanents, dont 27 pour cent étaient désignés bilingues, pour cent exigeaient absolument la connaissance du français, 60 pour cent celle de l'anglais et enfin, 6 pour cent qui pouvaient être occupés par des unilingues, les anglophones ou francophones, le bilinguisme n'étant pas une exigence professionnelle. Dans les quatre provinces de l'Ouest, seulement 950 postes sur 50 000 — un peu moins de 2 pour cent — étaient désignés bilingues, et sur nombre, 170 étaient occupés par des personnes ne répondant pas aux exigences linguistiques.

La participation quitable

a seconde réalité, c'est que la participation à la Fonction publique des deux groupes linguistiques s'est grandement améliorée. À la fin de 1983, 27,4 pour cent des 220 000 fonctionnaires fédéraux étaient francophones. Leur taux de participation variait de 0 pour cent dans la catégorie ges- n à environ 33 pour cent pour les postes de soutien administratif.

progrès quant à la prestation des services publics les plus courants dans les deux langues.

À l'échelon provincial, toutefois, on ne retrouve pas cette même volonté de fournir des services bilingues. Les ministères et sociétés de la Couronne de l'Alberta et de la Colombie-Britannique après desquels on a enquête ont pour la plupart déclaré qu'ils n'avaient pas de politique de bilinguisme pour assurer ou favoriser les services en français.

Même constatation en ce qui concerne le secteur privé : il n'existe tout simplement pas de politique en la matière. La semaine dernière, j'ai communiqué avec quatre grands employeurs de l'Ouest et vu qu'aucun de leurs services du personnel n'avait établi ou tenté d'établir un programme touchant l'utilisation du français en milieu de travail ou dans les relations avec la clientèle.

Tout fonctionnaire ou homme d'affaires avisé sait que pour réussir il doit communiquer avec le public dans la langue de ce dernier. Mais, comme le démontrent les statistiques que j'ai citées tantôt, il n'existe pas dans l'Ouest un besoin économique pressant pour offrir des services en français. Des « services bilingues » y sont dispensés en maints endroits, mais pas nécessairement en français et en anglais.

Mesures novatrices

Quelle est la solution ? Quelles mesures prendre dans les années 1980 pour relever effectivement le niveau de bilinguisme dans ces deux secteurs ?

Premièrement, il faut inciter — et non pas obliger ou forcer — les Canadiens de l'Ouest à apprendre une seconde, voire une troisième langue. Il s'agit de mettre l'accent sur des stratégies régionales et des techniques de motivation plutôt que sur des mesures strictement légales. Un des défis que nous devons relever d'ici la fin de la présente décennie sera de faire connaître notre patrimoine national à tous les Canadiens de l'Ouest pour qu'ils en soient fiers. Nous pouvons certes nous féliciter de ce que le Canada ne soit pas un creuset monoculturel et que nous puissions utiliser nos deux langues officielles et d'autres encore. Mais, pour faire passer ces idées, il ne faudra pas hésiter à recourir aux techniques de mise en marche ou de commercialisation.

Mais ces techniques devront être judicieusement appliquées. Par exemple, si l'on obligeait dès demain

Commentaires d'Edgar Gallant



ne nous soyons tous réunis ici pour participer à un colloque ayant pour thème *Les langues officielles : le point de vue de l'Ouest*, témoigne

éloquemment des immenses progrès de la politique linguistique canadienne. Un examen de l'évolution de la Fonction publique du Canada à cet égard, tant dans

Pour vendre le bilinguisme, nous devons convaincre les jeunes et moins jeunes du fait que l'apprentissage du français peut être à la fois amusant et enrichissant. À condition d'utiliser des techniques appropriées, nous verrons notre patience récompensée : la plupart des Canadiens de l'Ouest voudront effectivement penser, parler et travailler dans les deux langues officielles.

Idealiste pragmatique ayant à cœur de faire du Canada un foyer pour tous les Canadiens, j'estime que nous atteindrons beaucoup mieux nos objectifs en évitant la coercition et en faisant fonds d'avantage sur l'enseignement et les techniques de mise en marché... et en s'armant d'un peu de patience. En ce qui concerne l'enseignement, cela veut dire deux choses : donner à nos jeunes une vue cohérente et fidèle de l'histoire de leur pays qui leur fera comprendre, notamment, la signification de notre engagement envers les Francophones, et assurer des services en français aux Francophones aussi bien qu'aux Anglophones.

En guise de conclusion, je dirai que le bilinguisme dans l'Ouest est présentement en veilleuse, mais qu'il n'est pas mort. Malgré l'absence d'une politique linguistique cohérente dans les administrations et les grandes entreprises des trois provinces les plus à l'Ouest, je crois que l'on peut envisager la prestation effective de services bilingues permanents d'une manière plus positive et moins accusatoire. Nous devons cependant nous garder, dans notre hâte d'accomplir des progrès, de choisir une optique legaliste qui, sous le prétexte de « corriger » la situation, risquerait d'entraîner des effets négatifs.

Peut-être faudrait-il envisager une approche différente, plus prometteuse. L'on pourrait informer les éventuels gestionnaires de la possibilité que le bilinguisme devienne un des critères d'avancement, au même titre que les compétences spécialisées en commercialisation, publicité ou relations humaines.

tous les employés des administrations ou des sociétés de la Couronne provinciales à être fonctionnellement bilingues, il ne fait aucun doute que beaucoup de Canadiens de l'Ouest compétents à tous autres égards seraient écartés de certains postes. Une politique du genre aurait pour effet de provoquer une nouvelle levée de boucliers contre le bilinguisme, de sorte qu'au lieu de progresser en matière de compréhension réciproque nous ferions marche arrière.

L'Ouest que partout ailleurs au pays, nous permet de mesurer le chemin parcouru. Il importe tout fois de bien distinguer, en ce domaine, le mythe de la réalité.

la les États-Unis ou n'ont fait que traverser le Québec et l'Ontario pour venir s'installer directement dans leurs nouveaux foyers. Dès son entrée dans la Confédération (à l'exception peut-être du Manitoba), l'Ouest a été multiculturel.

est pourquoi on y considère les Franco-Canadiens simplement comme un des groupes — et non le plus important — qui ont contribué au défrichement de la région. Les données tirées du recensement de 1981 (voir tableau 1) mettent en relief le patrimoine culturel de l'Ouest. Aussi, nombre de gens se demandent pourquoi il faut y assurer des services bilingues.

TABLEAU 1 Population de langue maternelle française des provinces de l'Ouest et des territoires

Langue maternelle	No		%	
	No		%	
Autres*				

Manitoba	52 000	5,1	240 000	24
Saskatchewan	25 000	2,6	172 000	18
Alberta	62 000	2,5	365 000	16
Colombie-Britannique	45 000	1,6	450 000	16
Yukon	585	2,5	2 330	10
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1 240	2,7	19 760	43

*comprend pas l'anglais.
Source: Statistique Canada. Recensement de 1981

En guise de réponse, on peut avancer bien des raisons historiques, notamment le fait que la création en 1867 du Canada a reposé sur un accord de collaboration entre les peuples fondateurs dont l'un parlait l'anglais et l'autre le français. Les services bilingues consacrent cette entente historique et concrétisent l'affirmation de la Francophonie *peuvent*, sans sacrifier leur caractère linguistique distinctif, jouer un rôle majeur partout au pays.

ais cela soulève une autre question, celle de savoir quel genre de Canada nous voulons. Souhaitons-nous avoir un pays qui se souvient de son histoire, qui se souvienne pour assises le respect mutuel et la compréhension entre ses divers groupes culturels et qui veut tirer

pleinement parti de l'apport de chacun ? Si l'on répond par l'affirmative, la politique du bilinguisme est maintenant plus justifiée que jamais. Le besoin alors est impérieux d'expliquer cette position à tous et à chacun, car beaucoup de Canadiens de l'Ouest, qu'ils soient Anglophones ou d'une autre ethnie, ne comprennent tout simplement pas le contrat de 1867, ni, bien sûr, la politique linguistique fédérale.

Mais quels genres de services bilingues faut-il à court et à long termes assurer ? Comment les mettre en place ? Vu le contexte culturel de l'Ouest, il nous faut trouver une façon de mettre en oeuvre des programmes de bilinguisme efficaces sans provoquer de répercussions susceptibles de nuire à l'unité nationale que nous tentons justement de sauvegarder.

Ayant étudié l'histoire du Canada dans les deux langues (c'est-à-dire auprès de maîtres et avec des maîtres différents), il nous faut trouver le moyen de présenter à tous nos jeunes une vision plus uniforme et cohérente du passé. Nous ne pourrions en effet apprécier l'unité de notre nation que si nous voyons tous la Confédération de la même manière.

L'enseignement des langues

L'enseignement des langues me semble un autre élément essentiel à toute solution permanente. Nous ne réglerons jamais nos difficultés en refusant d'accorder aux Francophones de l'Ouest l'enseignement dans leur langue et de fournir aux Anglophones de solides cours de français.

Nous avons sur ce plan deux raisons de nous réjouir. Premièrement, je crois que nous pouvons compter sur une interprétation favorable, par les autorités scolaires et les tribunaux, de la condition du « nombre satisfaisant » prévue à la nouvelle Charte. Deuxièmement, les Canadiens semblent enfin surmonter leur résistance innée à l'apprentissage de deux ou de plusieurs langues : on voit en effet un nombre de plus en plus élevé de parents réclamer un enseignement immersif en français à l'élémentaire. Ce revirement va peut-être inciter les administrations provinciales et scolaires à mettre en place des programmes plus aptes que ceux du passé à former des bilingues. Cela nous permet d'espérer en une véritable égalité linguistique — dans l'égalitarisme si vous me permettez ce mot — dans toutes les régions.

Les secteurs public et privé

Examinons maintenant ce qui se fait dans les secteurs public et privé et ce qui pourrait être fait dans l'avenir immédiat et éloigné.

Les programmes fédéraux de bilinguisme appliqués depuis 1969 ont mis l'accent sur les droits linguistiques des personnes habitant le « centre bilingue » du pays et, jusqu'à un certain point, sur l'appui à accorder aux minorités linguistiques des autres régions. En 15 ans, les ministères fédéraux ont accompli de réels

et question d'affaires

MM. Stanley Roberts, homme d'affaires de Vancouver, Edgar Gallant, président de la Commission

de la Fonction publique du Canada et Tom Rust, président de Crown Forest Industries Limited.

STANLEY ROBERTS

principaux partis fédéraux. Malgré que ce dossier soit très explosif, je vous promets de ne pas me montrer aussi scrupuleux dans le choix de mes termes que certains qui font actuellement campagne sur la scène nationale !

ainsi qu'il soit actuellement en campagne sur la scène nationale ;

Je vous dirai d'emblée que je ne suis pas un spé-

un observateur attentif de la situation et un homme d'affaires. Elevé dans une collectivité rurale transchonnane

du Maniôto, j'ai subi mes examens de fin d'études

la suite à l'assemblée législative de cette province, j'y ai représenté une circonscription rurale dont la princi-

pale langue parlée était l'allemand. Depuis, j'ai oeuvré dans le milieu des affaires de Calgary, Montréal et Vancouver. Cette expérience m'a permis de me familiariser

varcouver. Cette expérience m'a permis de voir jusqu'à quel point ce pays est diversifié et aussi de comprendre que c'est cette diversité même, cette mosaïque

culturelle, qui fera de nous une grande nation si jamais nous acquérons la maturité nécessaire pour en

apprécier toute la valeur.

Je dois avouer que je n'ai jamais cessé de défendre la

l'absence de programmes. "Le dernier candidatisme" — si l'on veut — nous ne permettez ce terme un peu vieillot — tient en partie au fait que le Canada a été fondé par deux peuples qui, à toutes fins pratiques, constituent deux nations. Il ne continuera d'exister que si nous pouvons vivre ensemble, nous apprécier les uns les autres et communiquer entre nous.

communiquer entre nous.

son immense — et de son histoire.

Ces attitudes divergentes et complexes semblent résulter de la géographie même de notre pays — de son immensité — et de son histoire.

développement de l'Ouest.

tiques des Francophones comme l'attribution à ce groupe d'un « statut spécial » qui rejette dans l'ombra-
l'apport considérable des autres groupes culturels au

Quant à ceux qui nous sont venus d'autres pays, ils considèrent la constitutionnalisation des droits linguistiques nationaux soit dans les deux langues.

nationaux soient dans les deux langues.

que certains anglophones n'y voient qu'une manœuvre pour leur faire avaler de force le français. Croyez-le ou non, il y en a qui s'opposent encore à ce que les boîtes de céréales et la signalisation dans les parcs

muniquer avec l'Administration dans leur propre lan-

Dans l'ouest cependant, le bilinguisme — et les programmes créés pour favoriser la réalisation de cet objectif — englobe une réalité beaucoup plus complexe

• « sənə

Mais le mot « bilinguisme » ne revêt pas le même sens pour tous les Canadiens et dans les différentes régions du pays. Le dictionnaire le définit comme « la qualité d'une personne qui use couramment de deux lan-

du Québec. À preuve, l'Alberta est l'une des deux seules provinces qui accordent un diplôme aux enseignants en fonction de leur compétence dans l'une ou l'autre des langues officielles.

Un représentant de la communauté anglo-québécoise s'est opposé aux dires d'un autre intervenant voulant que le Québec soit à jamais devenu province unilingue francophone. Dans leur vie quotidienne, a-t-il affirmé, les Anglo-Québécois ont à leur disposition tout ce qui assure la survie d'une collectivité. Selon lui, les Canadiens auront à faire face à de sérieux problèmes s'ils n'arrivent pas à s'entendre sur les services essentiels qui doivent être accessibles à tous les Canadiens dans les deux langues officielles.

Abordant la question des langues officielles au Manitoba, l'intervenant suivant a contesté le caractère essentiellement provincial de la question, ajoutant que les gouvernements de la province s'étaient toujours contentés de faux-fuyants en la matière. Un des problèmes avec lesquels le Manitoba doit composer, dit-il, est que le bilinguisme national provoque toujours des résistances qu'il appartient au gouvernement central, non aux provinces, d'amadouer.

Max Valden a conclu cette première séance en prévenant qu'une importance trop grande accordée aux statistiques pourrait mener à l'adoption d'un bilinguisme territorial. Des efforts soutenus doivent être consentis si l'on veut éviter que le français soit désormais perçu comme la langue du Québec, et l'anglais comme celle du reste du Canada. Solution, estime-t-il, qui sonnerait le glas des langues minoritaires et favoriserait le séparatisme.

L'Ouest. Certains préconisent-ils deux politiques différentes : le bilinguisme pour l'Ouest et le bilinguisme pour le Canada central ? a-t-il demandé.

Répondant à certaines des observations, Max Valden a fait remarquer que les statistiques tirées de l'enquête Southam (1977)

n'avaient plus cours et affirmé que l'Ouest n'avait pas rejeté la politique du bilinguisme. Le problème manitobain, a-t-il ajouté, est de les vrais problèmes surgissent lors que des Canadiens de l'Ouest estiment que le gouvernement fédéral impose une politique à une province dans des domaines qui échappent à sa compétence. Pour ce qui est de la marée montante des jeunes « francophobes »,

notamment à Calgary, il a indiqué que les universités de l'Ouest s'efforçaient déjà de répondre aux besoins. Il a en outre souligné que, dans l'ensemble, les médias ont appuyé le bilinguisme officiel et que, à cet égard, ils voyaient beaucoup plus loin que certains de leurs lecteurs.

Les services bilingues: on ne peut attendre 20 ans

Commentant les questions soulevées (coûts et besoins) à propos de la bilinguisation de la fonction publique fédérale, il a déclaré que les Canadiens français ne pouvaient absolument pas attendre vingt ans qu'une prochaine génération d'Anglophones soit enfin en mesure de les servir en français. Bien qu'il soit d'accord avec le principe que les connaissances linguistiques des Canadiens ne devraient pas se limiter à l'anglais et au français, il ne croit pas opportun que le pays accorde à d'autres langues une reconnaissance officielle.

Les deux intervenants suivants se sont faits les défenseurs de l'Ouest en notant que, à certains égards, ses habitants avaient fait preuve de plus de tolérance à l'égard du bilinguisme que le gouvernement

le même sentiment d'isolement face aux Canadiens de l'Ouest que ces derniers éprouvent à l'endroit des Canadiens des autres provinces.

Empruntant une autre voie, l'intervenant suivant a dit qu'il s'agit toujours opposé à la bilinguisation « artificielle » de la fonction publique fédérale à coups de millions puisés dans les poches des contribuables. Il appuyait plutôt un projet à long terme visant à assurer l'enseignement du français non seulement dans les écoles primaires et secondaires, mais à l'université.

La communication avec l'étranger

Toujours dans la même veine, le participant suivant a établi un lien entre le besoin d'améliorer la qualité de l'enseignement de la langue seconde et les exigences toujours plus nombreuses auxquelles doit vent faire face les milieux d'affaires canadiens sur la scène internationale. Soulignant la riche diversité linguistique du Canada, il s'est réjoui de voir que les jeunes sont maintenant conscients qu'il leur faut accroître leurs capacités langagières, non seulement en français et en anglais, mais dans d'autres langues, s'ils veulent être en mesure de communiquer avec l'étranger. Un autre intervenant, administrateur universitaire de son état, a mis en relief le peu d'intérêt des étudiants pour les sciences humaines, y compris l'étude des langues. Selon lui, on n'a pas suffisamment insisté sur l'importance d'apprendre une langue étrangère, si bien que les jeunes d'aujourd'hui estiment qu'un diplôme en arts libéraux ne vaut pas grand chose aux yeux du monde des affaires.

Abordant l'une des questions clés de la séance, un intervenant s'est interrogé sur les réactions que peuvent avoir les Francophones lorsqu'ils constatent qu'une politique nationale émanant du fédéral n'a pas l'heur de plaire dans

par les répondants : 87 pour cent ont déclaré ne parler qu'anglais et 0,1 pour cent exclusivement français. Il y en a vingt fois plus — 1 400 — qui ne parlent ni l'anglais ni le français. Fait encourageant, toutefois, 11 pour cent de mes mandants (8 660 personnes) ont dit parler les deux.

Des progrès indéniables

Nous constatons cependant des signes de progrès indéniables. Ainsi, il y a dans ma circonscription deux écoles d'immersion en français. Mais il reste encore des problèmes de longue date à régler, comme celui des cueilleurs de fruits francophones travaillant dans la vallée de l'Okanagan et des membres de minorités « visibles » qui sont victimes d'attaques. Bien que le racisme y soit certes pour quelque chose, je crois que ces incidents sont aussi attribuables à la situation économique difficile que nous traversons actuellement. Les habitants de la région craignent de voir les nouveaux venus prendre leurs emplois, même s'ils sont eux-mêmes peu enclins à exercer ces tâches serviles.

À ceux qui critiquent la politique linguistique fédérale je réponds que c'est donnant donnant. À Rimouski, un Anglophone a accès au réseau anglais de Radio-Canada.

À la lumière de ces chiffres, il est facile de comprendre que le français n'occupe pas une place importante dans la vie politique de Vancouver. J'ai moi-même tendance à minimiser ma participation au programme de bilinguisme fédéral et à ne faire guère mention du fait que je suis fonctionnelle-ment bilingue. Malgré la présence dans ma circonscription d'un hebdomadaire, *Le Soleil*, et d'une Caisse populaire, je décèle encore un certain ressentiment à l'égard du programme fédéral de bilinguisme. On me demande par exemple pourquoi certains immeubles publics de Vancouver arborent des écritures en français. Je leur donne la réponse toute faite que le Parlement l'a ordonné.

RÉSUMÉ DES DISCUSSIONS

Cette séance étant somme toute une sorte d'entrée en matière, les intervenants ont surtout profité de l'occasion pour réagir aux déclarations des trois premiers conférenciers et définir leurs propres points de vue.

L'enseignement immersif : une demande croissante

Le premier intervenant a ouvert le débat en citant les chiffres d'une enquête nationale sur la langue, menée en 1977 par la Southam Press montrant qu'à l'époque, les Canadiens de l'Ouest étaient très intéressés à apprendre le français et souhaitaient que leurs enfants en fassent autant. Nombre d'entre eux ayant depuis adopté une toute autre attitude à cet égard, il s'est demandé si les médias n'avaient pas grandement contribué à ce revirement.

L'intervenant suivant a abordé le même thème, mais d'un angle différent. Manifestement en désaccord avec Patrick O'Callaghan, qui semble dire que les Canadiens de l'Ouest sont d'avis que le bilinguisme anglais-français ne correspond en rien à leur vécu, il a attiré l'attention sur la demande croissante pour un enseignement immersif dans cette région du pays : actuellement, 50 000 enfants suivent des cours immersifs en français et un sondage Gallup montre que plus de la moitié de la population de la Colombie-Britannique souhaite que les écoles contribuent davantage à la bilinguisation de leurs enfants.

Un porte-parole de la communauté ukrainienne a affirmé, pour sa part, que même si les questions liées aux langues des minorités

étaient visées par la politique fédérale du multiculturalisme, la *Loi sur les langues officielles* (notamment l'article 38) devrait être amendée de manière à englober les langues autres que l'anglais et le français.

Selon deux éminents administrateurs universitaires, l'Ouest a accompli d'énormes progrès en matière de bilinguisme au cours des vingt dernières années. L'un d'eux a cependant fait remarquer que si les participants qui l'ont précédé ne s'étaient pas montrés avares de chiffres, ils n'avaient pas su expliquer la très faible présence des Francophones dans l'Ouest. Considérant à la fois le rôle des médias, la question linguistique manitobaine et l'aliénation occidentale, il a laissé entendre que les Francophones éprouvaient

et à obtenir des autorités politiques qu'elles exercent leur « leadership » sans rhétorique ni cynisme électoral.

Avons-nous assez de maturité pour cela ? J'en doute. Mais nous devons y tendre obstinément, car sans un style de direction fondé sur la compréhension et la sympathie, nous ne survivrons pas en tant que nation. Ce n'est pas en restant parqués de chaque côté de la ligne de démarcation des eaux linguistiques que nous pourrions résister longtemps aux pressions du régionalisme.

Nous avons progressé considérablement sur la voie du bilinguisme pour renier aujourd'hui la politique fédérale en la matière. Aussi nous faut-il faire en sorte que le Manitoba échappe aux vertiges d'une double obsession. La reconnaissance de deux langues fait maintenant partie intégrante de notre histoire, de nos traditions, de notre Constitution; elle s'inscrit désormais dans la trame de notre fédéralisme.

Mais comment communiquer le message aux Canadiens de l'Ouest ? Comment apaiser par ailleurs les chères anxietés de ceux qui considèrent l'Ouest comme un repaire d'anthropophages ? Comment apprendre à vivre ensemble ? J'avoue n'en rien savoir, et c'est sans doute cette ignorance qui nourrit mon pessimisme.

nombre : trois fois plus de personnes ont déclaré que le chinois était leur langue maternelle et deux fois plus, l'allemand. À Vancouver, le français venait donc en quatrième place.

La situation est encore plus marquée dans ma circonscription, comme le traduit sans doute le million du recensement, soit celle au sujet de la langue officielle parlée

encourus pour servir 2,7 pour cent de la population dans sa langue officielle.

Peut-être s'agit-il de se dépêcher lentement, de se diriger patiemment vers une ère de tolérance et de compréhension. Nous avons mis du temps à accepter qu'il y ait deux peuples fondateurs méritant une égalité linguistique et nous ne sommes pas prêts à renoncer à cette reconnaissance tardive. Mais nous ne pouvons nous permettre de revenir un siècle en arrière, ce que la contravention de M. Bilodeau force le Manitoba à faire.

Nous devons faire comprendre aux Canadiens de l'Ouest que le bilinguisme est leur apport à l'unité du pays et non un boulet qu'ils traînent avec eux, les précipitant à leur perte.

Moins de sectarisme des deux côtés est tout indiqué. Nous n'avons besoin ni d'entêtes sans cervelle qui ne veulent rien savoir au-delà de la Prairie, ni de gens comme Serge Joyal qui semblent penser que son portefeuille l'a rendu ministre du fait français.

On doit reconnaître le bilinguisme, tant sur la scène provinciale que fédérale. Si le comportement manitobain n'a pas reposé sur une approche raisonnée et raisonnable du bilinguisme, je crois que ce recul ne sera pas dramatique si l'on réussit à refroidir les têtes brûlées

Tantôt, M. Max Yalden nous a fourni des statistiques sur le Canada et sur l'Ouest. Je voudrais y ajouter certains chiffres portant sur Vancouver et plus exactement sur ma circonscription.

Parmi les gens habitant Vancouver, 77,5 pour cent ont indiqué que l'anglais était leur langue maternelle, contre 1,63 pour cent (20 000) le français. Il ne faut pas se laisser obnubilier par ce

Commentaires de Bill Clarke

L'occasion des événements du Manitoba.

Le Manitoba n'est pas une province comme les autres. Le bilinguisme elle l'a eu, puis elle l'a révoqué, au mépris peut-être de la Constitution, mais conformément à la volonté de la majorité de ses citoyens.

es droits des minorités doivent être protégés par le gouvernement, mais qu'ils soient imposés par les tribunaux parce qu'un gouverneme-
ment élu se refuse à soumettre la question au vote ne contribuera rien à supprimer l'amertume qu'entoure la question linguistique. La crise du Manitoba est la conséquence d'un fédéralisme qui s'appuie sur un principe trahi; elle laissera une cicatrice sur la nation et l'Ouest du Canada qui ne s'effacera pas de notre vivant.

97,3 pour cent des Canadiens de l'Ouest ont une langue maternelle française que le français, comment ne peut-on espérer monter un dossier convaincant pour la cause des francophones ? Tâche difficile, mais néanmoins essentielle.

En tant que nation, nous avons accepté le bilinguisme sur la scène fédérale. Il y a deux langues officielles. Des autorités provinciales légitimes souhaitent étendre ce principe, mais elles sont aussi conscientes des coûts farariniens

es responsables de ce collo-
que m'ont invité à présenter le point de vue d'un député de l'Ouest, plus précisément de la circonscription de Vancouver-
quadra. Je signale en passant que suis membre de longue date du comité mixte sur les langues officielles, groupe essentiellement non partisan qui convoque des témoins pour répondre aux critiques formulées par le Commissaire aux langues officielles.

Dans le cas de la crise du Manitoba — et le mot n'est pas trop fort — les disputes linguistiques sont symptomatiques d'un malaise beaucoup plus profond qui tient au sentiment que l'ouest ne pèse pas lourd dans la balance confédérative.

La crise du Manitoba est le reflet de l'insécurité de l'ouest, de sa crainte irrationnelle d'être éventuellement submergé par le « french power », et écrasé par la volonté du Canada central de maintenir les plus petites provinces sous sa tutelle. À tort peut-être, la Constitution de Trudeau est perçue ici comme un moyen de perpétuer la domination absolue du Canada central, alors que le vote québécois ou ontarien (ex-primé en nombre de sièges) peut neutraliser les choix électoraux de la moitié du pays située à l'ouest de la tête des Grands Lacs.

La crise du Manitoba laisse supposer aux Canadiens de l'ouest que les droits accordés par les provinces peuvent toujours être annulés par une intervention du gouvernement central à Ottawa, mais que si l'Ontario et le Québec font la sourde oreille par exemple aux politiques du bilinguisme, ils le font sachant pertinemment qu'ils n'encourent aucune sanction.

La crainte du Manitoba tient à la croyance que les provinces de l'ouest ne sont pas des partenaires à part entière du pacte confédératif, qu'elles sont un peu comme des pensionnaires, et que si elles ne se plient pas aux règlements de la maison elles seront obligées de garder la chambre ou verront leur loyer augmenter et leurs meubles saisis.

Il est difficile de convaincre les Manitobains que la convention de M. Bilodeau a préséance sur la volonté de la majorité de la population, tout comme il est difficile pour ceux qui vivent dans les Territoires de comprendre pourquoi John Munro juge essentiel de dépenser des millions de dollars

dans une région défavorisée du pays pour y dispenser des services bilingues dont personne ne veut, à quelques 200 Francophones diminués dans un territoire qui pourrait contenir autant de fois que l'on voudra les îles britanniques.

Un Manitobain pourrait bien se poser la question suivante : 30 000 Francophones pèsent-ils plus lourds dans la balance fédérale que le million de Francophones qui vivent dans un Ontario unilingue ? C'est cette absence totale du sens des proportions qui choque les Manitobains.

Je ne crois pas qu'ils soient des « rednecks », pas plus que je n'accèpte que 19 Canadiens de l'ouest sur 20 que n'enthousiasme pas le bilinguisme puissent être qualifiés de « cow-boys réactionnaires ».

Le gouvernement du Manitoba n'a pas su traiter convenablement la question linguistique. S'il avait assumé sa responsabilité, il aurait évité le tollé national et empêché que renaissse une amertume sécuritaire en réponse à ce qui a été perçu comme une nouvelle brimade inventée par le Canada central. Il n'aurait pas été nécessaire non plus que le Parlement s'immisce dans une affaire provinciale. John Turner pour sa part aurait évité de se prendre au piège de sa propre logique ambiguë, fruit du pragmatisme politique.

La question manitobaine devait être réglée dans l'arène manitobaine. La démocratie et la volonté de la majorité doivent toujours avoir préséance. Les néo-démocrates étaient majoritaires à l'Assemblée. Ils avaient une obligation morale d'éprouver cette majorité en imposant un vote sur le programme.

Ils auraient dû faire abstraction de la politillerie des Conservateurs et de leur refus éhémérin de revenir à leurs sièges pendant qu'ils sonnaient la cloche. Ils auraient dû demander le vote, c'est-à-dire mettre leur NPD, parti en principe pur, à

montré à la fin qu'il se préoccupait autant de sa popularité auprès des électeurs que les autres partis, supposément plus cyniques.

Politiquement, l'événement ne mérite pas d'être retenu : la démocratie n'a pas été bien servie par une opposition qui a permis l'hystérie de se moquer de la logique, et par un gouvernement qui renonce à son droit de gouverner

La minorité francophone de l'ouest

M. Valden a souligné que le quart de la population canadienne est composé de Francophones ou de personnes dont le français est la langue maternelle. De ces 6 500 000 personnes, seulement 185 000 vivent dans cette partie du pays, c'est-à-dire 2,7 pour cent de la population des quatre provinces de l'ouest et des Territoires.

Cent quatre-vingt cinq mille francophones ne suffisent pas pour faire un hiver chez nous. Aussi, de nombreux habitants de la région voient-ils l'urgence de la politique fédérale du bilinguisme comme une réponse de panique à une tempête qui n'a jamais eu lieu.

En prévision du déneigement, le Parlement a sorti ses pelles et, ce faisant, a dénoté, contrarié et offensé les Manitobains. À la suite d'une tempête que seuls les radars hypersensibles du Canada central pouvaient déceler, les Franco-Manitobains se trouvent maintenant injustement isolés et assiégés.

La situation n'est pas rose et n'est pas faite pour mettre les Canadiens de l'ouest à l'aise dans une Confédération qui leur donne l'impression d'être des réprouvés.

À l'instar de M. Valden, je n'entrevois aucune solution de rechange autre qu'une politique d'accommodement en matière linguistique. Mais la mise en oeuvre d'une telle politique requiert plus de patience, de finesse et de compréhension qu'on en a démontrée

Commentaires de Patrick O'Callaghan

Pour donner le coup d'envoi de cette séance, il m'a semblé nécessaire de replacer dans leur contexte certaines des grandes questions qui dominent le dossier linguistique de l'Ouest. La situation est loin d'être simple. J'espère cependant que nous pourrions l'examiner judicieusement au cours des deux prochains jours. Je sais que les conférenciers et vous tous, participants, avancerez nombre d'idées qui nous permettront de renouveler nos perceptions de la mosaïque linguistique qu'est l'Ouest du Canada.

Francophones et les « Wasps ». Mais la vague d'immigration qui a déferlé sur l'Ouest au début du siècle infirme cette hypothèse.

L'image d'un Manitoba où d'amers « Wasps » et « rednecks » se sont donné pour mission d'endiguer le flot francophone est non seulement fausse mais injuste. Elle est néanmoins entretenue par un premier ministre et un gouvernement qui ont fait du bilinguisme et du « french power » la clef de voûte d'un Canada uni. Ils n'ont pas su comprendre qu'il y avait un autre Canada qui percevait cela plutôt comme une pierre d'achoppement. Le ressentiment des gens de l'Ouest a peu ou rien à voir avec le principe du bilinguisme, ou avec une lutte visant à établir une suprématie raciale entre les « Wasps » et les Francophones. Il a aussi peu à voir avec l'article 23 de la Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba, que j'appellerai le compromis Riel, qui, selon certains est à l'origine d'une ambiguïté touchant l'accomplissement obligatoire ou non de certaines fonctions dans les deux langues officielles.

Le ressentiment tient plutôt d'un fédéralisme qui ne se soucie guère de l'Ouest et de la conviction des Manitobains que le bilinguisme est imposé à leur province pour la simple raison qu'elle joue dans une ligue mineure, tandis que les deux « provinces fondatrices » principales, l'Ontario et le Québec, continuent leur petit bonhomme de chemin « unilingue ».

tenant chose acquise sur la scène fédérale, il donnait une raison de plus aux gens de l'Ouest de froncer les sourcils.

Cela donnait à la politique un caractère racial et régionalisant l'administration du Canada. On a tendance à considérer la réaction du Manitoba comme une simple manifestation de l'indignation des « rednecks ». Rien n'est plus éloigné de la vérité. Le fait est que l'Ouest ne peut échapper à l'image de deux Canadas : un Canada à l'est de la tête des Grands Lacs, obsédé par le dossier du bilinguisme, et un autre pour qui cette question ne se posait plus depuis un siècle.

Que le bilinguisme soit devenu une politique fédérale, qu'il ait été consacré par une Charte des droits et une toute nouvelle Constitution, cela coupe le souffle aux gens de l'Ouest qui, dans une proportion de 19 sur 20, n'ont rien à voir avec la réalité démographique qui caractérise le Canada central. Et lorsque les tenants du bilinguisme fédéral, peu importe leur allégeance politique, montent sur leur cheval blanc dans l'espoir de convertir les païens de cette terre désolée des « rednecks » au-delà des Grands Lacs, il arrive que la bonne parole provoque d'étranges échos. L'on a depuis des siècles tenu pour acquis que le Canada était constitué de deux nations, les

ans son allocution inaugurale, M. Valden a soulevé deux questions de grande portée. La première : parmi les raisons qu'il a invoquées pour expliquer que la question des langues officielles dans l'Ouest n'ait été l'objet que d'un rapide survol lors du colloque de Trent, il a signalé le fait que moins de 5 pour cent des minorités francophones habitent à l'Ouest de Sault-Ste-Marie. La deuxième : reconnais-ant que nombre de gens de l'Ouest ne se sentent pas touchés par la question des rapports entre canadiens d'origine française et anglaise, il a convenu que la majorité d'entre eux n'ont probablement jamais rencontré de Francophones entendus un seul mot de français.

inscrits dans le cadre du dossier linguistique du Manitoba, ces deux points peuvent nous éclairer sur l'agitation qui secoue la région. Il s'agit nullement d'animosité entre les Canadiens français, mais plutôt de la conviction des gens de cette région qu'ils ne forment comme toute qu'une colonie du Canada central. Or, lorsque le premier ministre Trudeau a dit à Joe Clark, « Je suis venu à Ottawa pour sauver le Québec, que quelqu'un d'autre se réoccupe de l'Ouest », cela en disait long sur ses vues sur le Canada. Et lorsqu'il déclarait « french power » était main-tenement qu'il s'était assuré que

Ce principe me semble généralement accepté par ceux qui veulent voir le Canada continuer d'exister en tant que pays. À l'échelon fédéral en tout cas, les trois grands partis politiques ont tous reconnu que la protection des droits des minorités linguistiques était une condition *sine qua non* de l'existence du Canada en tant que nation.

Mais que dire de la situation linguistique dans les provinces de l'Ouest elles-mêmes ? Le profil linguistique de cette région diffère clairement de celui du Centre ou de l'Est. Voyons, si vous le voulez bien, certaines statistiques éloquentes sur la langue maternelle que nous fournit le recensement de 1981 sur les quatre provinces prises ensemble :

Population des quatre provinces de l'Ouest, selon la langue maternelle

Langue maternelle	Nombre	%
Anglais	5 566 680	79,8
Français	185 865	2,7
Autre	1 224 295	17,5
Population totale	6 976 740	100

Il y a manifestement des variantes d'une province à l'autre, mais la situation est généralement la même : les Anglophones représentent entre 70 et 80 pour cent de la population, les Francophones, entre 1 et 5 pour cent et les Allophones, de 16 à un peu plus de 23 pour cent.

Comment alors, à la lumière de ces chiffres, avancer des arguments solides en faveur des droits linguistiques des Francophones ? Que dire des autres groupes qui ensemble — et parfois seuls comme dans le cas des Ukrainiens et des Allemands — surpassent les Francophones ? Cela suppose essentiellement de concilier les obligations nationales dont je viens de parler et la réalité démographique locale ou provinciale. Pour difficile qu'elle soit, cette tâche n'est toutefois pas impossible.

La reconnaissance des droits des Francophones ne suppose aucunement l'indifférence à l'égard des aspirations des autres groupes linguistiques. Ces frictions entre le bilinguisme officiel et ce qu'on est plus ou moins convenu d'appeler le multiculturisme nous

mène au coeur du problème linguistique de l'Ouest. Bien que l'opinion publique ait beaucoup évolué ces dernières années, on semble généralement croire en l'incompatibilité de deux langues officielles et d'une politique de multiculturisme. Cela vient du fait que par langues officielles, on sous-entend en quelque sorte cultures officielles, comme si toutes les autres étaient non officielles ou subordonnées. C'est faux : il n'y a pas de cultures officielles au Canada. Chacune de nos langues officielles est parlée par des personnes issues de nombreuses cultures ayant chacune leurs traditions propres.

Il est vrai que la plupart des Franco-Canadiens sont d'origine française, formant ainsi un groupe culturel relativement homogène. Mais nombre d'entre eux ne viennent ni de France ni d'Europe. Et même à l'intérieur du Canada français, pour employer une expression consacrée, on peut très certainement considérer les Acadiens et les Franco-Manitobains comme des groupes culturels distincts.

Du côté du Canada anglais, la multiplicité des ethnies et des patrimoines culturels est encore plus frappante. Et comme l'on s'en rend de plus en plus compte, la politique du multiculturisme gagne un nombre grandissant de partisans.

Hélas, le multiculturisme ne règle pas la question du multilinguisme. Autrement dit, pourquoi n'avons-nous pas plus de deux langues officielles ? Il suffit, à mon avis, d'examiner la réalité démographique pour voir que cela poserait des difficultés administratives insurmontables. D'après le recensement de 1981, le Canada compte près de 15 millions d'Anglophones et plus de 6 millions de Francophones. Les Italiens, qui constituent le troisième groupe, ne sont qu'un demi-million. Si la situation était différente, c'est-à-dire s'il avait plusieurs millions d'Italiens, d'Allemands, d'Ukrainiens ou de Chinois, il nous faudrait sans aucun doute repenser notre politique linguistique. Mais pour l'instant, et en ce qui a trait à l'administration fédérale du moins, c'est le régime bilingue qui semble concilier le mieux la réalité contemporaine et les obligations historiques.

Voilà donc ce qui en est pour le bilinguisme national. Ici dans l'Ouest, comme je le signalais tantôt, les données démographiques diffèrent radicalement. Même là, la plupart de ceux qui veulent préserver leurs langues ancestrales ne tiennent pas, je crois, à les rendre « officielles », c'est-à-dire à obtenir de l'État des formules comme langues d'enseignement. Je n'ai pour ma part aucune objection à cela.

La meilleure façon de prouver qu'il n'y a pas de conflit entre bilinguisme et multiculturisme, entre l'existence de deux langues officielles et la promotion

donne une vision tout autre de la réalité en nous fournissant un profil statistique bien différent en ce qui concerne les Francophones et les bilingues. Sur 10 000 fonctionnaires fédéraux affectés au Manitoba, par exemple, seulement 335 sont de langue française, ce qui est loin d'être une juste représentation de la population franco-manitobaine, et le nombre des bilingues qui occupent des postes exigeant la connaissance des deux langues est encore plus bas. Ai-je besoin de vous rappeler que nous sommes censés être en régime bilingue depuis quinze ans ?

Le national et le régional

Mais même si on sait à peu près en quoi consiste le bilinguisme officiel et ce qu'il n'est pas, on peut toujours se demander à quoi cela sert exactement, surtout dans l'Ouest. Étant donné la réalité géographique et démographique du Canada, on comprend facilement que beaucoup de gens de cette région ne se sentent pas touchés par la question des rapports entre Canadiens d'origine française et anglaise. Certains d'entre eux n'ont probablement jamais rencontré de Francophones en chair et en os ni entendu un seul mot de français.

Et pourtant, il est plus d'un programme qui, visant une province ou une région donnée, touchent le bien-être de tous les Canadiens et deviennent ainsi des impératifs nationaux. Je songe par exemple aux tarifs-marchandises imposés dans l'Ouest et à la pêche sur les côtes atlantique et pacifique, qui sont des dossiers pan-canadiens. De même, il y a de l'intérêt national de parvenir à un accord équitable entre les collectivités francophones et anglophones du pays. Je sais que le pacte confédératif conclu entre ces deux groupes ou peuples fondateurs, comme certains préfèrent les appeler, est plus important pour les Canadiens qui habitent le centre et l'est du pays que telle-celle de l'Ouest. Personnellement, je n'aime pas tellement la notion de « peuples fondateurs » qui semble privilégier une partie de notre histoire ou certains groupes aux dépens des autres. Les Ukrainiens, les Allemands, les Scandinaves, les Asiatiques et les nombreux autres groupes d'immigrants qui se sont installés et ont travaillé dans la Prairie sont aussi des fondateurs.

Il demeure toutefois une réalité démographique inéluctable : nous sommes une nation dont plus du quart, soit quelque six millions et demi d'habitants, est composé de personnes qui parlent français et, dans certains cas, exclusivement cette langue. Quand on sait que le français a presque toujours été reconnu comme un élément essentiel des institutions canadiennes, depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, je ne vois pas comment l'on pourrait se passer d'une politique d'accommodement en matière linguistique. Concrètement, cela suppose de créer les conditions essentielles à la mise en place de l'infrastructure qu'est le bilinguisme officiel.

En sens large, cela englobe aussi l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité, c'est-à-dire le droit de tout parent anglophone au Québec et francophone ailleurs faire instruire ses enfants dans sa langue. Ces dispositions, comme le stipule l'article 23 de la *Charte canadienne des droits*, s'appliquent bien sûr à toutes les provinces ainsi qu'aux Territoires. De plus, la Charte oblige les gouvernements fédéral et du Nouveau-
Brunswick, et seulement ces deux-là pour l'instant, à assurer le service dans les deux langues à leurs administrations centrales de même que là où « le nombre » « la vocation du bureau » le justifient.

On s'agit évidemment pas d'une définition complète du bilinguisme officiel. Les lois sur les langues officielles des gouvernements fédéral et du Nouveau-
Brunswick renferment par exemple des dispositions multiples au sujet du service au public. Tout en ayant pour objet de préserver le français, la *Charte de la langue française* du Québec renferme aussi certaines prescriptions relatives à d'autres langues, dont l'anglais.

Enfin les autres provinces, il y a divers règlements, lois de principes et lois qui touchent à toutes sortes de questions de langues, de telle façon qu'elles incluent celles-ci « officielles », du moins dans certaines conditions.

Pratiques ou réalités

Nous reviendrons sans doute aujourd'hui ou demain sur les critères de détermination du caractère officiel d'une langue. J'ajouterais simplement qu'il n'y a pas de loi, à mon avis, à vouloir définir certaines règles de conduite institutionnelle en matière linguistique. Au contraire, les divers éléments que je viens d'énumérer paraissent relativement clairs et simples. Pourtant, ils semblent avoir favorisé l'écllosion de bon nombre d'idées pour le moins étonnantes, pour employer un euphémisme. Parmi les plus vives, signalons les suivantes :

Tous les Canadiens doivent devenir bilingues;
Tous les fonctionnaires doivent parler les deux langues;
Les meilleurs emplois, dans une fonction publique bilingue, sont réservés aux Francophones qui, plus souvent que leurs collègues anglophones, parlent les deux langues;
Les langues autres que le français et l'anglais sont de second ordre et n'ont droit à aucune place légitime dans la société canadienne.

Enfin de suite. Les récentes disputes linguistiques au Manitoba ont donné un regain de vie à certaines de ces notions qui, à force d'être répétées, ont fini par entrer dans le dictionnaire des idées reçues et ce, malgré toutes les preuves du contraire. L'expérience de l'administration fédérale nous



Perspectives éclatées

Peut-il exister des points de convergence entre l'idée d'un Canada multiculturel et officiellement bilingue et le vécu des Canadiens de l'Ouest ? MM. Maxwell Yalden, commissaire aux langues officielles. Patrick O'Callaghan, éditeur du *Calgary Herald*, et Bill Clarke, député fédéral de la circonscription de Vancouver-Quadra, ont examiné ce dossier et certaines des questions qui s'y rattachent, lors de la séance liminaire.

Certaines questions clés

MAXWELL YALDEN

Ceux d'entre vous qui ont participé à notre premier colloque, qui s'est tenu à l'Université Trent de Peterborough il y a environ un an et demi, se souviendront que la discussion a tout naturellement porté sur le centre du Canada, plus spécialement sur ce qu'on appelle la ceinture bilingue qui s'étend du Nouveau-Brunswick jusqu'à Sault-Ste-Marie en passant par Montréal, et où sont concentrés quelque 95 pour cent de nos concitoyens de langue officielle minoritaire. Nous n'avons donc pas accordé toute l'attention voulue à la composante occidentale de la réalité linguistique canadienne, lacune que nous comptons combler au cours des deux prochains jours.

À peu près personne à l'époque ne se doutait que l'Ouest en général et le Manitoba en particulier allaient être au coeur d'un important débat linguistique. Quant à savoir si cela marque un recul ou un pas en avant, il est difficile de se prononcer. Les vues à ce sujet, de même que sur les droits des minorités linguistiques de l'Ouest, seront très probablement divergentes. Quoi qu'il en soit, nos discussions tombent indéniablement à point nommé. Les problèmes de langue suscitent bien des débats enflammés. Au Canada, peu d'autres composantes de la politique sociale sont aussi imprégnées de parti pris et de préjugés. Si nous ne parvenions qu'à démystifier certains éléments du dossier, nous aurions déjà beaucoup accompli.

Pour cela, nous devons examiner honnêtement et à fond l'ensemble de la question. Je vous exhorte donc à exposer franchement vos vues. Nous constituons un groupe assez disparate, qu'il s'agisse de notre appartenance géographique, de nos occupations professionnelles ou de nos orientations philosophiques et politiques. Cette diversité va sûrement provoquer de chaudes discussions sur la politique linguistique qu'il

faudrait préconiser pour les provinces l'Ouest. Arrêtons-nous tout d'abord à la notion de « bilinguisme officiel », ne serait-ce que pour préciser ce que cette expression ne couvre pas. Cela s'impose je croie parce que, ces derniers mois et dans certains milieux on en a beaucoup abusé.

Certaines questions clés

D'une manière générale, on considère comme officielle les langues qui, d'après la loi ou la constitution, peuvent ou doivent être utilisées dans les rapports avec l'État ou au sein de l'Administration. Dans le contexte canadien, cela suppose certaines mesures qui s'appliquent aux tribunaux et aux assemblées législatives. Au sens large, cela comprend également certains droits quant à l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité et aux services gouvernementaux.

- L'acception stricte du terme est prévue à l'article 133 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867* qui stipule ce qui suit :
- L'anglais ou le français peut être utilisé au Parlement du Canada et à l'Assemblée nationale du Québec;
- Toute plaidoirie ou procédure se déroulant dans un tribunal du Canada ou du Québec ou en découlant peut être dans l'une ou l'autre langue;
- Les lois fédérales et du Québec doivent paraître en anglais et en français.

L'article 23 de la *Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba* renferme, en vertu de la nouvelle *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, le Nouveau-Brunswick a accepté les mêmes obligations.

pan-canadiennes, le gouvernement fédéral

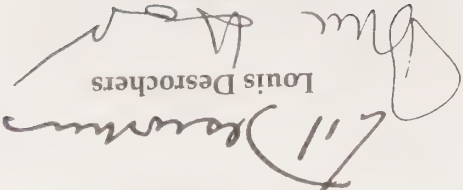
devrait faire plus pour reconnaître les particularités ethniques et linguistiques de l'Ouest. Pourquoi, de demander certains, Ottawa se contente-t-il en matière de multiculturalisme d'une *politique* qui ne fait pas l'objet d'une consécration légale? Comment, de se demander d'autres, protéger et appuyer concrètement les droits des 185 000 Francophones de l'Ouest et comment s'assurer que les organismes fédéraux de cette région se conforment totalement à l'esprit de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*?

Ces deux journées ont donné lieu, selon nous, à l'expression d'arguments puissants et de convictions passionnées, et cela sans acrimonie aucune. Il nous est apparu par ailleurs que le groupe minoritaire — francophones, ukrainiens, polonais, allemands, japonais, chinois ou autres — étaient en fait des alliés dans la cause commune de l'épanouissement personnel en ce pays où les deux langues officielles et une multiplicité de cultures devraient pouvoir coexister harmonieusement. Nous sommes pour notre part convaincus que chacun a acquis à ce colloque une meilleure compréhension de ce qui nous différencie et nous sépare, et une détermination nouvelle de trouver une solution équitable pour tous.

Les coprésidents,

Louis Desrochers

Bruce Howe



s autres groupes culturels ou linguistiques

les entraver.

esque tous les participants ont semblé convenir fait que le bilinguisme officiel, sous une forme une autre, était légalement et constitutionnellement défendable à l'échelle fédérale, ainsi qu'au nouveau-Brunswick, au Québec et au Manitoba. même, ils ont reconnu dans l'ensemble que, un point de vue *national* et compte tenu de la démographie et de l'histoire du pays jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle, le Canada pouvait être considéré comme un État où le français et l'anglais jouissent un statut égal.

ais cet accord général sur les principes contrastait avec les divergences marquées sur diverses questions. Plusieurs conférenciers se sont par exemple usqués de l'intervention du gouvernement fédéral dans le débat linguistique du Manitoba, ajoutant qu'il s'agissait là d'une question essentiellement provinciale qu'il appartenait à la province de régler. autres ont déclaré que la notion de «peuples indiateurs» et le principe du bilinguisme officiel une extrémité à l'autre du pays étaient le fruit des conceptions du gouvernement central et qu'ils ne concordent aucunement avec la réalité démographique et l'évolution de l'Ouest au XX^e siècle.

légitimatif de ce colloque fut sans conteste l'affirmation répétée que l'Ouest diffère fondamentalement de l'Est quant à ses réalités culturelles et linguistiques. L'écart entre les deux régions est tellement grand selon certains que, indépendamment de la nécessité d'adopter certaines lignes de conduite

LES LANGUES OFFICIELLES L'OUEST ET SON VÉCU

« Notre histoire, nos traditions et notre constitution, tout nous incite à considérer comme allant de soi l'existence au Canada de deux langues officielles. »
Mais aussi, « il nous faut apprendre à tirer pleinement parti de notre pluralisme culturel et linguistique ». C'est à l'harmonisation de ces deux mots d'ordre, respectivement fils de chaîne et fils de trame de l'étoffe de notre pays, que se sont employées 85 personnes: gens d'affaires, enseignants, journalistes, représentants de groupes minoritaires qui s'étaient donné rendez-vous à Edmonton en mai dernier pour discuter du point de vue de l'Ouest sur la question linguistique au Canada. La séance de deux jours a été présidée par M.M. Louis Desrochers, avocat d'Edmonton, et Bruce Howe, président de la B.C. Resources Investment Corporation.
Le présent numéro de *Langue et société* renferme les actes révisés de ce colloque.

Pour la plupart d'entre-nous, peu de choses ont autant de signification et de résonances que notre langue d'origine et le traitement que lui réserve la société dans laquelle nous vivons. Comment s'étonner alors que, dans l'Ouest polyglotte et multiculturel, la question des langues officielles et leur rôle de l'Etat dans leur promotion et leur préservation soulèvent de si vives passions.

Il nous a semblé à nous, coprésidents du colloque d'Edmonton, que le ton des discussions et les préoccupations qui s'y sont manifestées différaient sensiblement de celui et celles qui avaient caractérisé la rencontre de Peterborough, en Ontario, en septembre 1982 (*Langue et société*, n° 10). Les échanges de vues, souvent fort animés, y ont surtout porté sur le rôle, la politique, les programmes, la pratique et le vécu des gens en matière linguistique dans les secteurs public et privé, le milieu de l'enseignement et au sein des collectivités elles-mêmes.

Malgré la diversité des opinions, qui n'a pas tardé à se manifester, nous avons vu peu à peu se dégager trois convergences: une volonté générale d'accepter les principes du bilinguisme officiel français-anglais à l'échelon fédéral; la nécessité pour les autorités scolaires de multiplier les possibilités d'enseignement de la langue seconde et dans la langue de la minorité et ce, à tous les niveaux; et une croyance largement partagée que le dualisme français-anglais ne doit pas, dans l'Ouest sur-tout, avoir préséance sur les aspirations légitimes

Les adieux
du Commissaire

Les lecteurs trouveront dans le présent numéro le compte rendu d'un colloque sur l'Ouest et les langues officielles que notre Bureau a parrainé, et qui a eu lieu à Edmonton en mai dernier. Il constitue, en un sens, le prolongement d'un colloque tenu à l'automne de 1982 à l'Université Trent et dont nous avons publié les actes dans le numéro 10.

tant donne l'histoire et la configuration linguistique anglaises de l'Ouest, nous avons jugé utile de réunir diverses personnalités canadiennes — surtout de cette région, mais d'ailleurs aussi — pour examiner en profondeur l'ensemble de ce dossier fort complexe. La multiplicité des points de vue, les oppositions entre les optiques de l'Est et de l'Ouest et la recherche d'un juste rapport entre le bilinguisme officiel et les réalités multiculturelles et multilinguistiques ont donné lieu à deux jours de vigoureuses discussions. Nous espérons que les condensés des échanges, des interventions et des allocutions que nous publions ci-après donneront à notre lecteur une bonne idée de ce qui se passe dans l'Ouest et des vues de cette région sur la question linguistique.

omme j'aurai quitté mon poste avant la prochaine parution de *Langue et société*, je profite de ce numéro pour faire mes adieux à tous nos lecteurs. J'espère qu'ils ont pris plaisir à lire notre revue.

ancée à l'automne de 1979 à l'occasion du 50^e anniversaire de l'adoption de la Loi sur les langues officielles, *Langue et société* s'était donné pour objectif de traiter en termes simples et clairs, à l'intention d'un vaste public, du jeu fascinant des interactions entre la langue et le comportement socio-politique. Nous avons, bien sûr, mis l'accent sur la situation linguistique au Canada et sur les débats de plus en plus nombreux que suscitent le bilinguisme officiel et la politique linguistique. Mais il nous semblait aussi important d'élargir nos horizons et de faire état de ce qui se passe à l'étranger dans le domaine de la langue. Nous avons souvent tendance, au Canada, à nous méconnaître tellement accaparés par nos propres problèmes linguistiques que nous en oublions que de très nombreux pays font face à des situations similaires, que notre expérience pourrait nous être profitable et que, en compte fait, nous ne nous comparons pas trop mal aux autres. Les sociolinguistes considèrent peut-être comme un truisme que, à l'échelle du globe, le bilinguisme soit la règle, mais ce fait semble échapper aux Canadiens pourtant bien informés. Dans les quatorze numéros que nous avons publiés jusqu'ici, divers spécialistes ont examiné près de dix

pays bilingues ou plurilingues et ont, dans bien des cas, comparé notre régime et nos problèmes linguistiques aux leurs. Les auteurs appartenaient dans certains cas à des minorités linguistiques, notamment ceux qui ont rédigé les articles sur les Basques en Espagne et sur les groupes de langue suédoise en Finlande. Nous espérons avoir ainsi pu sensibiliser nos lecteurs au vécu de certaines minorités ailleurs dans le monde.

Quant à notre propre expérience, elle fut abordée à partir d'une multitude de points de vue : politique, juridique, historique, sociologique, économique, scolaire, linguistique ou, encore, général. Nos lecteurs se rappelleront par exemple que nous avons consacré tout un numéro — double d'ailleurs — à l'enseignement immersif, afin de rendre compte de l'apport de cette méthode au bilinguisme. Pour accroître l'utilité de la revue comme source de référence, nous avons également inclus dans les premières livraisons un tableau chronologique des faits marquants de notre histoire linguistique, une carte des langues parlées dans le monde et le texte intégral de deux décisions capitales de la Cour suprême, accompagnée de commentaires. Nos numéros à venir renfermeront sans doute d'autres documents d'intérêt historique.

D'après les réactions de nos lecteurs, il semble que la revue réponde à un réel besoin d'information générale. Peut-être préchons-nous aux convertis, mais nous aimons à penser que nos efforts ont contribué à réduire la confusion et l'acrimonie dans lesquelles baigne notre débat linguistique. L'étendue de notre territoire et la faible densité de notre population ne font rien pour aider les Canadiens à se connaître autant qu'ils le souhaiteraient sans doute. Quand on songe par ailleurs aux susceptibilités de chacun quant à sa langue, on comprend facilement que les possibilités de malentendus soient légion. Aussi, l'un des principes dont nous nous sommes inspirés tout au long de mon mandat a-t-il été de favoriser un débat aussi large, éclairé et serin que possible sur l'intervention des langues au Canada. Je suis convaincu que *Langue et société* a contribué au succès que nous avons pu avoir sur ce plan.

L'équipe de rédaction a pu compter sur l'appui d'un comité consultatif de sept membres chargé d'orienter la politique de la publication et, par leurs commentaires et suggestions, de nous pousser sans cesse à l'impossible perfection. Les lecteurs trouveront ci-contre la liste des membres actuels. Je leur sais gré du temps qu'ils ont consacré à notre publication, de leur sagesse et de leur bonne humeur. Je suis également reconnaissant envers le personnel qui a participé à la production de *Langue et société*; ses efforts et son dévouement en ont fait une revue à la fois intéressante et attrayante.

mt. m. m.

tion et d'opinion, est une publication trimes-
trielle du Commissaire aux langues officielles,
Max Yalden. Elle a pour objet d'alimenter la
réflexion et de servir de tribune pour l'examen
des grandes questions linguistiques qui se
posent au Canada et à l'étranger.

Les opinions exprimées ne reflètent pas néces-
sairement celles du Commissaire et n'engagent
que leurs auteurs.

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commentaires et suggestions à la rédaction, à
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l'Quest et son vécu*

Actes du Colloque parrainé
par le Bureau du Commissaire aux
langues officielles, à l'Université de l'Alberta,
Edmonton, les 11 et 12 mai 1984.

Charles Strong
Rédacteur invité

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